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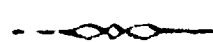
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SELF-HELP IN GERMANY

Self-help is a demand which moralists like to put to the individual when he is lowest down and just incapable of helping himself. All the good advices come to him from those who are not himself and happily not in his condition. It is probably a greater misery for the individual to be down and out when all around him the world goes on merrily, than when there is a general helplessness and starvation. Then he realises at least that he is not alone, which is a consolation for the human being after all.

We are not concerned here with individual self-help—that exists everywhere, we are concerned with the spontaneous self-help of groups in Germany.

I do not want to treat the growth of purely economic self-help organisations, as there are the co-operative societies which certainly play a very important rôle in the life of the country. In 1931 their number was 52,500 with all sorts of different aims and activities. These co-operative societies were first started in 1849 after the model of the English co-operative society in Rochdale (1843). The development of these societies took place in many countries and really was a matter of expediency under the existing conditions; they did not mean in any way to influence or to change the ruling economic system.

The self-help in Germany in which we shall interest ourselves is of quite a different type: it is a movement which was not preconceived in its lines of work and in its results: it sprang up spontaneously, as I said, amongst the youth of the country. The main characteristic of this movement is the propagation of the community feeling, a protest against the individualism of the last century. The individualism has not yet been overcome, it is really at its height but its dangers are now obvious to everybody. At the end of the last century it was not even questioned, it found its expression in all domains of human life.

In economics, individualism means capitalism; in the professions, society and the state, it means the triumph of expediency, of subjection to technique, and the all-dominating sway of the machine. This comprises the whole individualistic circle which began with the emancipation of the individual in the ruthless accomplishment of his Ego and ended in the extinction of the individual as a personality by the capitalistic machine. Without their own volition youth was included in this process as a sort of half-way stage towards being grown-up, they were to be trained into becoming good citizens of mediocre insignificance, for faithful fulfilment of duty! The elder folk came to the younger saying: "Become like us, think like us, then everything will go well with you!" This was what they called a good bringing up, it choked all feelings of youthfulness, and meant sterility and death.

Youth set about working their own release. As if obedient to some law of nature, the first groups of the youth movement sprang forth from the surrounding world, some 35 years ago. The hour had come for the final dissolution of the old world with its civilisation bare of all culture, with its myriad units held together like herds by a coercive state authority, and the relentless spirit of competition at the cost of the poor and sincere. The hour had come, announced by the first "hordes" (the self-chosen name of the new youth), the new world of

comradeship, of united work together, of a free, strong, independent humanity. A new social order became evident, not by means of philosophic discussions—no, it really existed in the living fellowship of youth. Ignorant of socialist theories, lacking in all social or political ambition, they yet created something like a new human community. First of all, they severed the bonds binding them to the conventions of family, church and school, by creating their own youthful world, inspired by their common meetings and wanderings. But this severance, and this was the new move, did not mean the emancipation of the individual; but, the new life of the commonwealth. There sprang up a new form of existence in mutual service. Whether they sang, played, danced, did gymnastics or wandered, they did everything in common.

Above all they wandered. On Sundays in the country nearer home, in the holidays further away, and even beyond the frontiers of the home country. They desired to gain the world with their own eyes.

They wandered from the town into the country, and developed an ever-increasing instinct for the natural, beautiful and creative in the world. They became re-united with nature and experienced a new feeling towards the body, which found original expression in dances and games.

I have been quoting passages from a young member and leader of the youth movement, a man who by the way has been teaching in one of the University Extension Courses for Workmen, and has travelled with them in foreign countries, creating in this way a contact, sympathy, understanding of foreign people in those who have been materially deprived of such opportunities and will certainly look at things with other eyes than the rich tourist would do and will bring back different but certainly valuable experiences. This is also an instance of a self-help experiment amongst the poorer classes during a later stage of the movement. The youth movement started amongst the more or less well-to-do. It is, I believe, a law for every self-help,

that there must exist some resources to draw upon, there must be left a sufficiency of food, of self-respect, of an enterprising spirit. We know from the poet who grieved about the result of a famine in Damascus—

"Such a year of famine overtook the city of Damascus that friends forgot to bear love for friends."

There cannot be united action as long as the misery is so great that every one is grabbing for himself. In the case of the young Germans, they were spiritually starved, but their material position gave them the dangerous opportunity to think for themselves and so they did.

We do not speak here about the development of the youth movement; for us it is only important to know that it developed out of a spiritual need and gradually was forced to face actual facts and material conditions by the oppositions it found from society and the State which were built according to different axiomatic beliefs. The youth movement was the first expression of a new attitude; it was inspired by a spirit of self-reliance, of search for self-expression. The younger people were utterly tired of the bonds of tutelage in which the youth had been held by the older generation. This new attitude meant co-operation in all domains of life instead of competition between individuals.

Were there any tangible results of this new movement? I think there are so many that I am unable to explain them all. There were in the realms of education groups of young teachers who started new schools where this spirit of self-reliance, this search for self-expression, was encouraged and not crushed as it had been in the old type of schools. They started country schools where the community feeling could freely develop, where the children would not only learn the grammar of our classical literature but would play on the stage not only classical but very often also modern, even revolutionary dramas. Long forgotten poets like Hoelderlin and among the philosophers Nietzsche were read. Art, terribly neglected and misunderstood, was rediscovered, especially in the handicrafts which had been left

to the big industrial mass production. Workshops in the schools were opened and also special schools for architecture, photography, etc. Youth societies against bad films and impure literature were started. With the folk-dances also a new conception of the higher form of dance developed, in opposition to the conventional ballet dance of the stage and to the modern dances of ball-room.

Many of the new experimental schools were recognized by the Government after the Revolution and the state schools themselves took over many ideas from this self-reliant, courageous young generation.

All these elements have entered the modern German school, and have changed it sometimes less sometimes more. Whatever the school of the future may be, this inheritance of the youth movement will remain with the love for the country; the wandering of the school classes for days and for weeks with all its educational advantages; the opportunities for self-discipline, for helpfulness to others, for comradeship, for keen observation and healthy enjoyment. And for contact with children of other social classes of other educational background; opportunities for this kind of fellowship is offered in the youth hostels, Jugendherbergen, scattered all over the country.

Though after the War the right of self-expression was recognized at last, the material needs had become enormous and there were no well-to-do young people left who could afford to start new ventures, or to wander and pay for lodging and food and the necessary equipments of wandering which are greater in cold climates than they are here. After the War the courage of youth was tested in a different way: they were faced by starvation, by a life without enjoyments and leisure, without the possibility even to learn. But youth was not discouraged. Different economic self-aid organisations were started. There was first of all a central union of all the local youth movement groups. This central organisation opened youth hostels, or rest-houses for young wandering groups, all over Germany. In small villages

and old towns, castles on the hills or other historical buildings have been rented by the local boards to help and to welcome the wandering youth. They are furnished in a simple style with the products of the craftsmen of that partioular province. All those are admitted who can show a certain certificate of the central organisation, who behave in the right spirit of the youth movement, do not smoke or drink alcohol and are contented with the bed of straw and the simple food offered. The young workers from one town meet with High School boys from another on the same footing and in the right spirit of understanding. Every hostel is in charge of a housefather, who looks after the cleanliness and order.

No other country has gone so far as Germany in making provisions for lodging the young traveller with limited means and for school groups. In 1923 at an unfavourable time there were already 1,700 hostels where over one million guests were received annually; two-thirds of them were school children. In 1926, 2,300 hostels were on the list with two million guests. Thirty per cent. of these were elementary school pupils, thirty-two per cent. university and secondary school students and thirty-eight per cent. young working people. It is usual for a young traveller to pay about four annas for the night and eight annas for food.

Though the schools are almost all members of this Hostel or Resthouse organisation which enables the pupils to see different parts of the country, many city schools have special country houses, where one class after the other can stay for a couple of weeks during summer. These excursions do not generally take place during the vacations but just during the school terms. Visiting a school, it may happen, that several classes are found missing; they have gone out in the country, learning under the trees in the open after old Indian fashion, or roaming about. You see them the year round in the trains and on the highroads, at the seaside and in the forests of Germany: young, bright, happy children, bearing the knapsack, rough coat, knee breeches,

worn shoes and no hats usually. They sing to the accompaniment of guitars the old German folk-songs.

Some youth-movement groups independent of schools have united and opened summer-houses for their members on an island in the North Sea. There one sees them scantily dressed on the seashore or looking after the household themselves, helped by some older friends. They do weaving, painting, all sorts of different handicrafts, trying to sell the products afterwards. In the same way other groups of older members of the youth movement have formed communities of artisans and craftsmen working on commercial lines. But I am afraid they have failed, owing to the terrible economic conditions.

In this way the youth movement contributed in a high degree to the physical welfare of the young, to their healthy and free education during a time of unforeseen distress. But the whole people was suffering under the post-War conditions and the youth movement, though now-a-days about 40 per cent. of all young people up to twenty years of age belong to it, only gave relief to a certain number and a certain section of young people.

The German student especially was faced with great difficulties. The young men who had entered the ranks of the army in 1914 wanted to take up their studies again after the war. The old time when the individual could leisurely get an all-round knowledge by attending so many different courses without hurry about the examination in his special subjects this time had passed. The students had to think first of all where to get the means for studying, how to get food and clothing.

It is perhaps difficult for you to realize how great the change in German student life has been. Before the war the University was meant to be a place for disinterested research, for intellectual development of the individual, and last not least for a happy free enjoyment of life. There were private students' associations which were supported by their old members who had become high Government officials, professional men and scholars.

These associations served the same purpose as the schools did at that time: to form the young men according to the wishes of the older generation. They were made attractive and expensive and highly respected socially. Socialism and communal self-aid were treated like abstract matters by the teachers in their lectures. It happened in a lecture on social movements once that the famous professor, Adolf Wagner of Berlin, expressed his opinion that at some future date, the University students would co-operate in forming table associations to offer the means of studying to the less well-to-do. Instead of the usual applause he was accustomed to hear, he was greeted with mocking laughter and hisses. Thereupon the venerable old scholar addressed his hearers: "You do not desire this, gentlemen? Well, perhaps the time will come quicker than even I dare to hope for." Twelve years later more than 40,000 German students were fed in extremely primitive students' kitchen, created by themselves. It was hunger that first drove them to this necessary method of self-aid.

In 1919 the young students who just returned from their aeroplanes, sub-marines, and trenches formed the first "Students' co-operative economic association" in Dresden. This enterprise was imitated in other Universities and at last supported by private bodies and by the Government. Besides students' kitchen, there are sale rooms, warming rooms in the winter, subscription libraries, Students' Homes and infirmaries being opened. There are workshops for bookbinding, locksmith's work and gardening as well as schools for typing where the student is paid for his work. And there are offices for procuring work: the students either work while they are studying, doing odd-jobs as paper-vendors, drivers, or giving coaching lessons or whatever may turn up. Or they work during the three months' vacations in mines, factories, mechanical workshops, in the country, etc., saving money which enables them to live for about 6 months out of 9 months' study in a year. From the statistics it is obvious that very few students receive pecuniary help from their parents.

Though it was hard enough, yet the new life of a work-student had its advantages; it gave the young intellectual an opportunity for manual work, he did not despise it any more after he had his own experience; and it brought him in contact with the labouring class from which a deep gulf had separated him.

To help the specially gifted student before his examination, to lighten his burden of work for his sheer livelihood, a system of scholarships has been created. Fees for study are reduced or entirely remitted.

But the times of the work-student have almost passed, not because the economic conditions have improved, on the contrary; this extra work which the student had willingly and gladly taken upon himself to make it possible to learn, that work, even, has become impossible. There are very few odd jobs, there are no vacancies in factories, etc., any more. An army of unemployed workmen waits to fill the first vacancy which will occur.

It is the same with all professions, there are no exceptions. Even if the students manage to study they have not the least hope to find a job after the examination. While conditions grew worse and worse during the last years, the youth has been won over by the political parties and especially by the extreme parties. They were in such a position that they could lose nothing except their life. Really, considering the desperate condition of the young people who have no joint families to fall back on, whose parents get nothing but the state dôle for the unemployed or are supported by the municipal welfare organization, one must say, it is strange that not more desperate things happened than did happen. One reason for this was, that many students, young unemployed clerks, etc., joined the political organisations where they were at least disciplined and served in common one or the other ideal. They often were fed and even paid. Also innumerable Sports Clubs were started by the parties. These were indirect methods only of employing the unused forces of the young, and rather dangerous ones.

The two main methods to fight unemployment outside the Government system are the organisations of voluntary work service and of settlements. The settlements are meant for older unemployed, for householders, but they work together with the voluntary work service sometimes. Settlements have several advantages. The larger part of the unemployment dôle goes to the payment of the house-rent. Often people run highly in debt with their landlord; any little misfortune, an illness, the necessity of buying a coat for the winter, etc., bring about this calamity. Either to avoid this or forced to leave their apartment, the unemployed can build his own little house, on a piece of land rented to him under very favourable conditions; it becomes eventually his own. He can achieve this by co-operation with other unemployed, and as it happened in an instance in Silesia they were assisted by a special youth movement group which had started a voluntary work organisation. Of course the financial support of Government or of some private friends of this venture must be obtained. The necessary capital is given in the form of a loan and paid back by way of interest every year. After the houses have been finished, the land is expected to supply a good deal of the necessary food. Besides, systems of goods exchange have been worked out. For example: the unemployed cobbler makes shoes in exchange for a coat from the tailor. It really is a return to the village community, where each member was supported by the whole community.

The helpers of the voluntary work organisation belonged in the instance of the settlement in Silesia to a youth-movement group. They often are recruited from among students and trade unions, especially a Christian trade union, who are ready to co-operate. They try first to find some local needs for which there is no hope for adjustment now. They must in this way make sure that they will not do work which otherwise would benefit the organised industries and their employees. They work for a limited time, perhaps ten weeks, for instance, at the drying up of moors. They live in tents or some provisional

sheds. After the working hours lectures and classes are held, debates take place, games are played and entertainments invented.

Of all the instances of self-help I mentioned it can be said that they met some vital need and have often been organised on a larger scale by the State afterwards or have ultimately got support from the State. I did not specially mention organisations of girls; but the girls were of course equal partners in the youth movement as they are also fully recognised students of the Universities, where they have to fight their way through in the same manner as the boys do. Social service organisation welfare work of all kind is done by women workers, but they are not typical as self-help enterprises.

Modern self-help consists in voluntary common action, in the subordination of the individual under the common interests and the common will. If this spirit obtains something certainly is already gained. Though it is not yet enough. Our community feeling is often far too narrow and we are still like doctors who treat the symptoms of an illness but are not able to understand its primary cause.

One thing however cannot be denied: there was movement and initiative in post-War Germany. People had the courage to face facts, had freedom to experiment and had imagination enough to invent again and again new possibilities to get their own way, though circumstances often were terribly adverse.

GERTA HERTZ

WUNDT AND MODERN TENDENCIES IN PSYCHOLOGY[1]

So great was the personality of Prof. Wilhelm Wundt and so varied were the developments of his Philosophy and Psychology influenced by the past and contemporary history of the thoughts of Germany and outside, that it is well-nigh impossible to do justice to his intellectual gifts to the world of thought within the limits of a short discourse I have been called upon to deliver on this occasion. I think it wise therefore on my part to circumscribe my theme and confine myself to pointing out that the scientific and experimental study of the mental life, practically inaugurated by Prof. Wundt and the recent tendencies that have developed out of such a study, have tended directly or indirectly to corroborate the view, which he also held at his heart of hearts, that the *unity* and *purposive activity* of the psychical life is too solid a fact to be disintegrated into physical phenomena.

Prof. Wundt was both a scientist and a philosopher, or rather he was more of a philosopher than of a scientist. Yet his philosophic idealism was tempered by his scientific predilections which he imbibed and infused into his writings as a result of his early medical training. This explains his life-long oscillation between his tendency to spiritualistic unification of the mental life and his experimental analysis of its contents into the shreds of physiological equivalents. Hence in him we note conscientious attempt to keep intact amidst dissipating environment of objective study, the psychical unity and efficiency, rendered more prominent by his voluntaristic attitude, however incomplete and inchoate in its formulation.

The vigour and impetus he gave to objective study of the contents and processes of mental life and the objective data so

[1] This lecture was delivered on the occasion of the Centenary Celebration of the late Prof. Wilhelm Wundt at the Psychological Laboratory, Science College, Calcutta.

far obtained as the result of pursuing such a method have, to a very large extent, helped psychology to declare itself independent and to break allegiance with the parent discipline of philosophy in much the same way as the sister sciences of the natural world. Nevertheless in his own psychological writings,—not to speak of his *System of Philosophy* and of his *Ethics*,—in his account of the soul as *Activity*, his conception of "*creative synthesis*; his theory of *Apperception* there is the manifest operation of that centripetal force which has kept in their orbit and unified the psychical elements and their compounds into a system. If we read Wundt aright, we think we shall not be slow to perceive that some sort of irresolution on his part deterred him from giving articulation to the real significance of his own theory of Apperception, which consists in the fact that our sensations and ideas are what they are, because of *selective attention* which necessarily enters into them, that 'the entire course of previous conscious developments determines the way in which we spontaneously fashion and take up sense-impressions and ideas.[1] And as a consequence he did not care to draw a clear line of distinction between what we now understand by 'teleological' and 'mechanistic' series of events. He thus developed his theory of *Psycho-physical Parallelism* which to him, as is well known, was a necessary subjective way of regarding the difference between the physiological and psychical series of events, though objectively regarded both the series yielded similar results, the physiological series having reference only to its past history and the psychical series to the future.''[2] But this tendency in Wundt to dementalise the psychical was also checked by his definitely idealistic conviction that *value* which attaches to the psychical phenomena has no such correlate in the physiological.

The psychical and teleological character has therefore never been lost sight of by Wundt in his account of mental life though

[1] Höffding's *Modern Philosophers*, pp. 17-18.

[2] McDougall's *Modern Materialism and Emergent Evolution*, Note 6, p. 184.

his interest was predominantly experimental and objective. The student of the history of psychology must be interested in Wundt at this centenary of his birthday, especially to find, to his agreeable surprise, that even the most outstanding of the recent developments of German psychology, *viz.*, Psycho-analysis and *Gestalt* Psychology, have been tending to the confirmation of what Wundt had thought to be the real crux of mental life more than half a century ago. Even the Behaviouristic School of America, headed by Dr. Watson, which may be said to typify the extreme experimentalism in Psychology and to reduce human nature and conduct to mechanistic formula, accepting nothing which is not given in the test-tube, has met with the fit exposure at the hands of McDougall, the 'Arch-Behaviourist' as he calls himself, who has adequately shown in his own 'Sane Behaviourism'[1] that the proper study of the problem lies not in neglecting but rather "in making full use of all introspectively observable facts or data along with objectively observable facts of behaviour, both the classes of phenomena being useful and indispensable for the one Science of human nature properly called 'Psychology.'"[2] The mechanical psychology of behaviourism makes the fundamental mistake of ignoring that man is essentially a purposive striving creature. He 'looks before and after and longs for what is not.' He perceives and longs, he desires and deliberates, he chooses and realises his choice, he imagines and expects. And behaviourism which does not see eye to eye with us in reading aright all these distinctly teleological psychical phenomena of the human mind, but makes psychology but a part of physiology, has been aptly designated by Prof. Münsterberg as 'an elaborate academic fiction.'

When we come to the Psycho-analytic school we notice that its different exponents strike the common note that mental life is

[1] *Cf. The Battle of Behaviourism*, pp. 52-53.
[2] *Ibid*, pp. 58-59.

hormic, purposive or teleological. Of these Freud, although he has made much of 'mental mechanism' and professed 'strict determinism' has nevertheless recognised that all mental activity, conscious or unconscious, is characterised by *horme* or an urge towards goals. Adler is also thoroughly purposive. But admission of purposive or teleological character of psychical life is most frank in Dr. Jung, who has urged that psychology cannot afford to be scientific in the same sense as the natural sciences, aiming, as it does, at understanding rather than at explanation.[1] This is indeed asserting that psychology must be purposive in its interpretations of mental phenomena and cannot rest contented with mere mechanical explanations.

Gestalt Psychology is no less purposive than Psycho-analysis. Its fundamental aim being to reform the Associationist and Experimental Psychology by superseding the inadequate mechanical principles which were thought to govern animal and human life, it has a special interest for us in so far as we find that it was practically heralded by Wundt himself in his *Introduction to Psychology*, as his first psychological law, "the creative resultant," which lays down that the primary concern in our mental life is not the elements from which, through a creative activity of the mind, the *Gestalt*, which is more than a sum, is thought to arise; the *Gestalt* is rather the primary unit, while its parts are products of abstraction. It follows then that the sensations, which experimental psychology regards as elements are but artificial abstractions. The fundamental fact is the perception which is concerned with 'forms' or 'configurations' and where no form or configuration develops itself, there is no cognition but only a chaos of impressions. And so for all psychical processes.

Some of the *Gestalt* psychologists such as Köhler go so far as to admit that the principle of configuration holds good even of

[1] *Cf.* W. Dilthey's dictum: 'We explain the life of nature, we understand the life of mind'

the physical world. Thus they tend to suggest that it is the principle of configuration which governs both the mental and the physical worlds, there is the community of functions between them so that the Cartesian dualism seems to receive its ultimate doom at the hands of the *Gestalt* psychologist. Further they recognise that in each configuration of the human and animal mind there is a tendency to attain a goal which they call 'closure.' Each configuration is a unity or a system and when equilibrium of such a unity is disturbed there is always a tendency to regain that unity. This tendency to restoration of the equilibrium is known as closure. The same implication in favour of teleological explanation of mental life is also hidden in their concept of 'insight' in all learning processes. And however vague and non-committal might be the expression of the *Gestaltists* with regard to the purposive character of the psychical life they would come to realise, on closer enquiry into psychical phenomena, as some members of their school are gradually doing, that we must not confound the physical mechanistic causation with psychical which has a distinctively purposive or teleological character.[1] Thus what Wundt visualised in his own timid and inarticulate way, has come out, to his triumph, to be the confirmed conviction of so many psychologists of the present day like McDougall, Stout and others who have made an extensive use of experiments only to be doubly assured of the necessity of the psychical or teleological activity of mind as revealed in introspection.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

1 *Cf.* McDougall's *Modern Materialism and Emergent Evolution*, Note 6, pp. 213-16.

PERSONALITY

One of the acute problems in the prevailing democratic order of things with its levelling down tendencies is the question of personality. A leading journalist of one of the foremost nations of the world while recording his appreciation of a moving figure of modern times characterised him as 'the most original personality of our generation.' Perhaps a happier expression could hardly be found ; yet when we reflect and set about scanning the hidden depth of meaning underlying such an expression it is difficult not to feel outwitted.

'The word personality,' says poet Rabindranath, 'has an amplitude of meaning.' Thanks to the fashions of modern literature with its lawless individualism the little shred of certainty and definiteness of meaning which belonged to the concept in the classical age has been shattered to pieces.

"The Times Literary Supplement" in a recent issue[1] notices four different publications, each concerned in its own way with personality and each an original contribution to the subject and yet having hardly a point of contact. The central idea in one of these books which approaches the problem from the physical side is that the individual is determined by heredity. Personality is really a synonym for the constitution of the germ-cell. In another book, entitled 'Voice and Personality' we are led to the idea that the speaking voice is so much expressive that one can hardly think of any class of behaviour more likely to betray the underlying personality, meaning by personality a lot of things such as, age, sex, education, occupation, character and so on. But in 'Dream and Personality' the controlling conception seems to be that personality is an affair of inwardness, consisting in a group of hidden and repressed impulses and tastes,

[1] Dec. 10, 1931.

of whose existence even the individual himself is not definitely aware. During moments when the individual has no reason for acting a part, when he stands defenceless and unmasked, when, in fact, he is caught napping he may be found to unfold his real nature. With this end in view the study of dreams, their description and analysis, is taken up with great care and caution. But in 'Personality and Will,' the last of the four books in the list we are furnished with a definition that is marked by the dry stiffness of academic form. It tells us categorically that "personality means the conscious self which we intuitively live and reflexly know in its operations of feeling, thinking and willing... ...It is that final perfection which includes in itself all the principles of human activity and constitute a unitary, self-conscious, and (to a certain extent at least) a self-determining individual."

There is so much divergence of views on the surface. We see no harm when people in their eagerness to understand a problem advocate different lines of approach, but when forgetful of the central idea of the theme, each carries its own meaning into it the result is sheer confusion.

It is possible, some think, to dispel the cloud of mystery concerning personality by cultivating the temper of historicism. Most of our troubles with the concept arise from the traditional orthodox view that there is an inexplicable element of transcendental import in the being of personality. The principle of self-determination which transfigures the life of an ordinary mortal and makes a person of him is not an event among others serially connected in time. On the contrary, its being is realised in a far-off ultra-mundane sphere, out of connection with time. A person is the absolute creation of self-energising spirit. To understand him as we understand other events of the cosmic order is not possible, for he does not emerge in history as a natural event along with others.

But the temper of historicism which is steadily growing is not carried by any fascination for such subtle mysterious dignity

with which the character of personality is invested. We can watch the rise and growth of personality before our eyes, and if we look closely enough we shall find that there is no specific intrinsic quality attaching to personality that lifts him above history and throws a veil of mystery around him.

The point of view to which we are thus introduced brings personality in line with man and treats the natural man as a person in embryo. Just as we deal with man in natural history as one among the animals, in the same manner it is possible to describe the chain of changes that confer on him the marks of distinction characteristic of personality. The ancients were familiar with such thoughts. For to them personality was no more than a term of distinction applied to any man who showed ability enough to say wise things and do valiant deeds. Both wisdom and valour have their seeds in the constitution of the natural man. One has merely to listen to the counsels of experience and the grace of wisdom grows upon him. Nor is there anything inexplicable in the power to profit by experience. For it is the circumpressure of experience itself that acts as a corrective to the heedlessness of primitive life and thereby facilitates the growth of a capacity usually recognised as the power to profit by experience. If wisdom grows in this natural way through the accumulated pressure of experience it seems there is even lesser difficulty as regards valour so long as we mean by it nothing but the manner in which the wise man conducts himself.

Difficulties are undoubtedly felt in the above modes of explanation. It is highly improbable that the way in which wisdom and valour are defined will prove acceptable to all. But the spirit of historicism is not silenced so easily. We may refuse to go all the way with it especially when it leads into the cult of naturalism. But that surely should not blind us to its usefulness in other directions. The pure speculative treatment of the concept of personality, in which metaphysicians love to dwell, is apt to develop into an air of abstractionism. We

lose our touch with the living samples of character and are drawn into a sort of wordy warfare. Historicism on the other hand requires us to abandon such unprofitable discussions with words and come into closer contact with men that have, in one way or other, left their stamp on the ever-revolving wheel of time. To take snapshots of these figures as they move in history is the most effective way of getting to know what personality means. This is the message of the historic temper when read in its bare positivistic sense without any philosophic implication.

On the surface such a task seems easy to accomplish. From the four corners of the globe we go on collecting samples of character whose lustre and brilliance defy the ravages of time. Yet after we have set up such a museum and peopled it with luminaries we are puzzled by the wild diversity of forms that have been gathered there. That which accounts for virtue in one group becomes a mark of vice in another. Whilst some are honoured because of their sternness, others are worshipped because they are soft and sweet. The truth is by the sheer pursuit of the historical method we may easily overcrowd our horizon of vision with pictures but true insight and understanding of what constitutes personality we may not have.

Historicism may be useful, but still more necessary is apriorism. In fact the conflict between the two is grounded in men's original nature. Man's life, as we all feel, is a complex function. In his consciousness there are so many eddies and whirlpools, so many currents and cross-currents that it is dificult for him to fix up any point wherewith he should identify himself.

There are different modes and degrees of these conflicts. In the first place there is the hostility among the various impulses and desires that contend for mastery in the open surface of consciousness. The desire for acquisitiveness may spring up with equal force along with the desire for charity. And even when he succeeds in ruling out some of these impulses it does

not follow that he is in full accord with himself. The impulses that flit across his mind do not float there like images in a mirror. On the contrary, every little thought or desire that stirs for a time enters into the structure of his being and as a sort of underground disposition continues to wield its influence even when its hour of active animation is gone. Any victory that is won for a time is thus merely on the surface. He is immediately faced with a new order of opposition coming from within the inner subsoil of his nature. This explains why it is so very difficult to catch hold of the real man. Nobody knows whether the waking man is more real than the dreaming man ; or the waking man of one moment is greater stability than the waking man of another moment. Are we to treat the man driven by animal instincts to live in the immediate present, pressed by solicitations of sense, as more true to himself than the man who puts off the present allurements in the hope of a more stable form of enjoyment lying in the future? To these we may add other modes of conflicts. There are moments when we feel as if we were no more than a little speck, steeped with our whole framework of being in the wide extended universe, pushed by forces of fate, and again there is the opposing consciousness slowly emerging that we are not wholly of this world. Each of us in his capacity as a willing and knowing being realises that he has a higher destiny than being hopelessly merged in the world. He not only lives in the world, but has the power of knowing what the world is ; he has the freedom to look for a better world, and with that faith burning in him he goes forward ceaselessly working for its realisation. He is assured by the scripture of the power of faith in the language, 'if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove, and it shall remove.' Yet in actual affairs of life he is obliged to count more upon the force of the physique than the power of faith. The struggle between freedom and necessity, hope and fear, faith and despair is thus an inevitable phase in the life of an ordinary mortal.

Personality involves the will of the spirit to lifting life to an elevation beyond the tumult of these conflicting interests and desires. There is in the life of personality no trace of discords and divisions. It is difficult to understand how such a state of peaceful harmony is achieved. What seems certain is that there is no easy, natural transition from our ordinary life of strifes and discords to such a state of uninterrupted peace. It would require an effort almost of superhuman dimensions to bring about such a transformation.

But what after all should we be doing to rise to the superhuman height? Are we to turn our backs upon the stirrings of individual fancies and fashions? Is life to be made whole by emptying it of all its varied contents? Or should we get to a fuller, richer life by living through all the vicissitudes of experiences and fortunes as they pass in procession through the successive moments? To gag them at the outset without allowing them opportunities to unfold their full story is to be disloyal to oneself. On the other hand to drift listlessly along the current is to scatter away one's assets recklessly. What is needed is an ever-ready disposition to lay out the capital in the successive concerns of different situations, together with an unflagging zeal so to focalise the currents that their united strength yields a greater return than the amount laid out first. Personality, thus viewed, is a life lived to the full. It is one life, one will, continuously budding forth along the ever-shifting scenes of history.

The two notions of unity and continuity which characterise personality are unreasonably vague. Even a physical thing, not to speak of our living organism, exhibits a certain measure of unity, and in the ceaseless rolling of time there is illustrated the principle of continuity. There is no need to dispute the fact of unity and continuity as here illustrated. But stated in this matter-of-fact manner it is hard to distinguish such unity and continuity from multiplicity and discontinuity. In fact, the unity which we ascribe to our organism is found on reflection to be no more

than a heap of multiplicities. There are elements lying external to one another, each having a peculiar degree of unity. And so long as these elements are characterised by extension it would be possible to resolve them into similar unities. Our search for unity would perhaps drive us into the region of the smallest invisible particles called atoms. But it is doubtful if the constitution of an atom should indicate the last resting place of unity.

The truth as the concept of unity acquires significance through the idea of an underlying purpose. It is a spiritual function. Matter-of-fact existence is of itself neither a case of unity nor plurality. It is in the light of an inward meaning that we should judge as to how far there is unity. So in the mere fact of a living organism there is no case for unity or plurality. It becomes a unity—a true case of personality—when it is apprehended as the working out of a single definite purpose. Whoever fails to see this and accepts personality as a mere synonym for the mere living organism is in hopeless confusion.

Similar conclusions are forced upon us when we examine the concept of continuity. In the world of events there is a continuous connection between one another so that at no stage should we find an event abruptly beginning without previous antecedents, nor any event ending absolutely in a vacuity. Yet stated in this form the law of continuity is neither true nor false, but absolutely without meaning. The mere fact of temporal contiguity may as well be a case of discontinuity. The fact that an event crops up just at the point where *a* leaves off would not be a case of continuity unless it be shown that the event *b* is nothing but an inner flowing of the event *a*, both being presented as members or stages of one and the same process. Real identity of purpose at bottom is therefore the foundation of continuity.

Empirical pyschology emphasises the fact that our psychic life is an unbroken flow in time. In truth however a mere

voidless succession of experiences would not constitute continuity. Experiences may crowd upon one another and they may as well, through their fringes link themselves up with one another. Nevertheless the transition from the one to the other may be accompanied by a feeling of strange shock and surprise. This is due to the fact that a mere formal connection of experiences is no guarantee that they are also connected in spirit. Even admitting the fact that an earlier experience overflows into the later the two may yet be discontinuous in their real significance. In the earlier moment it may be an experience of joy in scholarship, in the next moment it may be an experience of spite at another's fortune. Continuity is realised in our psychic life when the onward flow of experiences are so transfused as to illustrate their fundamental identity in spirit.

Life becomes a unified continuous whole through the realisation of a purpose. Herein lies the fulness of its meaning and value, and it is in setting itself to such a value that its inner spirit is reflected. Those to whom the vision of the inward spiritual significance of life does not come and who live their days driven by the rolling passage of time are not elevated to the rank of persons. We lay claim to personality in so far as we live in spirit, for it is in spirit that we realise the wholeness of our being as progressing continually to fulness and perfection through the interminable course of history.

We are awakened to inner spiritual insight not by nature but through the discipline of the will. It is a favourite idea with some that insight is born out of submission and surrender to the course life follows of itself. What life means is best known to him who has lived life to the full. To him alone is opened the mysteries of life who patiently puts his shoulder under the wheels of experience. Let us therefore wait and watch, live and learn.

It is easy to agree to what is said above. But it is rightful to point out the misconceptions lurking therein. We do not clamour for that insight in which life is depicted as a moving

stream of fancies strung together in time. Our real concern is to realise the unique wholeness of life which is not given to us as an incident of history, but grows to completeness and perfection through the active endeavour of the will. Knowledge of the errors and pitfalls which inflict wounds on life and leave it a broken mass of ruins is not of itself a merit. It is not by knowing but by eager longing and active willing that life is made into a whole.

But the reality of the will which brings about such a happy transformation is not a factual entity objectively given to us. We do not acquire it as a gift from outside nor does it stand outside of us as a finished entity in the shape of a magnetic personality from whom it is transmitted to us if only we offer our homage to him. Will is an absolute creation of itself. We become participants in the reality of the will through active functioning of our will. By an absolute unconditional will effort we break through the inexorable chain of a deterministic sequence of events both in the inner world of pyschic life and the outer world of physical existence. And in thus realising our freedom we have a glimmering sense of values to which life may be raised.

Freedom is the condition of all values. For value is not anything that merely happens to us. In the so-called temper of contentment with the given there is no contentment worth the name. To go on accepting the given as an inevitable phase in the necessary sequence of events is not an indication that we have any freedom with respect to it. Rather it is the negation of our spiritual strength. We are forced down on the plane of material existence and in inert passivity surrendered to the chained marshalling of events. And so long as we do not find the way to rescue ourselves from this deplorable depth of passivity the question of contentment does not arise.

Genuine contentment proceeds from a sense of appreciation that the given is not a necessary element in our life, and our

attitude towards it need not be one of passive surrender. There is strength enough in us to say the 'nay' to the given. It is not what happens to us, but it is as we will to make of it. It is our freedom that enables us to put upon it any value we choose. 'Beggars must not be choosers' is true for the simple reason that beggars are mere beggars pushed by fate along the current of affairs. They are incapable of sharing in the functions of new creations, and as such lost to all sense of value. It is not from any sense of value that they accept what they accept; rather they are forced into it.

It is as free creative agents that we enter into the kingdom of values and value deepens in proportion as we make ourselves free. With freedom comes right to rise above the toilsome pursuits of procuring the daily necessaries of life. Not that we develop any disinclination for work. Far from it. Freedom does not destroy the incentive for work. It makes all work enjoyable. To work under the tension of practical urgency involves hardship, because our eyes are fixed on utility. But when with the growth of freedom this tension is released we acquire genuine love for work itself. We are no longer held up by the usual distinctions of the useful and the useless. But the force of love transmutes everything into a source of beauty and joy for ever. To the free loving soul 'the meanest flower that blows can give rise to thoughts that often lie too deep for tears.'

Freedom is the foundation of personality. But to go on enumerating the conditions of freedom is to misunderstand its intrinsic nature. There is no freedom worth the name when its functions are controlled by other foreign considerations. To work in the interest of some objective end, no matter whether it be social service or divine service, service of truth or service of beauty, is to enslave the will to a subservient position. Its inner integrity is gone. It is no longer pure free will seeking its own realisation.

On the other hand the will, unless set to some definite purpose, is to let it develop into wild excesses of individual whims. In a state of complete indeterminism when everything is left over to the absolute rule of chance freedom cannot thrive. Freedom demands that the individual self-will be consumed first. But whoever sets about purifying his self-will by forcing upon it the authority of a foreign standard invariably ends by casting himself in heavier bondage.

Freedom cannot be won by the pursuit of any value considered as lying external to the will. Our will is rendered pure and free when it cultivates from within that type of value which is intrinsic to the will. The will that loves and values its own inward purity alone escapes the limitations and arbitrariness of self-will. Such a will is what may be called the good-will and the good-will is the one good thing that can be called absolutely good. The good-will desires the good of everything. It is that which by its self-purification purifies the whole world. Love of purity thus transfigures our being whole and entire into a finished work of beauty and perfection.

Personality consists in the art of recreating ourselves, each of us, into a happy, beautiful soul. True beauty lies in integrity, *i.e.*, in being a perfect integer, a unique whole at once full and complete without any trace of conflicts and divisions. Our freedom is in being truly what we are. Such freedom implies no violent effort to rescue oneself from the apparent ills of life, nor any disposition to repress whatever turns hostile for the moment. It is rather the offshoot of love—that abounding love for life which longs to be in full harmony with itself. Where love reigns supreme sympathy is born, and with heart full of tender sympathies one is drawn nearest to the inner life of reality. Without such force of love there is no personality, and freedom is best exercised when there is an unceasing endeavour made so to fashion oneself that the cords of love and sympathy which bind him to the rest of the universe are not snapped.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

BRAHMASUTRA AND THE THEORY OF ILLUSION

In the introduction to his great commentary on the Vedánta Sutras of Bádaráyana, Sankara starts with a clear exposition of his theory of *Adhyása* or illusion, which is apparently the cornerstone of the whole structure of his philosophy, and promises to demonstrate by a systematic interpretation of the *sutras* that this doctrine is the central idea of the entire system of Vedanta as well. I wish to examine with all humility, by a general study of the sutras, whether this greatest intellectual and organising genius of post-Buddhistic Hinduism was justified in passing this theory as the true philosophical view of the illustrious founder of the Vedanta system of philosophy. In this attempt I propose, however, to accept in the main the constructions put upon the *sutras* by the Acharya himself.

The fundamental postulate with which Sankara begins his introduction is that the self and the not-self—the subject and the object—are obviously distinct from and opposed to each other in their essential characteristics, and neither can be in real connection with, or partake of the nature and the attributes of, the other. The only relation that can possibly exist between them is that of *adhyása, i. e* , the false attribution of one or one's characteristics to the other. He mentions the different interpretations and explanations offered by different schools of philosophers to the universally experienced fact of *adhyása* or illusion ; but without entering into any controversy with them, he simply states that whatever may be the logical, psychological or metaphysical implications of the fact, the general character of the fact itself is undeniable, *viz.*, that something is mistaken for what it is not, that the nature and attributes of something else, real or imaginary,

are ascribed automatically, as if from memory, to something which is really present and whose real character is concealed. The illusory appearance, being an object of perception and being therefore neither absolutely real nor absolutely unreal, is described as indefinable (*anirvachaniya*).

Now, this *adhyása* being the only possible relation between the self and the not-self,—it being inconceivable that two absolutely distinct and independent real entities like the self and the not-self should come in real contact with and produce real impressions upon each other,—there being no point of community between two such supposed self-evident realities,—the objective world experienced by the self must be supposed to be the product of *adhyása, i. e.*, the appearance of the self as what it is not, the attribution to the self of the character of the not-self. If any not-self or object unrelated to the self had really existed, it could not have possibly presented itself in its true nature to the self and become an actual objective world for it.

The objective world must consequently be conceived as a phenomenal, relative or apparent reality, which is described by Sankara as a combination of the real and unreal, the true and the false,—the *real* in respect of the *adhisthána* or the substratum, the self, to which the attribution of the existence and the character of the not-self is made, and the essential nature of which is concealed under it, and the *unreal* in respect of the attributed things and their properties, which falsely appear as real and pretend to present the true character of the reality. Thus by an analysis of the nature of experience and the relation between the self and the not-self, and by generalisation from the fact of *adhyása* or illusion, Sankara concludes that the world of the plurality of subjects and objects, egos and non-egos, in intercourse with one another,—the world of the finite spirits and minds and material objects and their relations and activities,—the world of substances and attributes, causes and effects, co-existences

and successions,—is the product of a natural, causeless, beginningless *adhyása*, in which one timeless, spaceless, differenceless, actionless self, called Brahman or A'tman, is the *adhisthána* or substratum, the absolute Reality, and all those diversities, constituting the universe, are the appearances. All knowledge, emotion and activity,—all consciousness of me and mine, thee and thine, the actual and the ideal, ought and ought-not, happiness and misery,—are within this world of *adhyása*.

It must be carefully remembered that Sankara's theory of *adhyása* does in no way imply that in relation to the knowledge or experience of individuals the world does not exist, that it is the product of fancy or illusion of the particular minds, that our knowledge of the scientific truths is on the same plane with our experience of a castle in the air or a ghost in the twilight or a mirage in the desert. The individualities, the particular minds, their experiences, fancies and illusions, are themselves within this world and the products of the general *adhyása* to which the world owes its existence. The general *adhyása* must be carefully distinguished from the special *adhyása*, or illusion of particular minds in particular cases. The world of normal and tested experience is as much real as the experiencer himself is real. The experiencer does not create or imagine the objective world he experiences; it is present before him and he must accept it as real. But the experiencer as he perceives himself in relation to the experienced objects and processes, and the world of objects and processes as perceived by him in relation to himself, are not *absolute* realities, as it is evident from their relative characters, but the products of one eternal *adhyása* upon the Absolute Self or Brahman, whose essential character is concealed under them. Thus the Absolute Self or Brahman is the absolute Reality, and the world of the experiencers and the experienced is His false appearance, existing unaccountably due to an *adhyása* from the beginning of time.

Adhyása evidently involves two elements,—the concealment

of the true character of Reality and its appearance as what it is not. This again apparently involves a reference to an observer—a finite intelligence—from whose view the true character of the Reality is hidden and in whose relation it appears in unreal names and forms. So far as the general *adhyása* is concerned, the doctrine is put in the logically awkward position in that the very conception of *adhyása* implies a reference to the plurality of finite intelligences, while the plurality of finite intelligences owes its existence to *adhyása* itself. The truth is, as Sankara and his school maintain, that neither precedes the other in point of time, since the process of *adhyása* is without beginning in time, and the plurality of finite intelligence also, which implies as well as is implied by it, had no absolute beginning of existence in time. They hold that the plurality of finite spirits, the diversities of the objective world, as well as the one supreme personal God,—the Lord of the spirits and the world, who is spoken of as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe, the Ruler of the activities and destinies of all, consciously embracing the existence of all finite beings, spiritual and material, in his universal self-conscious and self-determined personal existence—are all co-eternal in point of time, essentially correlative to each other, having the same order of reality and are the threefold related appearances of one Absolute Reality—Impersonal Brahman,—who is above time and space, relation and process, activity and change, individuality and personality. As the existence of this Absolute Reality is eternal and infinite, in the sense that it is above time and space, the process of the concealment of its essential nature and of its appearances as *Jeeva* (finite spirits), *Jagat* (the objective world) and *Iswara* (their Lord), is also eternal and infinite, in the sense that it is pervading all time and space. This is the general *adhyása* and thus it is an eternal fact. Hence the question of the logical fallacy of *Itaretarâshraya* (interdependence) does not arise.

So far as the special *adhyása*—the *adhyása* in relation to a particular finite spirit—is concerned, though it has no beginning in time, it has an end in time. It is a fact that the essential character of the Absolute Reality is concealed from the knowledge of the individual, to which consequently its false appearances present themselves as realities. It is also a fact of experience of every individual truth-seeker that there is a progressive attainment of true knowledge about Reality and a corresponding falsification of its unreal appearances. Thus it may be reasonably maintained that when an individual attains perfect knowledge of the true character of Reality, *adhyása* completely vanishes, and the world of names and forms no longer appears as real. So far as that individual is concerned, the plurality of finite spirits and objects is proved to be false. The knowing spirit is realised to be completely identical with the Absolute Spirit, the Absolute *Adhisthána* or substratum of the world of appearances, the absolute eternal infinite differenceless actionless attributeless Brahman. This does not of course mean that the objective world is destroyed or that the knower himself immediately loses his individual existence. His *dristi* or outlook is changed. His *avidyá* is destroyed by *vidyá*. The appearances appear to him as appearances, and not as realities. Brahman, who is no other than his *A'tman* (self), is experienced as the absolute reality.

Acharya Sankara having given a brief exposition of his doctrine of *adhyása* and *avidyá*, concludes his introduction with a promise that he would demonstrate by a systematic interpretation of the *Sutras* of Vyasa that this is the true meaning and the central idea of the teachings of Vedanta. Our object here is to examine if there is any explicit and unmistakable evidence in the *Sutras*, supporting this claim of the *Bhásyakára*. It is far from my intention to enter into any discussion about the merits and defects of this doctrine from a philosophical point of view.

The *Sutrakára*, we find, begins with a statement, in explicit terms, of the true subject-matter of his inquiry, the unquestionable source of knowledge about it and the method of arriving at the truth. First of all, he states that he proposes to inquire about the true nature of Brahman. In the second *sutra* he explains that by Brahman he means the ultimate ground of the universe,—the Reality from which all animate and inanimate things of the universe derive their existence, by which their existence is sustained and nourished and in which their separate existence is finally merged. What Brahman essentially is and how he can be the absolute source of all existences—this has to be philosophically found out.

The third *sutra* emphasises that the *Shástras* or the revealed sayings are the only unquestionable source of evidence with regard to the true character of this transcendent reality. The authorities cited in the *Sutras* indicate that by *Shástras* the *Sutrakára* means principally the *Shrutis* or the *Upanishads*, which are regarded as the embodiments of the ultimate truths revealed to the *Rishis* in their innermost spiritual experience and are therefore sometimes referred to as *Pratyaksha* or direct perception, and secondarily the *Smritis*, which are based upon or inferred from the former and are therefore sometimes mentioned as *Anumána* (inference, evidently from the *Shrutis*). The *Sutrakára* is found to lay particular stress on this point again and again in course of his discussions, because he is definitely of opinion that our sense perceptions and arguments based upon them can give us no knowledge about the higher spiritual truths, that our formal and material logic, however efficacious in revealing the truths of the phenomenal world, cannot be of substantial help to us in the domain of *A'tmajnána* or *Brahmajnána*. In this region logical arguments are to be resorted to for the intellectual apprehension of the divinely revealed truths, for systematising those truths as far as practicable in terms of the categories of the understanding,

for removing the actual and possible doubts that the understanding may raise against their validity, for reconciling the apparently conflicting expressions in which the truths revealed to the *Rishis* have embodied themselves, and for adequately explaining the phenomena of our sensuous and mental experiences by reference to those truths. But the revealed truths, which constitute the essence of the *Shástras*, must be accepted as the basis of all discussions about Brahman or A'tman, about the ultimate ground of the universe and the means of attaining intimate knowledge of it.

The fourth *sutra* therefore lays down the principle, which Bádaráyana adheres to throughout his philosophy, that the true knowledge of Brahman, the absolute ground of all existences, has to be attained by '*Samanvaya*,' *i.e.*, linking together, systematsing, harmonising and unifying the various forms in which the revealed truths have found expression in the *Shrutis* and interpretation in the *Smritis*, and penetrating into their innermost significance. This is the method which the *Sutrakára* mainly relies upon to reach the end of the inquiry, and he takes the help of deductive, inductive and analogical arguments and also polemics against other systems of philosophy and faulty interpretations of the *Shástras*, as subsidiary processes.

Bádaráyana then proceeds to establish, by a systematic, harmonious and rational interpretation of the principal statements of the Upanishads and the Gita and the other authoritative scriptures, that the one infinite and eternal, absolute and unchanging, self-existent and self-conscious, omnipotent and omniscient, immanent and transcendent, blissful and perfect Brahman, essentially distinct from *Prakriti* and *Jeeva* is the efficient as well as material cause of this well-ordered world of plurality, that He is the true Self of all finite selves and the Preserver and Ruler of all from within, that from Him everything appears, in Him everything exists, and to Him everything returns by being deprived of all its differentiating

characteristics, that the immediate and unbroken experience of Him in His true character as the real Ground and Self of all that exists is the ultimate goal of the phenomenal life of every finite spirit (*Jeeva*), and that this goal is attainable by proper spiritual discipline and all-absorbing devotion to Him.

First of all he adduces evidence from the Upanishadic texts to show that the ultimate Ground of the universe, that is the Absolute Reality (*sat*), is of a distinct character from the *Prakriti* of *Sánkhya*. The Upanishads speak of this Reality as thinking (*aikshata*)[1] and willing (*akámayata*)[2] before creation or self-manifestation in diversity, as the self (*átman*) of all created beings,[3] as the bestower of perfect deliverance upon those who are whole-heartedly devoted to Him. (*tannisthasya mokshopadeshát*),[4] and as the one whom the liberated finite spirits do not abandon as their not-self (*heyatvábachanáshcha*),[5] but with whom, on the contrary, they are ultimately united.[6] These epithets can never be applied to *Prakriti*, which, according to *Sánkhya*, is a non-intelligent primordial substance, the phenomenal world in an undifferentiated state, the equilibrium of *Sattwa*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, subject to transformation, and one which is the material cause of the non-intelligent world of plurality and not of the spirits (*purusha*) and which the liberated spirits abandon as something foreign to them. Thus we get an idea of Brahman as distinguished from *Prakriti*.

Next he goes on to show that Brahman, the Ground of the universe, is of an essentially distinct character from *Jeeva* (finite spirits) as well. The finite spirits, also, unless their essential character is altogether veiled by their connection with the gross and subtle material bodies, are like Brahman self-luminous and self-willed knowers, doers and enjoyers, and thus in some respects participate in the nature of that absolute ground. But the *Shrutis*, as the *Sutrakára* points out, draw a

[1] 1.1.5. [2] 1.1.18. [3] 1.1.6. [4] 1.1.7. [5] 1.1.8. [6] 1.1.9.

definite distinction between Him and them.[1] Brahman is by nature eternally and absolutely blissful (*ánandamaya*).[2] He is eternally self-realised, self-perfect and self-enjoying. He alone possesses the unique power of creating from within Himself or manifesting Himself as the phenomenal world of diversity without the least prejudice to the perfect unity of His self-existence. The all-round perfection of His nature is in no way affected by the diversities and limitations of this phenomenal world. These characteristics distinguish Brahman from the individual spirits, the purity of whose nature is apparently affected by their relation with the material bodies and diverse objects of experience, and who, by means of systematic spiritual discipline and devoted worship of Brahman, can only progressively realise Brahman as the universal self of all finite selves and can thus be united with Him and enjoy the blessedness of His perfect nature.[3] No *Jeeva* or finite spirit can, however, by any means acquire the power of creating, controlling and destroying the whole universe, which belongs to Brahman and Brahman alone.[4]

From the 22nd *sutra* onwards to the end of the 1st *páda* of the first chapter, Bádaráyana proves, by harmonisation and rational interpretation of various authoritative texts, that whenever the *Shruti* made any assertion regarding the Ground of the universe, it might have used such terms as *A'kásha*, *Prána*, *Jyoti*, *Gáyatree*, etc., but the context in every case leaves no doubt about the truth that it always meant the Infinite, Eternal, All-knowing, All-creating, All-controlling, All-illumining, Self-existent, Self-conscious, Self-determined and Self-fulfilled Spirit or Brahman.

The distinction drawn between Brahman or the Supreme Spirit, and *Jeeva*, the finite spirit, is strongly emphasised almost throughout the second *páda* as well. Brahman, while being the ultimate Ground and substance of the whole universe, is

[1] 1.1.16, 17, 21; 2.1.22, etc. [2] 1.1.12. [3] 1.1.19. [4] 4.4.17.

also immanent in everything within it.[1] He, as the universal self, dwells in the cave of the heart of every living creature *along with* the individual self or spirit.[2] They are sometimes described as two birds dwelling on the same tree. They have important points of community, which distinguish them both from the gross and subtle material body as well as from the material world. But they have important points of difference also which distinguish them from each other.[3] The individual finite spirit is primarily related to one body at a time, and passes from one body to another through death and birth according to its *karma*;[4] while Brahman is at the same time related to all bodies and is the self of all selves. The finite spirit, being related to the body, loses the consciousness of its essential supra-physical supra-mental and supra-mundane character (*swarupa*), identifies itself with the body, becomes subject to *karma* and its fruits, bondage and liberation; while the indwelling universal spirit is not at all touched by the imperfections and limitations of the bodily existence, never loses the consciousness and bliss of His transcendent character, never becomes subject to *karma* and the consequent pleasures and pains. He regulates the activities of the finite spirits and bestows on them the fruits of their actions.[5] He is the supreme object of worship, the ultimate ideal of knowledge and the final goal of progress, of all finite spirits.[6] When they realise their essential unity with Him, experience Him within and without, identify themselves with Him through knowledge and devotion, they are emancipated from all bondage and limitation, and enjoy the bliss of His perfect nature.

The *Sutrakára* carries to the third *páda* also this emphasis on the distinction between *Brahman* and *Jeeva* on the authority of the scriptural texts. Then he takes particular care in examining different passages, so that we may not be misled by

[1] 1.1 20. [2] 1.2.11. [3] 1.2.12, 20. [4] 2.3.19, etc. [5] 2.3.41. [6] 1.3 2.

the use in them of terms admitting of different meanings. In the fourth *páda* also he expounds from his point of view some ambiguous texts and establishes his doctrine that Brahman, who is distinguished in His essential character from *Prakriti*, *Jeeva* and even the *Iswara* of the *Naiyáyikas*, is the sole cause of the phenomenal universe.[1]

Sankara also in his commentary, it must be said in justice to him, generally keeps true to the literal meanings of the *Sutras* and does not interpret any *sutra* to mean literally the absolute identity of *Brahman* and *Jeeva*, or *adhyása* as the source of the phenomenal world. But here and there he points out that there is no incompatibility of his doctrine of *adhyása* and the metaphysical (*páramárthic*) identity of *Jeeva* and *Brahman*, with Bádaráyana's statements of the apparent causality of Brahman and the conditional (*aupádhic*) distinction between *Brahman* and *Jeeva*. He explains that what the *Sutrakára* means to say is this, that so long as the *avidyá* of the *Jeeva* is not destroyed by *Vidyá* (realisation of truth), illusion remains and *adhyása* is not recognised as *adhyása* and consequently the world of the plurality of finite spirits and changing phenomena falsely attributed to *Brahman* continues to appear as real, and in relation to this apparent Reality Brahman appears to be the real cause possessed of infinite power and wisdom and as such distinct from the spiritual appearances of Himself related to particular bodies and minds, *viz.*, the *Jeevas*.

In support of his theory Sankara lays particular stress on *sutras* like 1.1.30, 1.3.19, and a few others, where the *Sutrakára* refers to scriptural texts, which seem to declare the identity of *Jeeva* with Brahman. But in accordance with the contexts of the *sutras* referred to, it seems clear that the *Sutrakára* is not very willing to accept the interpretation put upon them by the *Bhásyakára*. He cites those texts to show that when any individual spirit becomes, as a result of the

[1] 1.4.23-27.

necessary spiritual discipline; free from ignorance and desire, from false self-identification with body and mind and from the false notion of 'Me' and 'Mine' due to this, its essential character is unveiled (*ábirbhuta-svarupa*), it realises its pure non-material spiritual character and there remains nothing to divide it from the Universal Supreme Spirit. At this state of '*Moksha*' or freedom from bondage, the individual consciously identifies itself with the universal.

This, however, does not amount to the recognition of the absolute falsity of the distinction between *Jeeva* and *Brahman* and of the self-manifestation of Brahman as *Jeeva* and *Jagat* (world). The *Sutrakára* in reliance upon the authority of the *Shruti*, attributes creation to the *thought* and *will* of Brahman and thus regards it as a free act of Him, though this act, consisting of the three moments of creation, preservation and dissolution, may be without beginning or end in time. He compares this act to the play of an urchin, which has no other ulterior end than the play itself. It is due to His *nature*,—not to any *want* or *imperfection* of His nature demanding something else for the removal of the want or imperfection, but to the fullness and perfection of His nature spontaneously (though consciously and voluntarily) manifesting itself in a countless plurality of innumerable grades through infinite time and space. These self-manifestations are not substantially different from or independent of the one self-existing Being manifested, but they are not on that account false or unreal.

As a hypothesis also, this supposition of the perfect and blissful and self-manifesting thought and will of Brahman is not less acceptable to our reason than that of an inexplicable (*anirbachaniya*) real-unreal *avidyā* or *adhyása* for an adequate explanation of the existence of the phenomenal world. *Avidyá* or *adhyása* rather logically presupposes the existence of finite spirits, which may fall victims to the illusion. If illusion and the spirits subject to illusion presuppose each other, as the *Sankarites* agree, then both of them logically presuppose a

higher cause, and this can be found in the thought and will of Brahman. Brahman Himself can never be supposed to be a victim to illusion and subject to such differences of states as bondage and liberation. It is His individuated self-manifestation that may be such victims, and their existence must depend upon His will, as there is nothing else within or without Him that can force or induce Him to manifest himself in such a variety of finite spirits. These finite spirits, which, according to the *Sutrakāra*, are real self-manifestations of Brahman, identify themselves, by the will of Brahman, with body and mind in a state of bondage, and by the will of Brahman again, they attain freedom from bondage through the culture of knowledge and devotion and identify themselves with Brahman. They always ' live and move and have their being in Brahman—unknowingly in the state of *avidyá* and bondage, and knowingly in the state of *Vidyá* and *Mukti*. There is thus, in the view of the *Sutrakára*, unity as well as difference between *Brahman* and *Jeeva*.

Thus we find that in the first chapter of *Brahmasutra*, which is devoted to the systematisation and rational interpretation of the relevant revealed texts and which may be regarded as the constructive portion of Bádaráyana's philosophy, there is nowhere even any suggestion of Sankara's doctrine of *adhyása*,—of the illusory character of the causality of Brahman, of the unreality of the phenomenal world, or of the absolute identity of *Jeeva* and *Brahman*. A'chárya Sankara with great ingenuity harmonises his theory with the *Sutras*, but he fails to point out any *sutra* which unequivocally enunciates this theory.

In the second chapter Bádaráyana supports his doctrine based upon scriptural evidence by means of philosophical arguments and shows that the conclusion he has arrived at in the first chapter is free from the defects ascribed to it by rival schools of thought and that all other hypotheses suggested by them are vitiated by different kinds of fallacies.

One objection against the doctrine of the supreme spirit being the sole cause of the material world is that it is inconsistent with the universally acknowledged fundamental distinction between spirit and matter, subject and object, the experiencer and the experienced.[1] To this the *Sutrakára* simply answers,—" But it is seen."[2] The *sutra* obviously means that our experience supplies us with numerous instances in which an object becomes the cause of another different from it in essential characteristics. From such instances we may infer the possibility of spirit being the cause of matter. It is also not true that there is absolutely no point of community between spirit and matter,—between Brahman on the one hand and *Jeeva* and *Jagat* on the other.

What we find is that everything cannot be the cause of everything else, but that the possibility or the capacity for the production of the effect must be present in the cause. The nature of the capacity present in the cause can be rightly ascertained only by the observation of the nature of the effect produced from it. This incomprehensively vast organism of the universe, consisting of bewilderingly diverse grades of inorganic, organic, sentient and rational beings, moving, operating and changing in strict accordance with wonderfully uniform laws and principles, and all together constituting one unitary moral and spiritual system, demands one single cause, which must be supremely spiritual. Being without any limitations of existence, power, wisdom and goodness, which can retain its essential unity through its self-transformations into variety, whose self-multiplications cannot impose any limitation upon its pure transcendent blissful spiritual character. The *Sruti* proclaims that there is really such a cause, that this cause can be directly and immediately experienced, and this is *Brahman.*

Bádaráyana maintains that his causality belongs to the nature of Brahman and is therefore coeternal with His

[1] 2.1.4. [2] 2.1.6.

existence, and that creation, preservation and dissolution are the three moments of the same process, which has no absolute beginning or absolute end in time.[1] After each dissolution and before the next creation, the whole universe exist in an unmanifested undifferentiated *unified state* in the cause, *i.e.*, in the nature of Brahman, from which it is in that state non-distinguishable. Since in that condition it *is one with Brahman*, the question of the nature of Brahman being polluted by the limitations, relativities and special features of the phenomenal realities of the manifested and differentiated effects, does not arise at all.[2]

The *Sutra* 2.1.14 is of special importance to Sankara. Here the *Sutrakára* raises the question whether the effect, *viz.*, the world of plurality even in its manifested and diversified state, is absolutely different from the cause, *i.e.*, Brahman, and answers it in the negative. The *Sutra* cites some scriptural evidences and says that the effect is non-different, (*ananya*) from the cause. But neither the *sutra* nor the texts it refers to explicitly state that the world is non-different from its cause Brahman in the same sense as the illusory serpent is non-different from the rope to which it is falsely ascribed (*rajju-sarpa*) or the illusory silver-piece is non-different from the oyster-shell to which it is falsely ascribed (*shukti-rajata*). The examples cited in the texts referred to for illustrating the relation between Brahman and the world are those of earth and earthenware, iron and ironware, gold and gold-ornaments, etc. Such illustrations can in no way be construed to mean a denial of the real actual existence of the effects as in the cases of 'a rope-serpent' or 'oyster-silver.' But they do mean that the cause constitutes the true substance of the variety of effects which appear as a result of the imposition of the limitations of various names and forms upon that substance. They imply that Brahman is the true

[1] 2.1.35. [2] 2.1.7, 8, 9, 13, etc.

substance of all that exists. Everything exists by, in and for Brahman, and nothing can possibly exist apart from and independently of Him.[1] The text explicitly declares that it is from His undifferentiated self-luminous spiritual existence that all the diversified existences are manifested by His thought and will, that He enters into them as their indwelling spirit or self, and that all particular existences with particular names and forms are sustained by His immanent existence. Hence they cannot be said to have any separate existence (*tadananyatwam*).

Assertions like the above cannot, without adequate explicit corroborative evidence, be construed to imply the unreality of the manifested world or any sort of *adhyása* of the world upon the substratum of Brahman. The *Sutrakára* makes his meaning clear by the *sutras* that follow. He logically establishes the non-otherness of the effect from the cause, on the ground that the cause being present, the effect is experienced and in the absence of the cause it does not appear.[2] He concludes by saying that both *Shruti* and *yukti* (reason) are in favour of the conclusion that the effect is substantially non-other or non-different from the cause.[3] There is nowhere any denial of the reality of the causal relation.

The *Sutrakára* then considers another objection raised by the opponents of his theory. If, as this theory holds, Brahman has really manifested Himself as these embodied spirits, which are essentially identical with Him, and if He is also the sole cause of this phenomenal world which is full of evils, natural as well as moral, to which these spirits are victims, He can legitimately be accused of not doing what is good and of doing what is evil to Himself, and such conduct is not befitting a free, intelligent and powerful Being.[4] Such an objection can be valid only on the supposition that His causality is real. The *Sutrakára* also, instead of denying the

[1] 2.1.15, 16, etc. [2] 2. 1. 15-20. [3] 2. 1. 18. [4] 2. 1. 21.

validity of the objection by asserting the illusory character of His self-manifestation and creation, refutes the objection on the ground that Brahman, though manifesting Himself as the finite spirits and the objective world, is Himself eternally superior to them and is not touched by these evils and limitations.[1] He invokes the authority of the *Shruti* to maintain that Brahman is always transcendent above the multiplicity in which He manifests Himself. He is, as Sankara has described in amplification of the condensed statement of the *sutra*, above good and evil, above ought and ought-not, above duty and necessity. He does not, even through His self-creation, become subject to the dualities of right and wrong, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, want and its satisfaction. He is eternally above all such dualities, since He is eternally perfect, infinite and absolute. The One always by nature transcends the many, through which He exhibits the inexhaustible glory of His power, wisdom, justice and mercy in relation to them.

The very possibility of Brahman on multiplying Himself into many and at the same time retaining the transcendent purity of His nature is questioned by the human understanding. How can Brahman, who is one without a second, without parts and organs, materials and instruments, transform Himself into a plurality of creatures with bewilderingly diverse characteristics and at the same time remain untouched by their limitations ? Bádaráyana's answer to this question is very simple, but of great philosophical significance from his point of view. He reiterates his faith in the *Shruti*, and argues that *Shruti* which is the highest authority on this subject proclaims in unambiguous terms that Brahman has in His intrinsic nature this unique power unattainable by any finite being.[2]

Every reality has got its specific power or characteristic, which, so long as it is unmanifested in action, remains

[1] 2. 1. 22. [2] 2. 1. 27.

absolutely identical with and indistinguishable from the pure existence of the reality itself, but becomes cognisable and distinguishable (though not separable), when manifested in action. Brahman also has got His specific power, which in its unmanifested state is identical with and indistinguishable from His pure existence, but which is manifested in the unique action of creation, preservation and dissolution of the phenomenal universe. The manifestation of His power does not make Him changed or transformed or other than what He is by Himself. The forms in which power is manifested are not substantially different from Him, but the limitations to which these forms are subject do not in the least affect the source of these forms.

As no created being can bear comparison with Brahman, so the specific power of any created being cannot bear comparison with His unique power. He alone is self-existent, all other beings have got derivative existence. He alone is above time and space, all created beings are subject to the limitations of time and space. He alone is perfect by nature, all created beings are imperfect. He alone is necessarily existent (*sat*), perfectly self-conscious (*chit*), naturally self-fulfilled (*ánanda*), but all other beings have got contingent existence, partial self-consciousness, and imperfect self and progressive self-fulfilment. His thought and knowledge being eternally perfect and without any outside object, involves no process; His will and activity being eternally perfect and without any resistance to encounter involve no change in Himself; His self-enjoyment being perfect and without any object to depend upon, involve no modification of his essential character. All processes, changes and modifications are in the realm of His self-manifestations, in the region of time, space and relativity, in the universe of phenomena, and not in Him, who is the source of these manifestations, who is above time, space and relativity who is the ground and support of these phenomena. There is no logical incoherence in this conception. But the real

truth of this conception is obtained from the *Shruti* and corroborated by the deepest spiritual experience of the highest type of men.

In order to give a vague idea of this unique nature and power of Brahman and its self-expression in the phenomenal diversity, the *Sutrakára* points to some instances of general experience, such as the power of the individual man expressed in the creation of various kinds of objects in dreams,[1] and that of the *yogins* and gods in the creation of things by the mere force of will.[2] The relation between Brahman and His self-manifestations may be said to be analogous to that between the sleeping man and his dream-manifestations, which are substantially non-different from him, and which appear objectively without any materials and instruments and without any changeful activity on his part As these dream-manifestations do not impose any real limitation upon him, so the created phenomena also do not impose any real limitation upon Brahman. Similarly, the apparently unobstructed and effortless will of the *yogins* or the gods manifesting itself in the creation of various objects without the aid of any materials and instruments, or any self-exertions and self-modifications, may give us some sort of idea of the power of Brahman manifesting itself in the creation of the phenomenal world. But, as in all other cases, the analogy should not be stretched too far and should not be regarded as the basis of proof.

The *Sutrakára* has further described the work of creation as a mere play (*Leela-kaivalyam*) of Brahman.[3] The analogy is drawn between this work and the play of children, inasmuch as it is the spontaneous expression of His inner *ánanda*, of the fullness of His nature. No attempt need be made,—for such an attempt will not be successful,—to account for this action, by reference to any purpose to be accomplished or any

[1] 2. 1. 28. [2] 2. 1. 25. [3] 2-1-33.

want to be satisfied or any compelling force goading from within or without, on the analogy of the actions of imperfect beings. It may be called a mere play, an act of His self-enjoyment, an effortless expression of His blissful nature. It should be noted in this connection that in the case of an eternally perfect being, we cannot draw any lines of distinction between nature, thought, will and feeling. We can distinguish nature from thought, will and feeling, when the latter involves processes, changes, modifications, which they appear to impose upon nature. Thought, will and feeling, again, can be distinguished from one another, when they represent different kinds of processes, changes or modifications of consciousness. When in the case of thought there is a gulf between the thinking self and the object of thought, and an active process is necessary to bridge it over and unify the one with the other, when in the case of will the ego has some want to satisfy and some object or end to attain, and an active exercise of the power of will is necessary to do it; and when in the case of feeling, there is perceived a difference between the subject that feels and the object that is felt, and their union is required to produce a modification in the normal state of consciousness, pleasurable or painful;—it is only under such limiting conditions that we can actually distinguish between thought, will and feeling, though elements of each are present in every case. In every concrete psychosis, all the three are found necessarily embracing each other, though one may appear most predominantly, and the others may cling to it without much self-assertion.

But if all the three are present in the most perfect state of self-fulfilment, there is no means of distinguishing them from each other. *A'nanda* is the name for self-fulfilment, —it is thought self-fulfilled, will self-fulfilled and feeling self-fulfilled. *A'nanda* is the unity of knowledge and truth, the unity of will and good, the unity of love and beauty. When the goal is reached in each case, the whole existence is

pervaded by *ánanda*, it becomes *ánandamaya*. This *ánanda* is the nature of Brahman. Hence it is evident that in His case thought, will and feeling are eternally identical in perfection with His nature.

The processes of creation, preservation and dissolution of the phenomenal world are self-expressions, in the plane of time, space and relativity, of the *ánanda* of Brahman, which exists in the perfect state in the plane of eternity, infinity and absoluteness. They can therefore be described as the expressions of His thought, or of His will, or of His emotion (or love, the highest emotion) or of his nature. Essentially these descriptions signify the same truth. It is this truth which is also signified by the expression *Leela* or play of Brahman.

His *Leela* is thus on the one hand part and parcel of His nature ; but on the other hand the particular forms which His *Leela* assumes do not in the least react upon His nature, do not make His essential nature relative, finite and diversified. His perfect existence and the existence of the manifestations of His *Leela* are in two different planes. The diversities of the world,—the finite spirits and the mental and material objects —are partial manifestations, under limitations of time, space and relativity, of His eternally perfect nature, which is above time, space and relativity and which is in no way touched by those limitations of the lower plane. These self-manifestations are in reality non-different from Him, for they have no independent existence,—no existence apart from His existence ; but they are different from Him in appearance, in their limitations, in their names and forms, and He is transcendent above them.

For the purpose of reconciling the conception of the differenceless absolute unity of Brahman with the actual experience of the manifold world, Bádaráyana does not feel any logical necessity for regarding the one as real and the other as false, the one as substance and the other as illusion. To him both are real, but the one is on a higher plane and

the other is on a lower plane. Therefore the latter does not limit the former. Our formal logic, in so far as it deals with the objective realities of the same plane, is under the domination of the Laws of Contradiction and Excluded Middle. Consequently it finds difficulty in giving adequate consistent expression to the truth of the eternal absolute differenceless unity of Brahman harmoniously with that of His self-manifestations as the multitude of finite spirits and material objects. Taking Logic in this limited sense, Bádaráyana emphasises the supra-logical supra-rational character of the truth, and appeals to the self-revelation of the truth in the *Shruti*, which may be verified by us in our deepest spiritual experience, when our consciousness is freed from the limitations of the understanding.

In the second *páda* of the second chapter, while criticising the *Vijnánaváda* of the Buddhists, the *Sutrakára* unequivocally asserts that the world cannot be regarded as unreal, since it is an object of perception,[1] and that it is unreasonable to hold that 'its *esse* is its *percipii*' since in the waking state the very nature of perception implies the distinction between the mental function and its object. He points out the unreasonableness of maintaining *Vijnánaváda* on the basis of dream-experience, by showing the fundamental points of difference between waking-consciousness and dream-consciousness.[2] Elsewhere he describes dream-creation as unreal appearances (*máyámátram*), as distinguished from the realities of the world. He further points out that the stream of constantly changing variety of *vásaná* or *sanskára* cannot reasonably be put forward as the source of the experience of the non-existing external objects and the consciousness of the non-existing permanent self, since the former presupposes the latter,—the existence of *vásaná* cannot be explained without postulating the reality of the permanent self and its actual experiences.[4] Thus, according to the *Sutrakára*, the world of objective

[1] 2. 2. 28. [2] 2. 2. 29. [3] 3. 2. 3. [4] 2. 2. 30.

experience cannot, without violence to common sense and reason as well as to *Shruti*, be regarded as the work of fancy, or the objectification of desire or sensation, or an inherent illusion or dream of the finite minds. Its objective reality in the plane of time, space and relativity is unquestionable.

In the third *páda* of the same chapter, the *Sutrakára* points out that all things within this universe, such as *A'kása*, *Váyu*, *Agni*, *Ap*, *Prithivi*, are of the nature of effects. But Brahman, who is the cause of all causes, whose very conception involves the notion of existence, whose non-existence is inconceivable, cannot even be supposed to have any beginning of existence or any other source of existence.[1] Except Brahman, all other existences, including, *Buddhi*, *Manas*, *Prána* and *Indriyas*, have their beginning and end,—creation, preservation, development and dissolution. These processes of evolution and envolution occur according to definite laws, revealed in the *Shrutis*. Brahman is the ground and support of these processes. He is present in the beginning, the middle and the end of the processes, and nevertheless transcendent above and untouched by these processes. The *Sutrakára* further asserts on the authority of the *Shruti* that Brahman is not merely the ultimate ground of the world as a whole, but that even in the particular cases of causation within this world, it is Brahman who is truly the cause, since there are indications in the *Shruti* that He pervades all the particular causes. He is the universal self of their selves, and that it is through His thought and will (*abhidhyánát*) operating within them that the particular effects are produced from particular causes.[2]

With regard to the finite spirits, the *Sutrakára* asserts that they have neither beginning nor end of existence,—they are not of the nature of effects like the phenomenal material objects and the phenomenal *Manas*, *Buddhi* and *Prána*. The *Shruti* does not speak of their origination and dissolution, but

[1] 2. 3. 9. [2] 2. 3. 13.

on the contrary describes them as eternal.[1] The *Shruti* also informs us that consciousness pertains to the essential character of these spirits.[2] They can never be unconscious, though in the absence of objects or connection with objects their consciousness may not be manifested in conscious processes. When we hear of birth and death, growth and decay, with reference to these spirits, they are to be taken as cases of transference of epithets; they are really spoken of the body and the mind, and are ascribed to the spirits connected with them. These as well as many other limitations are attributed to the finite spirits owing to their relatedness with the phenomenal bodies and minds, with which they identify themselves for the time being and the merits and demerits of which they apparently take upon themselves. Subjection to such special *avidyá* or *adhyása* in the case of finite spirits is evidently admissible to the *Sutrakára*. They are till their perfect enlightenment self-forgetful and they attribute to themselves properties not pertaining to their essential nature.[3] Should this be construed to imply that the finite spirits exist eternally side by side with Brahman as separate entities, related to Him somehow as slaves to the master? In that case the relation would be inexplicable and Brahman would be existentially limited. The *Sutrakára* says that they are the parts (*ansa*) of Brahman, since they are spoken of by the *Shruti* and the *Smriti* as differentiated from Him and also as identical with Him.[4] They are conscious beings participating in His spiritual character,—in His inherent self-consciousness, self-determination and self-enjoyment. There are no such positive elements in their essential character, as separate them from Him. They live, move and have their being in Him. But their individuality consists in this that those divine characteristics are manifested by Him in the form of these spirits under limitations, which they have to transcend progressively through spiritual activity

[1] 2. 3. 17. [2] 2. 3. 18. [3] 2. 3. 30, etc. [4] 2. 3. 43, etc.

and through the grace of Brahman Himself.[1] They are therefore on the one hand non-different from Him and on the other different from Him. They have no existence outside of Him, no character other than His, no activity in which His *Leela* is not manifested. But still they have eternal individuality, subjection to limitations and conditions, self-concealment and self-realisation. This is what is meant by saying that they are the part and Brahman is the whole. We should carefully distinguish this relation between the finite spirits and the Supreme spirit from that between the parts and wholes of material bodies. The whole of a material body is the aggregate of the parts, and no particular part of a body can ever become the whole of that body. But the supreme spirit is not to be conceived as the aggregate of the finite spirits, and each finite spirit, by progressively transcending the limitations of its relative aspect, can identify itself with the supreme spirit and enjoy the perfection of His eternally blissful or self-realised character. The truth seems to be that the infinitely perfect absolute Brahman realises and enjoys His perfection eternally in Himself as well as progressively through countless finite spiritual parts. This is made by the *Sutrakára* still more clear by the term *ábhása*,[2] which may be translated as partial self-manifestations (*á* = partial and *bhása* = manifestation).

It does not seem reasonable to interpret to *ábhása* as 'reflection,' on the analogy of the reflections of the sun, the moon, etc., on water or any other reflecting medium, and then to argue that these reflections of Brahman are unreal appearances just as the reflections of the sun, etc., on different reflecting bodies are false appearances of the real sun, etc. This interpretation does not seem consistent with the view expressed by Bádaráyana in other *sutras*. Moreover, it does not appear to be compatible with the doctrine of the absolute non-dualism of Brahman—His oneness without a second reality

[1] 2. 3. 41, 42. [2] 2. 3. 50.

on the same plane by His side. Reflection necessarily implies a reflecting surface of the same order of reality with the object reflected. The sun cannot reflect itself upon itself, but must be reflected on something else, which is equally real with the sun. Similarly, if Brahman is to be regarded as reflected in the forms of finite spirits, we cannot but suppose, some other entity—which may be called *Máyá* with many self-modifications,—or a plurality of entities—which may be called *avidyás*,—on which Brahman can reflect Himself as many, and these reflecting bodies must be supposed to be equally real with Brahman. The *Sutrakára* therefore quite reasonably avoids the theory of reflection (*pratibimba*) and the supposition of *Máyá* or *Avidyá* to account for the existence of the finite spirits. These spirits in their plurality do not exist in and for and by *Máyá* or *Avidyá*, as the reflection theory would imply, but according to the *Sutrakára*, they exist in and for and by *Brahman* Himself. They are present in and to the consciousness of *Brahman* Himself, who holds them together, controls their relations, activities and destinies. The transcendent unity of the consciousness of Brahman is the residence of the plurality of the finite spirits. They also, like Brahman, are essentially above time and space, and have no temporal and spatial externality to each other like material objects. They are therefore eternally present in and with Brahman, and have no birth or death.

These finite spirits are therefore quite appropriately regarded by the *Sutrakára* as real, but partial, self-manifestations of Brahman. Each of them exists in and to Brahman, possesses in *limited degrees* His essential characteristics, is liable to fall a victim to the limitations imposed by mental and material conditions created by Brahman, and is also capable of getting rid of all limitations imposed as well natural, realising the perfection of Brahman in itself and being completely unified with him. All the processes and phenomena pertaining to this truth are determined by the

thought and will of Brahman, which however imply no change or self-modification in him. There is nothing illogical in this conception, but the truth is ascertained by the infallible *Shruti*. The *Sutrakára* says, on the authority of the *Shruti*, that it is by the will of Brahman that His eternal parts or spiritual self-manifestations remain unconscious of their essential purity, fall victims to *Avidyá* or illusion, attribute to themselves the impurities and modifications of the bodies, gross and subtle, and apparently pass through various states, and it is by His will again that they are enlightened and attain the perfection of His transcendent character.

The finite spirits, so long as they are subject to limitations and connected with physical and mental conditions, are active agents,[1] having duties to perform, reaping the fruits of the actions performed, attempting to be free from the bondage of actions and their fruits and finally attaining complete freedom and unity with Brahman. The *buddhi*, the *manas*, the *indriyas*, the body,—all these are the instruments of the spirit and they serve its purpose. Just as a carpenter keeps himself busy with actions so long as the instruments are in his hands, and then leaving aside the instruments takes rest and enjoys the peace of repose; in the same way, says the *Sutrakára*, the finite spirits are active so long as they are connected with the bodily and mental instruments, and then leaving aside these connections attain *samádhi* or self-union and enjoy the perfect bliss of self-fulfilment.[2] But it should be borne in mind that the activity and the freedom from activity of the finite spirits, their bondage, and liberation, their self-illusion and self-realisation, are wholly determined by Brahman.[3] All this is known from the *Shruti*, which nowhere declares that the existence of these finite spirits and of the mental and material conditions, in which they are placed, with which they falsely identify themselves, and

[1] 2.3.33, etc. [2] 2.3.40. [3] 2.3.41; 3.2.38

from which they are emancipated, is wholly illusory and due to some mysterious indefinable *Ávidyá* or unaccountable *adhyása*.

Bádaráyana does not ignore such Upanishadic sayings as '*Neti neti*,' etc. Such expressions are sometimes construed as implying the total denial of the existence of this phenomenal world and the plurality of finite spirits and thus indicating the absolute differenceless unity of Brahman. According to this view, '*neti neti*' means 'not this, not this,'—that is to say, this is not real, this is not real, *i.e.*, whatever we experience within and without is false appearance, due to *adhyása*, of the single absolute differenceless substance, *viz.*, Brahman. But Bádaráyana does not interpret such expressions in that way. He asserts by reference to the context that such expressions merely amount to a denial of the idea that the Reality is 'so far and not farther.' There are shallow thinkers who hold that this world of experience—this world of sense-perception and inference based upon it,—constitutes the complete Reality, that Reality is exhausted in this phenomenal universe, and that there is nothing real beyond this. The expressions referred to above repudiate this wrong conception of Reality and affirm that there is Reality beyond this (*anyat param asti*). They deny the exhaustedness or limitedness of Reality (*etábattwam pratishedhati*), and speak of Reality beyond the manifested universe (*tato brabeeti cha bhuyah*).[1]

The *Sutrakára* further says that the universe of experience only represents the manifested aspect of Reality, but Reality beyond this is eternally unmanifested and therefore beyond the range of experience.[2] The unmanifested Reality, *i.e.*, Brahman in his transcendent character, is the ground and support of all manifestations, spiritual as well as material, and these have no existence apart from and independent of

[1] 3.2.22. [2] 3.2.23.

His existence. Bádaráyana confirms his doctrine by the assertion that this Reality beyond the phenomenal universe is not only proclaimed by the *Shruti*, but is actually experienced by the devoted saints in their deeper meditation.[1] Instances of such supersensuous and supramental experience of the Absolute by *yogins* are mentioned in the *Shruti* and the *Smriti*. It is evident that the character of such experience is essentially different from that of our ordinary sense-experience and mental perception. Such spiritual experience is attained and can possibly be attained, when the senses are under the complete control of the mind and do not move towards their respective objects, when the mind is free from all desires and passions, all attachments and repulsions, when the reason is free from all kinds of bias and prejudice, when the self, being perfectly liberated from the illusions and limitations due to its physical and mental conditions, turns completely inwards and puts itself in direct communion with the Infinite. In such experience the finite gains knowledge of the Infinite by becoming one with the Infinite,[2] so that no process, analogous to our process of knowledge, is required in this plane. In this knowledge, thought, will and love appear as united in one undifferentiated blissful consciousness, and truth is realised as good and beautiful. It is in this transcendental state of consciousness that the transcendental character of Brahman, the eternal unmanifested Reality which is the unity of absolute truth, absolute goodness and absolute beauty, and which is the source and support and controller of the phenomenal world of time, space and relativity, manifests itself.

The contention of those who hold that, if there were any Reality beyond the manifested universe, it would be an object of general experience, has no ground to stand upon. Light is an object of experience only to the eye and not to the ear or

[1] 3.2.24. [2] 3.2.26.

the skin or any other sense; sound is an object of experience only to the ear and not to any other sense; and such is the case with every form of Reality. Every specific real object requires a particular organ of knowledge for its being experienced. The Reality beyond the phenomenal world is not an exception to this general rule The organ of knowledge of this Reality is the liberated soul, as mentioned above. The *Shruti* has repeatedly affirmed this truth.[1] The liberated spirit experiences the Infinite by becoming one with the infinite. The *Shruti* therefore describes the finite spirit as one with the infinite and also as distinguished from Him.[2] Identity and difference which necessarily exclude each other in the lower planes of knowledge, particularly in the domain of sense and matter, do not do so in the highest planes of knowledge, in the realm of spirit and spiritual experience. The *Sutrakára*, and the *Shruti* as interpreted by him, nowhere admit the validity of the contention that if the one is true, the other must be false or illusory. The *Shruti* sometimes denies all differences in the nature of Brahman, all plurality within or outside Brahman, and sometimes it unequivocally affirms them and describes Brahman in relation to them.[3] The *Sutrakára* holds both to be true, viewed from different angles of vision and from different planes of knowledge. He does not, as it is plain from the *Sutras*, feel the logical necessity for regarding one aspect as true and the other aspects as illusory.

In the light of these clear and unequivocal assertions and arguments found in the *sutras* of Bádaráyana, are we not led to the inevitable conclusion that the *adhyása-báda* is the great commentator's own doctrine superimposed (or *adhyasta*) upon the Vedanta philosophy of the illustrious founder of the system? Before I take leave, I beg to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that I have made no attempt in this

[1] 3. 2. 25. [2] 3. 2. 27. [3] 3. 2. 11.

short paper to form a critical estimate of the *adhyásabáda* of Sankara or the philosophy of Bádaráyana or even to compare the logical and metaphysical strength of the one with that of the other. It has been merely an examination of Sankara's claim to represent truly the philosophical view of the founder of the Vedanta system.

AKSHAYA KUMAR BANERJEE

THE QUEST OF THE HUMAN HEART

"Time spins fast, life fleets ; all is change. Nothing is ; everything flows. The struggle to go beyond, to seek the real, know the truth, means that this flowing stream is not all."

The world with its diverse contents, non-living, living and self-conscious—the earth on which we live, the various objects in and the planets above adorning it, and the species of living creatures inhabiting it—is ever a scene of continuous change on activity. To-day a star-dust, to-morrow a solar system ; to-day a glowing planet, to-morrow an earth, covered with oceans and continents; to-day the snow falling, the birds gone, the trees standing naked, to-morrow the spring sunshine, the birds returning with new songs and nestling, the trees and grass turning green, the field and nature again blossoming forth. The very stream of consciousness of the self-conscious human mind is just such passing away of the old and spontaneous arising of the new. One thought, one feeling, one action, gives place to another. The stream is perpetually changing. From moment to moment it is never the same. Now we are seeing ; now hearing ; now reasoning ; now willing ; now loving, now hating. We are changing from moment to moment, from hour to hour, from day to day, from month to month, from year to year. Our whole outlook on life is different, what was unreal has grown real, and what was existing is insipid. The women once so divine, the stars, the woods and the waters, how now so dull and common. Such is our mental life, and such, too, is nature in which we live.

The new is coming into existence and the old is passing away. To-day with night-fall the world exhibits the scene of grave-yard or of a funeral pyre of thousands of its old and young men and babes ; to-morrow with the dawn it reshapes itself as the birth-place of thousands of new babes. Where did the old

go ? Whence comes the babe ? A little match-stick with a brown bulging and now existing in one's hand, when rubbed at other times against some rough surface, is a bright flame rapidly devouring the wood. What a transformation ? What a wonder ? What a wonderful thing has taken the place of the egg and of the corn ! An egg is not a chick, nor is a grain-corn a feather. The two are altogether different. But how is the one transformed into the other ? When did the old go ? Whence come the new ? Whence the fire ? Whence the chick and corn ? Is this question of "whence and whither" soluble ? If so, how ? —Scientifically and materially or religiously and spiritually ?

The most insistent question of the human heart at a certain stage of its higher thinking, then, is : —How can this world, which is a world of spontaneity and change ever giving place to the new be explained ? Whence comes this perpetual creation of the new ? What is the nature of this world which is but a stage in which we are actors ? Is it spiritual or material ? Is it self-evolved or does it owe its origin to something else ? What is matter ? What is mind ? What is life ? What are we ? Whence do we come ? Whither do we go ? Is death the be-all and end-all of this mortal journey of ours ? Does the scene begin here and close here ? Did it in the past pass through a series of beings and now, proceeding through this state, would it prepare the way for another. After night the day, after death the life—does the cycle so move ? Is there any escape from the wheel of becoming ? Will the soul after reaping the fruits of all its own *karma* or doings of its past lives in this life as well as in the life or lives to come enjoy the bliss of an eternal life, or of a life, as the Indian thinkers thought, with Brahman ? Is there any spiritual principle in man ? What is the meaning and value of his life ? In short what is the relation of matter, life and mind to God ? These are metaphysical questions of profound interest to the human race and none can ignore them without introducing vagueness, obscurity and sometimes contradiction.

The main ontological question, then, is : 'Of what stuff is everything made ?'—" Whence " do they come and whither do they go ? Materialism is naturally the first answer of man to this ontological problem, because the primitive way of looking at things, whether in the East or in the West, is an incipient materialism. The earliest and the first speculation of man in the West to be properly called philosophical, is materialism. It originated with Thales of Ionia who found 'water' to be the permanent and ultimate substance—the original source of all things—from the observation that water plays an important rôle in the economy of nature. The same trend of materialism characterises the early attempts of the Indian thinkers in the Vedic age, to find an infinite as the ground and condition of the finite. At that early age nothing could answer to the feeling for the Infinite so well as the boundless and brilliant firmament of heaven. The sun and the moon and the stars may change, storms may break and the clouds roll away, but the sky abides for ever.

The earliest ontological theories are thus materialistic. Psychology tells us the reason of this. The world without, the material world, is very powerful in attracting our attention. The content of our thoughts, the mental image, the story may be intensely attractive ; but it is the content, namely the mental image of material events that does the attracting. It is the picture, not the thoughts as mental events, that draws the mind in the fascinating story. Thus after all the interest is centred upon the world of material things. Hence it is that man's attention for ages has been directed to the material world about him rather than to the mental states within him, since he is naturally impressed more by the material world than by the mental world. It is to him the more real world. It is the world he pictures to himself most readily and knows best. The world of mind, as something totally different from the world of matter, does not interest him, or attract his attention, or become adequately apperceived.

Primitive materialism is a sort of animism or rather hylozoism explaining everything in nature as being inhabited by a soul, just as is the human body. Modern materialism rejects such an animistic interpretation of nature and reduces everything in nature, even life and mind, to a purely mechanical process.

The materialist seeks to explain the universe from Matter which is regarded as the self-existent and ultimate reality, containing even the 'promise and potency of all terrestrial life.' The whole world of the non-living, the living, and the self-conscious is the chance product of an infinity of atoms dancing in infinite space and infinite time. It is the conglomeration and fortuitous combination and recombination of atoms that has given rise to all objects. Even living and mental beings have arisen out of the spontaneous concurrence of atoms. There is, therefore, no absolute break between the non-living and the living, no hitch between the mental and the material, since each is composed of the same primal elements and is subjected to the same purely mechanical laws. Materialism, thus, claims to satisfy better than any other 'ism' the legitimate demands of the reason for unity.

The entire solar system including our earth, the planets, the stars and the satellites and the sun is the product of a wholly blind and automatic process of change from a comparatively simple physical basis—the atoms of the nebula—working wholly under physical or mechanical forces of attraction and repulsion without the need of guidance from a Designing Mind.

Consistently with their doctrine, the materialists have read mind and life in terms of matter, thus reducing each of them only to a product, function or epi-phenomenon of matter. Mind or consciousness is the result of a concussion of physical atoms and molecules agitating within the brain. Mind or mental activity is nothing but brain activity. Brain is the organ of the mind and the mind depends upon it in every way. Its sensations depend upon the stimulus coming to the brain-centre from the organs of sense.

An injury to these organs means a diminution of consciousness and a severe injury to the brain means a temporary extinction of all consciousness, while its dissolution means the permanent loss of consciousness. Psychical processes are thus more and more purely neural. 'Brain secretes thought, as the lever secretes biles.'

The 'whence' of life is similarly explained by the materialist in terms of mechanical causation. The structure and behaviour of living organisms can be completely explained in essentially those terms (physical and chemical) by which that of non-living matter can be explained. Living organism is only a physico-chemical machine. The origin of life seems to be resolved into a pure problem of physics and chemistry and biology is nothing but the physics and chemistry of organisms. There is no fundamental difference between the organic and the inorganic matter: the only difference between them is that of complexity. Life originates from what is lifeless, *i.e.*, from inanimate matter—from the working of forces, molar, chemical and electrical, attached to atoms. The elemenatry forms of life, *viz.*, the protoplasmic cells arose from the fortuitous combination of the atoms of C, H, O, N, and the various species of plants and animals have been gradually evolved out of them.

Materialism thus reduces the categories of life and mind to the single category of matter, and fills up the gap between animate and inanimate, between consciousness and unconsciousness.

According to materialism, the growth of mind has to be conditioned by the same forces as that of the body. The history of the two is quite parallel. Soul or mind is nothing but the body distinguished by the attribute of intelligence. Its origin and its ultimate fate are locked together with the origin and the fate of the body. The aggregation of material atoms brings it into existence. While their disintegration means the destruction and death of the body and with it the death and the annihilation of the soul. As such belief in the soul and its non-corporeal existence after death and its immortality is nothing but fictitious and superstitious.

Man is a child of time, not of eternity: why should he toil for an eternal life? "Spring flowers keep not always the same charm, nor beams the ruddy moon with face unchanged; why harass with eternal designs a mind too weak to compass them?" All things change and pass away; nor man himself has any abiding destiny; his best wisdom is to clutch from the hands of fate the flowers she offers, for they perish as he thinks to gather them. The death of the body brings the death of the soul: the perfection of the soul consists in the perfection of the body, *i.e.*, in the perfect enjoyment of the pleasures of the body, so long it lasts. Not spiritual bliss, but the morality of sensual enjoyment is the best morality, the prudential morality for man. Any form of asceticism or self-renunciation is foolish, for by it we miss that end of life which is essentially a life of pleasure. A man hath no better thing than to eat, and to drink and to be merry. We are to drink life to the lees, for death comes to all, closing our lives, remembering the moral—

> "While life is yours, live joyously:
> None can escape death's searching eye:
> When once this frame of ours they burn,
> How shall it ever again return."

There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any life in another world. While life remains, as the Cārvāka would say, let a man live happily, let him feed on *ghee* even though he runs into debt. Virtue is a delusion, and enjoyment is the only reality. Life is the only end of life. There is no need to control passion and instinct, since they are nature's legacy to man. Man is to make the best of the situation in which he is placed. He is not to despair, but to enjoy his life while it survives. Penance or mortification of the body in the hope of a bliss in a future existence in heaven is the height of folly that human beings can commit. For where is heaven? Where is the future life? These are the inventions of impostors—inflatations of the world of fancy. Religion is a foolish aberration, a mental disease. There

is no heaven than the mundane life of pure pleasure, no hell than mundane pain, no God than the earthly king who ministers to our pleasure and happiness by keeping law and order and whose existence is proved by the World's eye-sight. Such is the hedonistic principle of life arising from a consistent adoption of the materialistic philosophy of nature.

Materialism and science has thus explained everything in a truly natural way, without supposing anything supernatural; and herein consists the merits of the materialistic explanation. But the demerits of such an interpretation are not less important or too slight to be overlooked. Materialism has laid the whole emphasis only on one aspect of all things to the utter neglect of their other aspect. Lighting up the phenomenal aspect of things with the vividness of intuitive presentment, Materialism has left the other aspect of things, *viz.*, their noumenal aspect, in the shade. Grasping a principle of limited range, it has applied that principle fearlessly to objects which it cannot explain and which, therefore, it has only served to distort. Materialism on science is thus of limited range, and when it is extended beyond that range, it is sure to come into contradiction with facts. Materialism is a one-sided explanation and thus fails to offer any satisfactory explanation not only of the world, but also of life and mind. Materialism whenever taken to be the sole and the whole explanation of the world-problem, is bound to culminate in scepticism in philosophy, Hedonism in Ethics and Atheism in Religion.

Materialism fails to answer the question: How is the world constituted? According to it, the world is composed of absolutely independent objects or 'atoms' infinite in number. To the popular opinion, no doubt, the world appears as such. Taking note of this the materialist has come to deny the existence of God as the evolving and the sustaining power of the world. There is no harmony, nor adaptation of means to ends, no purpose going to be realised by the world-process; the harmony, the unity that we find in the world are more apparent than real. There is no

universe but a multiverse or a 'pluralistic universe,' as William James calls it. The world is not a cosmos but a chaos of 'eaches.' Hence there is no need of an Intelligent Being to bring it into existence; in other words the theistic hypothesis of God as the evolving and the sustaining power of the world is a pure myth, a fiction.

Reflection on the constitution and behaviour of things shows that materialism "is more a battle-cry and a protest than an explanatory theory," and is based on superficial observation of things. Things act and are acted upon, not occasionally and accidentally, but constantly and universally. "Looking at the waves breaking on the sea-shore, one may think, how like an individual thing each is as it rolls nearer and nearer. On and on they come, each trying to overtake the other before it. How independently each seems to act. Finally as each grows higher and higher, the top begins to curl; it turns and then in a mad dash ends its life, a little sea of dancing, boiling, struggling foam rushing up to the beach's slope. How short was that life, yet seeming how free and careless of all else."

But a moment's insight soon reveals to him how deceptive its seeming independence was. It was driven on by forces from behind and beneath. The wind had set the topmost water of the sea into motion; and little by little with gathered force the water had itself added to the wind's work. As the waves approached the beach, the resistance of the sloping shore altered their shape and motion till their onward course and gravitation led them to destruction. The wind, the waters pushing from behind, the resistance of the beach, and attraction of the earth have all played their part. But even those are not all that have determined the wave's course. The shape of the beach, the looseness or hardness of its structure must have played some part. A great part has indeed been played by the tide. But what made the tide?—the sun and the moon.

In short, we are brought face to face with the indefinitely wide-spread interaction of all the elements of the whole universe.

Further analysis of parts and new discoveries of science but keep adding to the universality and the intimacy of the world-wide interaction of thing with thing. The interaction exists among all things throughout all space and throughout all time.

The world is not merely a macrocosm; but it is also a system of microcosm—exhibiting everywhere the reign of universal law and harmony of action whereby each thing plays its definite rôle in an eternal and universal drama. Science no doubt shows the 'how' of this marvellous scheme. But the 'why' of this remains for it a mystery. It can be explained only by Idealism and Theism which shows that the ground and condition of this harmonious scheme of phenomena of the world lies in a supersensible noumenal substrate. Without this noumenal reality the phenomena of the world become just like the play of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Science is no doubt concerned with phenomena, but it is not possible to have a clear understanding of them without having in the background of our thought some hypothesis as to the ultimate reality.

Evidences from different departments of the world as furnished by the sciences show that the world is a system of systems, exhibiting everywhere the reign of law and harmony, co-ordination and adaptation of means to ends, subordination of lower ends to higher ends or what is called a 'hierarchy of ends.' All these point unmistakably to the theistic conclusion that the whole course of the world-process is guided by an Intelligent Being who is working with a definite plan and purpose of his own. God is the ultimate principle of the universe, evolving, sustaining, and developing everything, from the minutest atom to the enormous mountain, every phenomenon, natural, social and psychical, with an end of His own, thus making up a system of the universe when everything is in its proper place and function.

The science of astronomy unfolds before us the wonderful adaptation among the suns, planets, stars and satellites of our Solar System, so kept in their relative positions and orbits of

revolution as to maintain a moving equilibrium. And when we come to the science of biology we find that this science alone contains evidence which outweighs the whole tissue of evidence furnished by other sciences. From the protoplasmic cells, the most elementary form of life, to the most delicate and complex organisms, of human beings, the observer is astonished to find in these organs the most exquisite adaptability and co-ordination of structure and function, which clearly bespeak the operation of a Designing Mind or God. To choose among the organs the eye, the delicate apparatus of vision, with the different layers of its retina—the movements of its eye-ball, the adjustment of its lenses to the different distances of objects,— is a marvellous instance of adaptation between the organ and external environment, and is, as Helmholtz has said, sufficient to cure atheism.

The materialists have, however, presented a diametrically opposite picture to what the Absolutists give of their "block universe." Idealism, they say, is only a faith, a theory: as applied to concrete facts of life it seems contradictory to what we find in nature through experience. "The few selected cases of adaptation which the Idealist makes much of are far outnumbered by instances of ill-adaptation which are conveniently ignored." Everywhere in the world from the inorganic to the organic existence we meet with defective, useless and meaningless arrangements of things which point to the blind and random operation of physical forces rather than to the purposive activities of an intelligent maker of the world. The solar system is defective in so far as it fails to present the full moon every night: the earth is defective as there are polar and tropical regions to give extremes of cold and heat, mountains and oceans which are useless wastes, and earthquakes, volcanoes and hurricanes are meant for devastation and destruction of things. Hence the religious conception of God as the all-wise Designer of the world is a mere guess, a conjecture, a presumption without justification.

Reflection, however, shows that all these arguments against Idealism and Theism are based on the superficial observation of things. The few defects which the opponents of Idealism point out cannot certainly prove that the world is the product of blind and irrational forces. Further what appears to us as defects might be so due to our ignorance or *avidyā* of the reason for their existence. They might be meant for some useful purpose which we do not know.

The materialistic explanation of the world of life and mind is a failure. Life and mind are distinct in character from the non-living and unconscious material atoms out of which they are supposed to be derived. No life can come out of non-living material atoms. Out of life life comes—*omnivorum exvoro*. It has been shown by biological researches that if a quantity of sterilised water were kept in a bottle from the inside of which air had been completely vacuumed up, no germs appeared even after a long time—a fact which conclusively proves that life does not originate from the lifeless, but only from previously existing living germs. Further, the atoms of C, H, O, N, are no doubt found on analysis of the dead body, but a re-combination of these atoms cannot produce a living protoplasm which involves these atoms as its physical basis, we are thus led to the conclusion that life cannot emerge from what is lifeless and that no mechanical combination of lifeless atoms can conjure up a living body as we find it on the face of the globe. Living organism is not a physico-chemical machine. There is in it something qualitatively new not found in the inorganic. As such in the study of living beings and even more of conscious and intelligent beings, the mechanical concepts work more and more awkwardly. The reason is this that life and mind seem to be something distinct and unique and that the terms in which we analyse the physical objects which are inanimate and unconscious hardly suffice for a complete account of beings which though their bodies are "material" and "perceptible by the senses," yet exhibit the characters of life, and of intelligence

and will. The concept of life, then, being unique, we need special language and special concepts to express our experience of it. A living being is an object perceptible by the senses; but it is an object which in structure, behaviour and intercourse with its environment makes upon us a unique total impression which we signalise by the terms life, living, active, and seek to express with J. S. Haldane and others as "an active autonomous whole" or by speaking with J. A. Thompson of "an insurgent self-assertiveness." Life has thus characteristics which a machine has not. And if it can be, by an abuse of language, spoken of as a machine, then it must be spoken of, as Prof. J. A. Thompson puts it, as "self-stocking, self-repairing, self-preservative, selt-adjusting, self-increasing, self-reproducing machine." It is not a mere machine, but a teleological machine, and as such requires not only a mechanistic reading, but a teleological reading as well.

Materialism emphasises only the mechanical aspect of life while neglecting its main aspect—the teleological aspect. Again a materialistic account of mind is not at all statisfactory. Mind is, like life, something distinct from matter out of which it is supposed to be derived. The passage from the physics of the brain to the physics of the mind is utterly unthinkable and quite mysterious as the "appearance of the Djein when Aladdin rubs his lamp in the story." The relation of co-existence that obtains between the activities of the brain and the mental states is not one of identity. Thoughts are not brain actions on moving molecules. By my thoughts I mean my thoughts, and not gyrations of molecules. By anger, I do not mean the flush, the contracted brows, the clenched fist, the altered breathing ; I mean what I feel. Mental states are thus totally distinct from the cerebral activity.

The demands of our ethical life cannot be satisfied by materialism. Materialism reduces mind to a passive product of matter—the body. Hence all our activities must aim at producing pleasurable sensations and avoiding painful ones and

materialism culminates in Egoistic Hedonism. But a Hedonistic system of morality is quite untenable, since a life of heedless and unbroken enjoyment contributes more to self-destruction than to self-perfection. The distinction between right and wrong is not a distinction between healthy and unhealthy organisms. Materialism has repudiated our belief in human freedom. We are, according to it, simply automata and parts of the vast system of nature. But Ethics cannot indeed accept such a determination of materialism.

The self of man is not merely natural and finite as the materialist thinks, but is spiritual and infinite too. Man has within him the natural and the divine elements. The several elements of the universe are found within him: *prāna* corresponds to *vāyu*, the breath of the body to the wind of the world, *manas* to *ākāsa*, the mind of man to the ether of the universe. In addition to these natural elements, the individual self has in it also the divine elements—the *ānanda* state by which at rare moments it enters into immediate relations with the Absolute. The individual soul is thus composed of the natural elements, together with the principles of the infinite. Man is thus both nature and spirit, finite and infinite. He is, as Kant would say, a homophenomenon and a homonoumenon, a denizen of the *mundus sensibilis* and a denizen of the *mundus intelligibilis*.

Man, as part of nature, stands in a relation of reciprocity with other finite objects. He acts upon them and is acted upon by them in return. Desires and impulses are awakened in the mind by external objects which issue in actions directed towards the objects for the gratification of the senses. Such actions cannot be referred to the self as noumenon or spirit. The motive of such actions is pleasure. But in virtue of his intelligible character man stands above the series of natural phenomena and belongs to the supersensible world. Man is an animal and a rational being at one and the same time. His animal nature constantly drags him down from the high pedestal

which he ought to occupy as a national being but reason never ceases to remind him of his high position and to demand from him that in all that he does, he should be guided by its pure light and not influenced by sense. If instead of reason our senses guide us, our life will be a mirror of passing passions and temporary inclinations. He who leads such a life would be like Dogberry's ass. Such a life will be a series of disconnected and scattered episodes, will have no purpose to take no work, to carry out, no end to realise.

In so far as man possesses a sensuous nature, he is a mere animal and a part of the physical world, and it is in virtue of his rationality that he is a free being capable of rising above his finitude. As a natural being, man is nothing in comparison with the forces by which he is surrounded ; but there is something in him which is greater than the whole might of nature. " Bold, overhanging and as it were threatening rocks, clouds piled in the sky, moving with lightning flashes and thunder-peals, volcanoes in all their violence and destruction, hurricanes with their traces of devastations The boundless oceans, the lofty waterfall of a mighty river and such as these exhibit our faculty of resistance as insignificantly small in comparison with our might." But provided we do not fear them we discover in us the faculty of resistance of a quite different type which gives us courage to measure ourselves against the apparent almightiness of Nature. As a spirit man is invincible and truly sublime.

These elements—the natural and the divine—are in the individual in an unstable harmony. The aims of man's moral life is to attain a stable harmony between them. " As he is, man is nature and spirit ; he is dust and deity ; God and brute crossed." Man's moral life is a struggle between the finite and the infinite, the demoniac and the divine elements. "It is the task of the moral life to eliminate the non-divine element, not by destroying it, but by suffusing it with the divine spirit." " Man is a contradiction between the finite heritage of nature and the infinite ideals of spirit, and by a gradual submission of the chaotic

principles of nature to the divine spirit he has to work up his destiny. It is his aim to break the shell of his own little being and blend in love and perfect union with the divine principle."

Man can gain admission into the kingdom of God where the eternal verities of absolute love, absolute freedom dwell, only by sinking his individuality into universality and transforming the whole of finiteness into infiniteness, humanity into divinity. The finite self is not a self-subsisting reality. The reality of the self is the infinite. The finite individual, as Bradley says, becomes an illusion and, in fact, loses whatever reality it possesses if the indwelling spirit is removed. It is the presence of the infinite in the finite or God in man that confers dignity on the self of man. The individual self derives its being and draws its sustenance from the universal life. Nature is the working of God: the thoughts and actions of men are the thoughts and actions of God. The finite selves are factors in the life of God to whom all our life lies open and to whom we are responsible for our actions—

> "To whom ever lies bare
> The abysmal deeps of personality."
>
> *Tennyson.*

The same idea of absolute dependence on God finds its expression from the mouth of Arjuna, the devoted disciple of Krishna, in a beautiful line in the Bhagabat Gita, which runs as follows: "Oh! Lord, I do what you, seated within my heart, prompt me to do."

But this does not show that the individual is a mere illusion, and his life an empty dream. Although all is one, the sole reality of the individual is the universal; of man, God; there is a demand for otherness and multiplicity essential to our ethical life. But this does not mean fundamental externality and exclusiveness in the lives of the individuals like that of the Leibnitzian monads without the corrective of the pre-established harmony, in the possibility of which the ethical ideal would have been

impossible of realisation. Further, although man is divine in nature, this does not mean that there is no room for any ethical endeavour. Simply because it is said that God is in man, it does not follow that there is an end of all endeavour. God is not in man in such an obvious fashion that he can possess Him absent-mindedly and without effort or struggle. God is present in man as a potentia or possibility. It is man's duty to lay hold of him by force and action. "The God in man," as Sir S. Radhakrishnan puts it, "is a task as well as a fact, a problem as well as a possession."

Becoming one with God is the highest ideal of man— "the true and only *summum bonum* of his life. It gives satisfaction to the whole being of man—*prāṇārāmaṃ man-ānandam, sāntisamṛddham amṛtam* "—the delight of life and mind, the fullness of peace and eternity. The world is not for itself. It issues from God, and must seek its rest in God. "As birds go towards the tree intended for their abode, so all this goes to the supreme self." Men being conscious of the great scheme of the universe stretches out his hands to clasp the highest. The perfect ideal of our life is found only in the infinite. Morality is valuable only as leading up to it. The law of morality is an innovation to become perfect "even as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Science has shown successfully 'how the world is a system of systems exhibiting everywhere law and harmony.' But it cannot account "why" the world is so. Nor can science explain life and mind, and answer the demands of our ethical and religious life. Both this success and failure of science point to religion and thus drive us to postulate the divine personality to explain what science fails to explain. It is only in the assumption of God as the all-inclusive and all-pervasive mental principle that an adequate explanation of the world, of life and of mind is possible. The world is a continuous development guided all along by the purpose of an intelligent mind. Life and mind can only be satisfactorily explained by taking them to be the finite repro-

ductions of the infinite life and mind. There is one spiritual principle or idea which regulates every process, one rhythm which throbs in every constitution. Nothing is accidental, nothing unmeaning. Even the lowest particle of the world fulfils some function as a factor of the whole. In this way, the evolution of the world becomes a process in which God realises himself as a self-conscious spirit. The finite things and minds and the end realised by them exist only for the sake of an ultimate end present in the mind of God. The materialistic explanation of the entire universe including the worlds of life and mind is a failure. It can be sufficiently explained by the idea of one universal spiritual energy—the energy of the divine being—who evolves and sustains the universe as a whole, so that a change in one part means a re-adjustment of the whole. For all changes are produced by one universal power which works according to one pervading plan. It is idealism and Theism which draws our attention to this supreme reality which is in and above the world and which supplies that explanation which science fails to supply. Idealism and Theism is on the vantage ground. Thus a theistic explanation is an adequate and satisfactory one. This is why it has been rightly remarked by Pringle Pattison : "The idea of God is the only idea which can make the world intelligible and has been held fast by all great thinkers as the only keystone of all sane thinking."

Science claims to be so militant as to pretend to the empire of human knowledge. Realistic thinkers like Bertrand Russell and others have denounced the importance and necessity of religion. As Russell remarks, "the ethical and the religious motives inspite of the splendidly imaginative systems to which they have given rise, have been on the whole a hindrance to the progress of philosophy and ought to be constantly thrust aside by those who wish to discover philosophical truth." Science was originally entangled with ethical and religious motives and was thereby hindered in its advances. But now it has freed itself from their clutches and is thus progressing, while philosophy

is declining as a mere subject of the dreams. It is therefore "from science rather than from ethics and religion that philosophy should draw its inspiration."

These thinkers have, however, forgotten that science, or rather science based on experience, is not the whole of human knowledge; the sensuous and the material is not the whole of human life. Science cannot explain the whole of Reality, but only a part namely the natural one, the other part namely the spiritual one—the ground and condition of the natural—being reserved for Reason and Intuition. There is a world unseen behind and beyond the world seen by science and materialism. "The philosophical justification of optimistic religion is a critique of science; not a refutation of science, but a delimitation of science—a proof that science is *not all*. Nothing can be more fatuous, nothing more reactionary than the unworthy bickering between Science and Religion. There is no fundamental opposition between Science and Religion. They are not antagonistic to, but are interdependent on, each other, each supplying what the other wants, and each remains necessarily incomplete without the other. The hostility between Science and Religion must cease for man's welfare. For both are human institutions and whether a man be a scientist or a theologian, he needs both. A religious believer, since he is a man, needs science; as a scientist he needs religion. Hence a philosopher of religion who seeks to discredit science, injures himself. He abets a domestic quarrel. The warfare between Science and Religion is, then, a crying sin against the civilisation of man, and a sin against everything that a true man holds dear. The two are not by right enemies, they are brothers. For Science and Religion are the supporting wings of one army engaged in the conquest of ignorance and death. In our life Science and Religion have their allotted parts to play; herein they must be partners, even though they often quarrel,—nay their destiny is a wedded life in which no permanent divorce is possible.

The distinguishing characteristic of Idealism as a philo-

sophy of Religion consists in its redemption of nature from mechanism, by subordinating nature to God. The mechanical cosmos which had served to belittle man is now made to glorify him through being conceived as the fruit of intelligence. God, the discarded hypothesis of science, is enthroned again as the master-knower of whom science itself is only an imperfect instrument. The mechanism of nature which science proves, and by which it seeks to disprove the religious view of the world, is the external expression of the purposive activity of a Rational Power immanent in the world. Science proper is limited to the sphere of experiment, and therefore of mechanism, and there is no denying the fact that from outward experience nature is a system of mechanics. But mechanism is only the external aspect of nature. It has also an internal aspect—an internal Ground and Cause—the Power of Spirit or God.

Religion is universal, original, and necessary. The world has been so framed and the minds so constituted that man even in his lowest state and over all the world would give evidence of possessing perceptions and emotions which the material and the sensuous cannot satisfy and which testifies that God is the true home of spirit. The feeling of incompleteness, the weakness of man, the need felt for a higher spirit, a guide, a friend, a support on which man could rest, is natural to the sick heart of man. The world passes away and the lust thereof: the things seen are temporal: our life is but a vapour that appeareth for a little and then vanisheth away. Such a fleeting, shifting character of the scene on which we look, the transiency of life, the inadequacy of its satisfactions, the insecurity of its possessions, inevitably awaken in the mind and which impels us to seek after a reality behind the world of shadows, an enduring and eternal rock on which, amidst the stream that bears us away, we may plant our feet. The human mind thus cannot rest satisfied with what is merely material and the sensuous, but makes efforts to raise itself above its finitude and identify itself with the Absolute and Eternal point of view. Human life has

an innate craving for the ideal behind the real which serves as an incentive to its life and practice. Man as a religious being demands an answer to life's problems which science will never give. Man could not be man without having within him the faculty of Religion. The desire to rise above what is finite, relative and dependent into union and communion with the Infinite and the Absolute is ingrained in the very nature of man as man. God is the necessary completion of his thought, of his feeling and of his willing. There is something in man which forces him to rise above what is merely material and finite, to the "realm where all the enigmas of the world are solved, all the contradictions of probing thought have their meaning unveiled, and where all pangs of feeling cease, the region of eternal truth, of eternal rest and of eternal peace." The mind of man, then, can find rest nowhere short of an Infinite All-comprehending Mind—an Everlasting Yea, as Carlyle puts it, the Supreme Presence penetrating his soul with love, joy, admiration, exaltation, and ecstasy. It is this feeling within man's heart of hearts that forces him to believe that nature has a Creator and Preserver, the nations, a Governor and man, a heavenly Father and Judge. The universe owes its existence and continuance to the reason and will of a self-existent Spirit who is infinitely powerful, wise and good. This supreme spirit is all-knowing (*sarbajña*), and possessed of all powers (*sarvasaktisamanwitam*). "He is the soul of nature, the principle of the universe, its animating breath and actuating spring."

KALIPADA KAR

POEMS

I. *Death in Love.*

I care not be Thou fraud or truth,
  I know my Love Thou art.
How joyous 'tis in Thee to die,
  Than live in this lone heart.
Let Love forever devour me now
  And wipe me out in Thee.
Life and Death all rott'n tie,
The purest gold's Love-free.
Oh thou and I and that and this
Are ever Love's unfancied kiss.

II. *Loved or not.*

Ah! my desire to love thee, Love—
  O love of all, unseen.
In life is not fulfilled but barred
  By self-made self-hood screen.
In heart desire is painful joy
  A bright but burning fire;
My heart can never cast away
  That life-blend, heart's desire.
Oh! whence, oh whence the silent words :—

Oh that desire nor grows nor dies
  Desire is but thy life
Dost thou not know, dost thou not feel
  That life is pain, that life is joy—
Joy of love shall never cloy
If life is burnt in love-lit fire
Thy life shall be but love-desire

If thou but love what thou call'st love
Thou shalt be love, below, above
Question heart for word and thought
Thou art but love be loved or not.

Sin and Love.

I

Thou lovest me, thou lovest all ;
But how that love to know?
For my beloved I welcome ever,
Of pain the direst blow.
But thou allowest foulest sin
To eat my heart my soul.
But I'm a worm in sea of love.
Then why sin-sick, not whole?

II

In silence, list! love speaks to heart :—
" When pain in joyarms dies
Then pain is life and pain is joy.
And life is but joy rise.
When sin's repented and forgiven
Then life is love and life is heaven.
Then feel on life of love the kiss—
The kiss endures in timeless bliss."

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

ON THE PROBLEM OF ERROR

'Error' seems to be an occasional judgment about human experience. Before we proceed with the discussion about 'error,' it is necessary to determine the meaning of the term 'experience.' We find, that 'experience' has been often used to denote both the act of 'experiencing,' as well as the 'experienced content.' To us it seems that this dichotomy into '-ing' and the '-ed' is due to different points of view. When 'experience,' is taken to mean only the *experienced content*, we obtain so to speak certain static snapshots of the actual experience. On the other hand, when we take 'experience' to denote the *act of experiencing*, we discover merely a flux, a continuum. These two attitudes may be said to give us 'experience' in its spatial and temporal aspects. However, experience as such is never merely spatial, or merely temporal. Hence, from either of these '-ing' or '-ed' points, we arrive at relative, partial and biassed views of experience. And it is only a harmonious fusion of these two partial views that leads to an adequate, a better, so to say a stereoscopic appreciation of the total experience.

There is another difficulty about human experience; and this is about its *nature*. Some think that it is merely the activity of the 'stimulus-object' that produces the impression of *experience* in the 'subject.' While others hold that it is only the activity of the 'subject' that gives a form, and an apology of organisation to the so-called stimulus-object. To us, both these views appear to be only partially correct. We find in them a prejudiced emphasis upon the Objective, or the Subjective conditions of experience, respectively. We never come across any conscious human experience in which either the subject or the object is wholly absent. Broadly speaking the total

'subjective-objective' conditions of experience may be roughly classified as :—

(*i*) The Stimulus-object Physical conditions—*e. g.*, in the case of vision, the form, the physical colour properties, etc., (absorbs light rays of a particular wave-length, and reflects others), of the object.

(*ii*) The Conducting Media Physical conditions—*e.g.*, the light conditions, the presence or absence of fog, mist, etc.

(*iii*) The Receptor-organ Physiological conditions—*e.g.*, the retinal adaptation, the convergence of the eyes, the accommodation of the lens, etc.

(*iv*) The Apprehending Psychosomatic conditions—*e.g.*, the apperceiving dispositions, attitudes, emotional excitement, desires, etc.

(*v*) The effector Psychosomatic conditions—*e.g.*, the muscular and glandular exertions, the action consciousness, thought, anticipations, etc.

Now, if we pay attention to any one or more of the above five factors that are found in any single cross-section of the experience continuum, and if we more or less overlook the rest, we shall arrive at every one of the various theories of knowledge that have been proposed by the different philosophers. Taking the familiar instance of the Rope-snake illusion: We can produce or destroy it by an appropriate alteration of either the form of the rope, or the light conditions of the situation, or the light adaptation of the retina; or the comprehending background or the attitude, or the muscular activity of the person. Whichever one of these factors enters more frequently into our experience we attribute superior significance to that. However, a more thorough analysis will reveal the neglected situations which bring the other factors into relief. Attempts to localise 'error' have discovered it in the functioning of the above-mentioned *superior* conditions analysed in the actual experience. These attempts have been fragmentary and inadequate, since

error is a judgment about a whole experience, and a thorough analysis would find erroneous elements because of the malfunctioning not of one but of all the above-said sets of conditions.

For the purpose of achieving clarity in the present paper, we intend to avoid the prejudicial use of the terms 'subjective' and 'objective' to denote the so-called two aspects of experience. We think a better result is obtained by considering the total experience as an 'impression-expression' situation. In this case, an appreciation of the 'impression' would require an adequate physical knowledge of the stimulus-object, the stimulus-media, the receptor-organ, and the apprehending conditions. Also, an appreciation of the 'expression' would involve knowledge of the 'effector' psychosomatic condition, the stimulus-media, and the object acted upon. When the object acted upon is also a psychosomatic organism, another problem of 'impression' will arise. And in that limiting case when 'the object acted upon' is apparently the subject himself, the resultant mental attitude will provide the impression of the expression-impression series. We should remember, that there is a flux of impressions and expressions in the actual experience continuum, and that the above dichotomous description is in the interest of clarity rather than of exactitude.

The term 'error' is very difficult to define. We are likely to be lured into confusions with the terms 'wrong,' 'untrue' and 'unreal.' We are sure of only one thing that 'erroneous' is an occasional judgment about normal conscious experience. Now, this experience when observed through the different angles of view of ethics, logic, psychology or metaphysics, is severally considered as wrong, incorrect, illusory or unreal. So to say an inexact valuation of the contents of experience may be called an 'error.' The term 'valuation' may be extended to indicate both qualitative as well as quantitative estimations. However, the best way to avoid the accusation of postulating a prejudiced definition is the observation of the genesis of the concept of error.

From our studies of epistemology, we have formed an impression that the inferences are almost always based upon the hypotheses of adult psychology. However, the recent emphasis of psychoanalysis' on child psychology, the experiments of Gestalt-psychology and the educationists, the wonderful investigations of Jean Piaget together with the corroborating studies of Norsworthy and Whitley, urge upon us the necessity of considering the experience of infants and children. Let us see how far these studies help us in elucidating the concept of error. We must remember that in the present state of scientific knowledge, the sciences are not prepared to risk any speculative explanations about phenomena; they find it better to take the humbler rôle and restrict themselves to mere description of detail.

Another point to be noted is that the verdict of error presumes a previous knowledge and an appreciation of pre-existing standards. The erroneous experience fails in some respects to fall within the standard deviation. The magnitude of the divergence indicates the degree of error involved in the experience. Hence 'error' appears only in its practical aspects. If a hypothesis is useful, that is, proves itself useful, it is right for that purpose. There may be more extensive or higher purposes; and so one hypothesis may be found to be correct or incorrect in one sphere and the reverse in a different one. Had there been no failures, no wasted efforts, the concept of error could not arise.

It is not possible to learn from the child his views about 'error,' etc., by entering into his mind and observing the development of his knowledge. We have to confine ourselves only to the observation and interpretation of his bodily behaviour. Our only care is about the keeping of our minds open and unprejudiced. The infant's first cry is an interesting case of prejudiced interpretation. On one hand we have the ethicomythical views of the Upanishads, and the scholiasts; and on the other hand we have the psycho-physiological explanations based upon the alterations in temperature, or the available quantities of oxygen.

The child at a very early age gives indications of specific response to certain auditory or visual stimulus patterns. And, almost along with verbal understanding appears verbal expression also. The child utters single words to indicate a variety of situations. When he says " daddy," it may mean, (*i*) ' daddy has come ' ; (*ii*) 'daddy is absent ' ; (*iii*) ' daddy calls you ' ; (*iv*) ' I want to go to daddy ' ; (*v*) ' I must have *x* from daddy ' ; etc. That is to say one word stands for many functions. Again, the child may use one word for many objects. He will describe the presence of a dog, cat or hen, by the same term ' dog.' From the adult-logic point of view this infantile use of single words for many objects and functions discovers the presence of gross errors and illusions. Now who is in error ? The child, when he describes the presence of a ' cat ' by the use of the term ' dog '; or the logician who understands this as due to a lack of discrimination between the *sense* of a dog and that of a cat. We know that the sensory discrimination of the same child at a much earlier age has been so acute that a very slight alteration in the temperature, sweetness or consistency of the milk offered to its hungry lips would have evoked an instantaneous rejection.

This lack of correspondence between the significance of a term as an *expression* of the child's experience, and the significance of the *impression* of that term formed by the listener, leads to a failure of understanding. This degree of failure may be of a practical importance or not. If the child's cry of 'dog' calls the father to ward him from the fearful proximity of a fierce strange beast, the inadequacy of the monosyllabic expression becomes negligible. However, if a similar cry awakes the father from his mid-day *siesta*, and the situation discovers the hen peacefully pecking in the yard; this inadequacy of expression is likely to be soon followed by loud angry words (from the father), or even a more or less painful pinching of the ears (of the child). Now this tingling intrusion of the pain will on the one hand teach the child that his expression was grossly inadequate and that it required urgent modification. On the

other hand, this activity of pinching will slightly humble the pride of the father and make him suspect that his child was not a Bhāravi in expression.

To an average adult onlooker the above situation will reveal the presence of error. He will further think that whereas the erroneous elements are present both in the inexact expression of the child, as well as in the inexact comprehension or the impression of the father; there is in the situation more of the error of expression than that of impression. However, if we consider the child's point of view, we will reach at an opposite conclusion. Another point to be considered is about the reason or reasons that led the onlooker to infer the presence of error. If he does not leave the whole thing to karmaphala, adṛṣṭa, or avidyā sprung from these two, then he might admit a vague awareness of something wrong the moment he noticed the loud words of the man or the wailing of the child. He might say that the lack of harmony indicates that there was something essentially erroneous about that situation. In this case he shall have to provide himself with a standard of harmony by which to measure the superficial dis-harmony prevalent in the situation. His judgment will be the case of a measurement against an external standard, so to say. Now this 'external standard ' has in itself been formed by him after a much closer and intimate knowledge of the details of many other similar cases. However in the absence of similar intimate knowledge about the details of the situation, we must be doubtful about his judgment.

On the other hand, the argument that there was a clear and distinct self-evident lack of working harmony in the very perception of the situation, will not hold water, if this clarity is deduced from the present superficial aspect only. Error is essentially a judgment by the Present on the anticipations of the past. We must know the earlier expectation before we can declare it ungratified. We must know the anticipation before we can realise the failure in its fulfilment. We must recall the previous valuation before we can judge about the rise or fall in

the 'cash value' to-day. We will have to go back, we will have to go deeply into the situation, if our judgments are to prove profitable, or are to have any working certainty.

Before we proceed to an analysis of the above situation, there is one point which we must keep in mind. Speech is essentially a social function, and efficiency or otherwise is to be judged from its success in expressing one's experiences so that the others may be able to understand it tolerably clearly. When I say, " This afternoon I saw a dog running after a cat," each of you does form some image of the situation. But the images of the situation formed in your several minds will materially differ from each other. Some of you will think of a brown dog, others of a white, a black, or a white-and-black one, etc. Then again some of you will picture a big dog, others a small one, a starveling of the streets, or a pampered pet of some pompous personage. This much about the variety among the images of the dogs as regards their form, size, economic status of their masters, age, diposition, etc. A similar variety shall also be present in the case of the cats. Further, the picturing of the situation "running after" will prove a fruitful source of variety among your individval impressions. Now, in my statement " This afternoon I saw a dog running after a cat," I have omitted to give details about the locality. But each of you will not see the dog running in the afternoon light after the cat in ākāsa. Each of you will almost automatically fill in a locality after his or her own heart,—a street or a park, a backstairs or a garden. If we compare your several impressions with each other we would find such a bewildering variety that we may conclude either that no two of you have followed or understood my expression, or that my description was hopelessly inadequate. And yet any graduate would feel ashamed if he could not follow such a simple statement. Moreover, except for a philosophical dialectic we are always making similar (inadequate) statements you are sure about understanding them, and above everything you even enjoy the *joi de vivre* with equally inadequate expressions.

However, in spite of its absolute drawbacks there is a working certainty about these symbols of the speech in social function. Speech as expressed is merely a collection of certain sound symbols, not the perception of the subject. Speech when heard and understood is an interpretation of these sound symbols at the second remove, in a different mental setting, and hence bound to be different from the content of the expression. This lack of coincidence, this variation between the contexts of the minds of the speaker and the listener can never be eliminated,—unless we have the practically impossible spectacle of two people with exactly similar mental histories and identical psycho-physical settings. Hence an impartial observer will always discover in the listener's impression an element of error in view of the expression of the speaker. However, mostly the degree of discrepancy is small, and there is a high degree of working probability about both the expressions as well as the impressions.

15. Speech symbols acquire a conventional working identity of meaning. A knowledge of grammar and vocabulary helps us to define and burnish certain aspects of a portion of our experiences, and their impressions obtained by the listener are practically true copies. However these 'substantive states' of consciousness are not discrete unconnected clouds of vapour floating about in air, they are continuous with the less defined, the so-called 'transitive states' or marginal processes of the stream of consciousness. Now, these 'transitive states' and the non-conscious apperceptive mass are the real *contexts*, the settings for the substantive states. And these are always the contributions of the listener's own mind. The degree of similarity between the contexts of the listener's mind and that of the speaker indicates the degree of error ; while the quality and quantity of the listener's context is responsible for the *vividness of the listener's impressions*. This is probably the reason why poetry with its suggestive gaps, alliterations, novelty of construction, and metrical harmony, attains superior vividness as a mimetic art than any prose burdened with a polished mosaic of sharp

details available in a scientific report even upon aesthetics. For instance, opening at random the "*Creative Mind*" by Spearman, we find in the chapter 'Pictorial Art' on p. 66:— "The fantasies introduced into visual appearance by even the most skilful among them found more than a match in those which were introduced without effort by certain persons suffering from schizophrenic insanity (Plate XIII). For this embarrassing situation, two remedies were found. One was for the artists to follow the insane. The other was for the insane to become artists. Both solutions have had their followers—with honours divided. Compare Plates XIII and XV." The lack of warmth in the impression of the above may on the other hand be compared with that aroused by these lines from Tagore's "*Gitānjali*"—

> "Rātri jemana lukiye rākhe ālor prārthanāi,
> Temani gabhir moher mājhe tomāi āmi cāi."[1]

In short, though paradoxical it is true that in the case of speech the 'unspoken' and the 'unheard' are of greater importance and more vivid significance than the 'spoken' or the 'heard.' An undue emphasis upon the *presented* words as spoken or written, heard or read, and a negligence of the *unpresented*, leads to the endless squabbles of the logicians about the implications of the mummified corpses of letter-patterns divorced from living experience. The Jain doctrine of the *saptabhangi* is no better than the thorough report of a morgue inspector. The same arguments apply *mutatis mutandis* to the expression and the impression of gestures also.

From the above, basing our judgment upon a comparison of the total contents of the experience desired to be expressed in the expression, and the total contents of the impression-psychosis, we cannot but infer that no impression or expression is ever free from inaccuracy. The expression is

[1] "As the night keeps hidden in its gloom the petition for light, even thus in the depth of my unconsciousness rings the cry—I want thee, only thee."—*Gitānjali.*

always inexact, and the impression is more so. Hence our best efforts can only be in the direction of reducing error to an innocuous quantity. This is why we have refrained from resorting to quotations or references from eminent philosophers and schools. Each of them carry a cumulated prejudice along with their face-values; and we want your impression to be as free from prejudice as we hope our expression is.

Another point of importance is that the total situation is always an 'expression-impression' situation, and that it always involves some degree of error. Some of you might be reminded of the classical phrase of Wm. James, "Every impression has an expression." However, when we analyse the total situation into the problem of expression, and the problem of impression, it becomes very difficult to locate error in either of them. If we take the problem of expression in isolation, we find that it consists of a translation of the human conscious experience into certain arbitrary though conventional symbols. Provided the appropriate apperception-mass is aroused in the listener's mind any form of expression will do. And in the isolated situation of impression the subject is not to be considered in error so long as his apperception-mass brings up for comprehension all available cumulative common experiences of the things or situations denoted by the terms heard. If the wealth of the past experience is insufficient shall we consider it as a fault of expression, or that of impression? When according to a humorous remark of Lt.-Col. O. B. Hill, the mother answers the child's query as to where he was before he was born with the words "You were in my uterus." These words being incomprehensible to the child : Where lies the error ? In the mother's expression, or the child's understanding ? When looked at isolation from each other, both of them are right. Now, if the error can neither be located in the expression, nor in the impression, then how was it supposed to be present in the total 'expression-impression' situation? Here is an interesting occasion for hair-splitting logic-chopping.

To us it seems that the absence of error in the analysis of isolated elements indicates that a vital relation exists between the expression and the impression in the actual living experience; and that this is irretrievably lost when we analytically disrupt the total *gestalt*. Once we segregate the two constituents, we have better chances of losing our heads over the problem, rather than of finding the bases for error or truth. Upon isolation, we usually find that the problem of expression is subordinated to that of impression. We presume that when we know correctly, we will express our knowledge correctly. But when knowledge impression is divorced from expression, the individual is exiled from society, the subject is metamorphosed into a mirror, and the problem of error becomes irrelevant. It is only the expression of the subject based upon the anticipations aroused by his impressions of the subject, that can be the basis of a verdict upon the degrees of truth and error involved in the subject's knowledge. In the absence of expression, the problem of error becomes illegitimate. In the absence of impression, the concept of error becomes a fantasy. Any theory of knowledge, which takes into consideration merely the subject, or the object, or the two indiscrete ineffective isolation, gives the life direct to actual living experience: and all such are erroneous. This standard of judgment is not a postulated figment, but a lesson from hard experience.

SHYAM SWAROOP JALOTA

ORGANISATION

Organisation is a beautiful expression. There are not many words to equal it in respect of the delightful picture it suggests to the mind. Behind it there is the idea of a process symbolising life. To organise really means to transform a dead unit into the organ of a living structure. Whatever stands detached and loose is brought into unity so that the units are no longer left asunder but they are made to participate in the function of the whole. Organisation signifies the interplay of the whole and part, the one and many; which one of these should claim priority, let philosphers decide.

From another side the expression betrays traces of barbaric influence. In a sense a living creature is an instance of organisation ; but in another sense it is not fashionable to characterise him as properly organised so long as he does not enter into association with other fellow creatures. We would rather call him a single isolated individual who lives for himself alone. An individual as an individual has no organisation. The first symptom of organisation is noticeable in the formation of a herd or group which, under various circumstances, assumes such forms as the tribe, the society, the state, etc. In every instance there is the same spirit at work, *viz.*, an attempt to subordinate the individual to the control of the group. It may, as some think, herald the dawn of a new order of ethicality, a change from egoism to altruism, but there is little doubt that the impulse to live together in groups is reminiscent of man's kinship with the brutes. Herd instinct dominates the life of certain sections of lower animals. They are not awakened to a sense of their individual dignity and worth. On the contrary the very instinct of self-preservation, of defence and protection, impels them to live together in groups. A forlorn creature left

to himself is seized with fear as if he has no chance of protection. Herd-life is, in essence, an indication of barbarity, being an outcome of fear, lack of self-consciousness and will.

Civilisation, on the contrary, is marked by the development, in an increasing degree, of the consciousness of the ultimate value and dignity of each individual as an individual. The individual in so far as he is civilised, gains a vision of his intrinsic worth, he acquires the power of clear thinking as to the ways and means of realising his good, he knows the right course, and refuses to submit to the dictates of others as to what he should do and say. The highest blessing that civilisation confers on man is that it makes him fully self-conscious and self-reliant. The light of knowledge and truth which comes in the wake of culture gives him courage enough to fight out single-handed his battle of life. Let all the forces of the world be arrayed against him, he would still stand like a rock. There are none to befriend him in his hour of trials, but that causes not the least trepidation of heart. This is how the rights of the individual are asserted against the rule of the herd. Civilisation really means the emancipation of the individual from the group-control. It is a great liberating force. Such lives as that of a Buddha, or a Christ, a Socrates or a Galileo, are the crowning phases of what civilisation stands for, and they are the real measure of the glory and excellence of civilisation. Is it not correct then to say that the trend of civilisation is towards individualism, far removed from what is meant by organisation?

A moment's reflection will reveal the difficulties of such a position. It is running against facts, many think, to characterise civilisation as a splitting-up process. Rather every advance in civilisation, ancient or modern, has gone on deepening the sense of limitations and shortcomings of the individual as an individual. In primitive times when conditions of life were simple it might have been possible for an individual to live a self-centred life of exclusive isolation. Such primary necessaries of life as food and drink, shelter and clothing, were the only things

he required. With such a simple scheme of wants the primitive man felt to be in no hurrying mood. Moving leisurely in an environment of plenty and abundance he might afford to remain self-sufficient. But the growth of population raised the initial difficulties in the self-centred life of the individual. In two ways pressure of population reacted powerfully against the individualistic scheme of life. First, it destroyed the simplicity of life's wants. With varied temperaments there arose differences of tastes and desires. A more complicated scheme of wants came to be set up in place of the simple scheme of old primitive days. And with such complex conditions life's struggles became keener and acuter. Nobody could expect to get what he required by mere asking for it. Unless he consented to work, supplementing the resources of nature, he was faced with the danger of starvation. Diversified interests called for different kinds of work. And no man could any more feel quite equal to the task of meeting all his requirements. The need for mutual helpfulness came along with division of labour. It was in this way that the earliest start for social life was made, and herein is to be traced the first glimmering of civilisation.

The force of this economic argument is made stronger through ethical considerations of a certain type. It is a favourite idea with some school of philosophic thought to regard the primitive man as a natural egoist, primarily bent upon satisfaction of his private ends. Such an attitude of narrow individualism was necessarily followed by a reign of utter chaos and confusion. It resulted in a state of perpetual warfare among individuals, everybody's hand being against his neighbour. Evidently such a state of affairs led to the frustration of the very objective for which they started. At this stage good sense dawned upon them. Each learnt to be careful of the interests of the other, but for which he could not even be assured of his own welfare. The development of the social sentiment is thus considered to be an offshoot of native individualism. And the advent of civilisation is to be looked for precisely at the point where and when the social sentiment begins to prevail.

There seems then good reason to believe that civilisation is an organising process. Its main function is to catch the natural man with his jarring hopes and passions in order to trasform him into a disciplined, law-abiding citizen. The introduction of law where disorder prevailed, justified the hope of an adequate return for the services rendered unto others. It paved the way for a life of fellowship, love and service, the chief foundation of sociality. The higher the pitch of civilisation, the greater is the range and deeper is the strength of social life. From rude beginnings of tribal and communal consciousness, the social life attains the highest level in the awakening of nationality, of which the state organisation constitutes the highest executive authority. As the state stands a guarantee for the upkeep of national and social life, all available resources are focussed to a point for the consolidation of the authority of the state. The evolution of the state therefore marks an important stage in the growth of the power of organisation. Through its influence the latter has become better disciplined, required a more systematic character, and shown greater promise of steadiness and stability.

In modern science again the state has found a powerful ally to help in the work of self-consolidation. Science aims at the discovery of uniformity amidst diversity and multiplicity. It is a levelling-down process whereby individual differences are all reduced to a common mean standard. On the basis of this, statesmanship, *i.e.*, the function of legislation and governance, has become a thing of easy accomplishment. Not only this. The discovery of laws operative throughout nature has provided a master-key in the hands of the guardians of the state to harness the forces of nature to the glorification of the nation. The state is the supreme authority and though protests are made against every encroachment by the state upon the frontiers of personal liberty, it is nevertheless recognised by everybody that in times of crisis the so-called rights and privileges of the individual must be sacrificed at the altar of the state.

The state represents the acmé of organisation and its authority must not be challenged on any account. With the evolution of the state a considerable change has taken place in men's attitude to life. He has ceased to think of himself as a self-sustaining and self-developing unit, and has grown accustomed to regard himself more as the organ of a huge body. Hammered in the political workshop his conscience has been so finely attuned that it almost instinctively approves what the state decides. "To do the right" becomes virtually a synonym for carrying out what the state ordains. All eyes are fixed upon the state dignitaries, and the importance which they receive from the people at large often run to wild extremes. Consider with what zeal interviewers in hundreds daily throng to their side, how the press is thirsting after news regarding every little movement they make, with what avidity film-makers hurry about collecting snapshots of every little smirk of their face, and how frequently their names appear in the lips of every householder. The whole world is cast in a sort of political spell. To what extent the process of state-hypnotisation can go, has been revealed in the last great war. Soon as the alarm signal was given, men, in millions, sprang to their feet, as one man to defend the honour and stability of the state. No time was lost to think out the issues involved, no consideration was paid to the losses imminent on such a course. "Our state is at war with that state, we must fight to a man" was the cry heard everywhere.

And what was the consequence?—Every manner of privations, inconceivable hardship, suffering and misery. This was evidently not the worst type of evil. After all, people might be high-souled enough to pay dearly for a loved object. But when the discovery came that this cherished ideal with all its intoxication was worth nothing compared to the heavy toll of sacrifice in the lives of men,—a great many yet in their teens, souls so bright, so noble that they would have ennobled humanity, the shock was unbearable. It was a horror to contemplate that love of vanity or power could so much infatuate a handful of mortals as

to permit of such a ruthless slaughter of the choicest flowers of their race, the beauty of whose innocence would have put the angels to shame. People's patience was sore tried. And the reaction was inevitable. The whole world was convulsed to its foundation. Mighty empires crumbled to pieces, and all pomp and power was humbled to dust.

And so we have now to witness new tendencies aiming at undermining the structure of all organisation. It is true, the spirit of revolt set to work long before the war; in one country at least it managed to summon all forces of disorder towards the subversion of the settled authority of the state. But the post-war symptoms appear to be more persistent, and far more wide-spread, being directed against every form of organised institution. People awoke as if from an evil dream. The type of organisation that so long gave them a sense of security and peace has been found to be thoroughly rotten—more of the nature of a vampire, sucking out their lifeblood, rather than anything ensuring health and vigour.

Three things are discernible in the motif of dissatisfaction that has exercised man's minds. First, it was a movement, stirred by deep feelings of indignation, to wrest the controlling power of the state from single autocratic individuals and place it in the hands of a select group. In course of time the whole people grew ambitious to have a share in political power. No blow was aimed at the authority of the state. The clamour was really for supplanting one-man-rule by class-rule and latterly the supersession of the class-rule by the mass-rule.

This was on the surface. But underneath it other symptoms, more violent in nature, were slowly surging, with the object of overthrowing the very foundation of state organisation. From one side there came the demand, absolute and imperative in tone, for the complete nullification of the state authority, inspired by the idea that the state is an unmitigated evil. The exponents of this cult of political nihilism are distrustful of centralised organisations, for every organisation is found sooner

or later to stagnate into a vicious mould to hamper the growth of the free life of man. The state authority like every other organised authority exists to benefit some at the expense of others. Its dispensation of justice is only a veiled manner of vindicating the interest of the stronger party, and its command of force is secured solely for the purpose of enforcing obedience from the weak to its peremptory mandates. As a symbol of force and power the state always delights in a display of its majestic splendour to the terror of the multitudes at large. "It has been from its origin and it remains still at present," to quote the words of Bakunin, the Russian anarchist, "the divine sanction of brutal force and triumphant inequality." And so we must destroy it root and branch.

The other view does not go so far as this but in another sense it certainly goes much deeper. The state is a detestable evil if it stands for a symbol of force, but as an institution for service it commands admiration. The retention of the state organisation is advocated on its undertaking to fulfil certain conditions, some of a purely extraneous character touching upon the outer fringe of the organisation, while others far deeper in implication, affecting it in its inner life. In the former case we have the beginning of the attempt to foil the mischief-making propensity of the state by subordinating it to the moral pressure of a vaster organisation such as a league of nations. And in the latter case the idea is so to transmute the character of the organisation from within itself as to make it appear less like a state. The former plan is yet in a tentative stage. Leaving it aside for the present, I turn to the second scheme.

There are three conditions that deserve notice in the latter programme:

1. The state should abjure all claims to the glorification of its authority. Let it not serve itself, but serve others in every possible way.

2. It should function by gentle, peaceful persuasions, not by show of force. Let not the state be a stronghold of force,

manned and controlled by the worshippers of power, but let it be an embodiment of love and goodwill.

3. And lastly it should abolish all inequalities among men so that the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant be all placed on the same footing. To ensure this let the guardianship of the state be vested in the hands of the suffering millions, not, as before, in the hands of a privileged class. All the wealth and resources of the land shall be at the disposal of this organisation. But far from spending a fraction of this on its own account it shall devote the whole proceeds to the amelioration of the condition of the masses. The old world notions that the state's primary obligation is to look to its own safety must be abandoned. Rather its primary care should be for the enlightenment of the masses, for their health and comfort ; let it feed the famished, nurse the sick, find work for the unemployed, and the integrity of the organisation will stand unimpaired. All this no doubt implies yeoman's service, but unless this be done there is no prospect of raising human happiness and efficiency to the maximum level.

We are now at the parting of ways. Broadly speaking there are two ways between which our choice must lie. But in strictness, it is a triangular crossing.

First, there is the commonplace view of the state as a suprahistoric structure whose primary concern is to protect itself ; and its next duty is to accept unquestioningly the prevailing distinctions among men and to see that no disruptive forces may prevent a man from keeping to himself what he earns. Duties such as these necessitate the emphasis on force, but lest it be maddened by the passion for power, it should, as a corrective measure, subordinate itself to a higher organisation. Secondly there is the view, steadily gaining ground, that no organisation is worth anything if it be based on force or if it were to countenance the conventional inequalities among men. The noblest organisation acceptable to man must begin by repudiating the basis of force. Its foundation must be love and good will among

men, none enjoying any privileged position. Such an organisation, devoted wholly to humanitarian service, is competent to guarantee full freedom and equality of men.

In the programmes indicated above one thing is common. They both imply faith in the value of organisation. But as against these two, there stands out the third alternative which insist on an unconditional demolition of every form of organisation. It is the cult of pure individualism, oftentimes verging on the borderland of confused anarchism.

It is difficult to set the case of anarchism in a clear perspective. Theoretically anarchism stands opposed to any form of ordered organisation, but in actual practice it is obliged to attach value to organisation. Anarchists, all over the world, have their own organisation, for they know well that without organisation it is impossible even for anarchism to thrive and prosper. But the moment it yields to an organisation its inward hollowness is exposed. Anarchism is in truth the expression of a morbid temperament, born of malice and spite, that failing to reconcile itself to the existing type of organisation, wantonly deludes itself into the belief that all organisation is an evil. But in running away from one order, it inevitably crashes against its own mould.

A pure state of anarchism is unthinkable. It is no use therefore discussing whether it can do any good to humanity. Assuming man cannot live in exclusive isolation, the question is what form of organisation serve best the good of humanity. The issue is complicated further owing to the absence of any clear idea as to what we understand by the good of humanity. Do we mean by 'good of humanity' the provision of an equal quantity of food and clothing, recreation and amusement for each and all, in exchange for an equal quantity of work? Or does it consist in giving special opportunities to exceptional men whose achievements of excellence in taste and character shall raise the stature of humanity to greater glory? It is the old controversy between the clamour for quantity and quest for quality.

It would be foolhardy to deny that humanity is much benefited by the programme that aims at mitigating the distress and sufferings of the toiling masses, giving them regular supplies of the ordinary necessaries of life. For ages they have been hungering, and it is to the credit of modern civilisation that it aspires after a type of organisation whereby this hunger can be appeased. But if in doing so it should block the prospects of genius to rise, and stifle the career of special talents to glory the situation cannot but be deplored.

Nor can we remain blind to the dangers from an opposite direction. The cry for preferments in the name of a higher mission of ennobling humanity with brighter samples of character may end by setting up a leisure-loving pampered class,—a set of 'blind mouths,' as Milton used to characterise them. Frenzied with the prospects of having everything secured to them they grow utterly callous to the groans of famished sufferers.

It was long believed that the strongest argument for the justification of the state lay in the fact that it facilitated the growth of arts and industries, of the pursuit of truth and beauty by rearing up a race of high-class intellectuals, supported on the broad pedestal of working millions. The latter would work, with the sweat of their brow, to find food and drink, not so much for themselves as for the learned aristocracy, in the hope of getting occasional spiritual nourishment in return. If however, driven to exasperation owing to the chill penury of privations these 'common herd of the far too many' would turn rebellious, the state must intervene and use all available forces to maintain law and order. In the eye of the aristocracy this is justice, while in the eye of the unlettered mob this is merely an eyewash for safeguarding the vested interests of the upper class by exploiting the weak. The atmosphere is full of distrust which is a clear proof that the chosen leaders of aristocracy have failed to supply the requisite amount of spiritual nourishment they promised. The state as an organisation designed to patronise a few at the cost of a vast body of struggling mass must be considered as hopelessly out of date.

Nor do we expect any better results from the type of organisation started with the idea of equalising all—high and low—to a common uniform standard. Under the pretext of serving all, it claims ownership of every form of wealth, material and intellectual. The entire agency for productive purposes, both in the sphere of coarse industries and refined arts, is brought within its control. This is done in order that it may deal out in the most equitable fashion, the comforts and necessaries of life among all. The programme is inspired by the outraged sense of justice, and there is the faith that it shall confer real blessings on man.

Is it really so ? we have to ask. It is possible, in the first place, to question the feasibility of such a scheme unless it agreed to rely on force. But to resort to force for the execution of such a plan is to make it abortive at the initial stage. We may however waive this point. A more serious consequence awaits us if it be ever thought that an equal quantity of food and amusement, in exchange for an equal amount of work is what conduces to the welfare of man. It results in standardisation of human aspirations—all their qualitative differences are wiped out, and there is left a blank residuum of dull listless figures, without intiative, power or passion.

There is no doubt the idea of making people love work, so that individual skill and resourcefulness might have a chance of development ; but there is little prospect for the growth of such a spirit if people have to work under compulsion. By enforced regulations it may be possible to ensure a given quantity of work, but to enrich its quality all work must be done in a spirit of pure devotion prompted by love of work itself. It involves beauty and strength of character,—qualities that thrive best in an atmosphere of freedom and choice, not under the cramping influence of external interference.

Not only is there the apprehension of a steady deterioration of human values, but there may be even a shortage of the quantities of supplies. All compulsory work tends to adjust

itself to certain mechanical tests, but free work is reluctant to set bounds to it. The productive capacity thus becomes much greater among a free people than among those placed under constant supervision. The consequence will be that people in the new scheme shall soon find themselves obliged to live on the accumulated capital, followed by a speedy decadence of the human race.

To sustain a people in vigour and manhood they must be taught to value quality. It is a sign of vulgarity, leading to degeneration, if they remain content with quantity merely. But appreciation of quality presupposes development of taste and character. It is the goal at which all education and culture aim. A soul is properly educated when its judgment of taste is moulded appropriately through insight into truth. But to devote oneself to truth one must shake off the alluring prospects of a cheap compromise with the group. The thing is, pursuit of truth is a function of a free soul. Organisation may stifle it but cannot give life to it.

Organisation is after all a very poor affair. It sets out with big promises, but neither in its classical nor in its later and more romantic form does it help very much towards fulfilling the highest good of man. The man who cannot bear witness to truth without an assurance of organisation support from his comrades is a coward at heart and no good can come out of a coward. The truth-loving soul adheres to truth, because it is the truth, and he sticks to it even in the teeth of opposition from every quarter.

On the other hand the man who, fortified by the consciousness of organised opinion in his favour, ventures into '*manufacturing convenient truths*' becomes a positive menace to humanity. He has every temptation to degenerate into a bully. The fact is, superiority and fineness of organisation means the creation of an atmosphere of temptation. It cannot prove congenial for worshippers of truth and wisdom. Organised effort may succeed in breaking down illiteracy of the masses, but the

function of educating men—cultivating their taste and vision—ought to be left, beyond the fringe of all organisation, to the care of pure lovers of truth and beauty. To place education under the control of centralised organisation is fraught with great danger. It leads to the stultification of character. Where character is not stimulated, cultivation of taste is out of the question.

The chances of human happiness are greater in proportion as there is peace and good-will among men. But peace and good-will are essentially personal virtues, springing from the inward purity of heart. It is a folly to imagine as if they could be manufactured artificially, like impersonal commodities, through the coercive authority of a powerful organisation. Under threat of foreign pressure, people may be held in check for a time, but that will never show them the way to peace.

To be at peace becomes possible when the soul is permeated inwardly with the sense of justice. The darkest incidents that have disfigured human history have all proceeded from a wrong sense of justice. Love of justice creates the desire to see justice vindicated everywhere. One of the chief obstacles that have thwarted men to cultivate a right sense of justice is the existence of organised will. An organised man is enmeshed in the set decisions of the organisation. He is unable to find out where truth lies, and the result is, his vision is beclouded.

Without the perception of truth there is no hope that the sense of justice should prevail upon men. The lover of truth shrinks from venturing into a decision until he knows that the whole truth is on his side. But truth, as we have seen, thrives best when man is permitted to live a free life, far away from the tyranny of the herd-rule.

Highest good of man therefore has always been the gift of individuals who have set their face against organisation. Yet this should not be read as an advocacy of individualism of the Nietzschean type. Nietzsche pleaded the cause of individualism. But to him it meant the self-exultation of a powerful mind

who remorseless and without scruple tramples upon the ruined lives of the weary and heavyladen, of the weak and the sick 'Others for me, but I for myself,' was the motto of his individualism. And no wonder, it encouraged the guilt of exploitation. On the other hand the danger of a cheap individualism, 'everybody for himself' easily lapsing into soulless anarchism, is not less serious. True individualism seeks to steer clear of both extremes. 'Everybody for somebody else' is as vicious as 'everybody for himself.' The truth consists in making man realise that he is neither for somebody else nor for himself alone, but really for a cause, a value that transcends all limitations of passing interests. In dedicating himself to this noble ideal he may stand alone, but in the hour of realisation he is sure to find himself at one with entire humanity. It is through the struggles and achievements of such souls that individual men are united in a family and the vitality of the human race is ensured. Civilisation fulfils itself when its culture fosters the growth of such individuals.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

MAETERLINCK'S SYMBOLISM [1]

The Blue Bird and the Betrothal or the Blue Bird Chooses.

(1) *The Blue Bird.*

Man's search for the secret of things and happiness, the endeavour of the human soul to penetrate those mysteries that envelop existence and prevent us from realising wherein the true happiness of man consists,—this seems to be the subject of eternal human interest treated by Maeterlinck in his fairy-play *The Blue Bird.* The subject is of an essentially philosophic character, but the poet has created out of it a world of supreme artistic beauty and a story that would appeal to all even without any philosophic implication.

The secret of things and happiness, whatever it may be, must be something subtle and supersensible. It cannot be anything material, for all that is material is subject to the physical laws of change, decay and death ; and what is itself subject to change, decay and death can never offer a final explanation of the mystery of things and happiness. This immaterial, subtle, supersensible something, if it is to be sought out, must be sought out in a region that is equally immaterial, subtle and supersensible. The poet, therefore, takes us through a world peopled with souls,—souls of men and women and animals and things. Tyltyl and Mytyl who take up the search for this great secret are disembodied and transformed to pure souls in a dream before they begin their transcendent quest.[2] The peculiar nature of the subject has rendered it obligatory for the poet to use the device of a dream. The play begins and ends amidst a world of concrete things ; but between the beginning and the

[1] Continued from the October number of 1931.

[2] As Mytyl's soul accompanies Tyltyl's without taking any independent part in the adventures of the journey, these two may be regarded as jointly representing the soul of man.

end, occupying the major portion of the drama is a world of dream. When the curtain rises at the beginning of the first scene, we find Tyltyl, the hero, and Mytyl, the heroine, fast asleep and Daddy Tyl and Mummy Tyl leaving them to retire for the night. Mummy Tyl retires after putting out the lamp and the scene becomes dark. It is at this moment that enchantment sets in and the dream-world begins to create itself. A certain light filters in through the shutters, the lamp that was put out lights of itself and the children *appear* to get up and start talking. While they are engaged in talking Bérylune the Fairy enters and enquires of the children whether they have the grass that sings or the bird that is blue. The Fairy wants the Blue Bird for her daughter who is ill and who must have the Bird in order to be happy. The children give a negative reply and the Fairy commands them to set out in search of the Bird. The journey may prove long and dangerous. The children, therefore, are equipped by the Fairy with a magic diamond set in a hat which she puts on Tyltyl's head. The diamond has wonderful properties and "makes people see," ushering in "the reign of truth." Obviously the dream here takes an allegorical turn and it remains allegorical throughout. The Blue Bird is wanted for the Fairy's daughter who wants *to be happy*. It stands for the secret of happiness and of things, as we are explicitly told later on by the soul of the Oak tree (Act III, Sc. ii).[1] And the

[1] We need not complicate the allegorical character of the play by taking the "singing grass" and the "blue bird" as two independent symbols concerning two separate spheres of existence. The journey is made in quest of the Blue Bird. The "singing grass" may best be taken as a mere accessory of popular tales here introduced with the Blue Bird to help the creation of an atmosphere of a fairy tale.

As regards the proper significance of Maeterlinck's Blue Bird there has been considerable speculation. It has been looked upon as a mere bird (*e.g.*, by T. H. Dickinson in *Contemporary Drama in England*, 1920, quoted by F. G. Fidler in *The Bird that is Blue*), as a symbol of happiness (*e.g.*, by Edward Thomas in *Maurice Maeterlinck*, 1911, p. 286, and Jethro Bithell in *Life and Writings of Maurice Maeterlinck*, 1913, p. 143), of truth (*e.g.*, by L. M. Staples in *An Interpretation of Maeterlinck's Blue Bird*, 1914, quoted by F. G. Fidler in *The Bird that is Blue*), of celestial truth (*e.g.*, by Henry Rose in *Maeterlinck's Symbolism*, 1912, p. 14) and of the Great Secret, God (*e.g.*, by F. G. Fidler in *The*

diamond that is given to the Soul of Man enables it to *see*, introducing *the reign of truth*. It is not wise to hunt for an underlying significance in every detail of a story that deals with a dreamland presided over by a fairy; but it would not be going too far from the mark to take this diamond as a symbol of that mystic power of the seer and visionary which raises him above the world of appearances and gives him a glimpse of truth. Tyltyl turns the diamond and at once finds himself (as also does Tyltyl) in a state of things quite different from that which prevails in our ordinary matter-of-fact world: he finds that the things that we ordinarily regard as inanimate and the animals that we ordinarily regard as soulless are in reality not so; they are all endowed with souls which now become visible and begin to talk. The souls of bread, sugar, milk, water, fire, the dog, the cat and light, all come out from their fixed, material abodes and reveal themselves in their nature. It is in the company and with the help of these things and animals that man lives his daily life. So the soul of man, in its search after the great secret, has to take the souls of these animals and things in its company.

Bird that is Blue, 1928, p. 51). One should not be dogmatic in trying to decipher a secret of another's mind, specially the mind of a creative artist; but when *The Blue Bird* is read along with its sequel *The Betrothal*, it becomes practically certain that the mysterious Bird stands neither for God nor for truth or celestial truth; it stands not even for *happiness*, but for the *secret of happiness*, whatever that secret may be. If the Blue Bird stood for happiness, it would have been found in the Gardens of Happiness (Act IV, Sc. iv) where all kinds of happiness, gross and subtle, have been accommodated. Madame Maeterlinck, in her *The Children's Blue Bird*, is not very critical. There she says, no doubt, that the Blue Bird stands for happiness (*The Children's Blue Bird*, 1929, p. 8); but she also says that Tyltyl and Mytyl went in search of the Blue Bird that was *to bring them happiness* (*Ibid*, p. 27). This means that the Blue Bird was to be the secret of happiness. Her use of the term 'Blue Bird' in *The Girl who found the Blue Bird*, is ambiguous. The term there may mean 'secret of happiness' at least with as much propriety as 'happiness' (*The Girl who found the Blue Bird*, 1914, pp. 152, 153).

The idea 'secret of things' need not be taken seriously. If *The Betrothal* were not written and if at least the last sentence were removed from the conclusion of *The Blue Bird*, the idea 'secret of things' would have been as important as the 'secret of happiness'; but as matters stand, the single idea 'secret of happiness' is quite enough for the purpose of understanding and appreciating the two plays.

The region to be visited first is the Land of Memory. None of the companions of Tyltyl and Mytyl are allowed to enter here; but man alone turns to this region within himself where his past lies treasured up with all its smiles and tears, thoughts, sentiments and deeds. Here Maeterlinck dramatises the cardinal principles of his philosophy of the past. The past is never dead and gone. All that we ever thought and felt and did live within us; our ancestors, whose thoughts, feelings and deeds moulded and still continue to mould our lives, live within us as much as our own selves. Every good deed that we do, every noble thought that we think and every noble feeling that we feel, add to the strength of these spiritual beings whose existence is intertwined with ours; and every time that we fall, intellectually or spiritually, their vitality ebbs away within us. Only to realise the life and presence of what we ordinarily consider dead and past, we should turn our eyes away from the world outside to that within us. When the current of memory flows back into the old channel left in the mind by past experiences, all that lies along that channel thrills back into life, somewhat as the vegetation on a river-bank that was yellow and apparently dead when the river was dry during summer becomes green and fresh with life when new waters run into the river-bed during the rains. Tyltyl and Mytyl stand in the Land of Memory and they see their grandfather and grandmother exactly as they were when alive on earth. Granny Tyl has still her rheumatics and Gaffer Tyl his wooden leg. The clock with the big hand that rested on the cottage-wall and the blackbird in a cage hanging from its ceiling are here still and the moment that Tyltyl thinks of them the clock begins to strike and the bird to sing at the top of his voice. The cabbage-soup and the plum-tart that he ate during the grandparents' lifetime are here also, fresh and savoury, the soup even hot and smoking. The lamp is lit and the soup served and the grandparents and the children sit round the table jostling and elbowing one another and laughing and screaming with joy.

The children enjoy the soup and tart and the parents' affection with all the ardour of lifetime, Tyltyl receiving from Gaffer Tyl an affectionate, loud box on the ear into the bargain. All the sweet pleasures of life are here in the Land of Memory, free from the ravaging influence of Time. People do not become older here and things do not decay. Here there is no change and "there is nothing more to fear, nobody is ever ill, one has no anxiety." After life's fitful fever people here sleep well, and the monotony of eternal sleep is broken by waves of thought coming from the land of the living. In reply to Tyltyl's question, "Do you sleep all the time?" Gaffer Tyl says, "Yes, we get plenty of sleep, while waiting for a thought of the Living to come and wake us. Ah, it is good to sleep, when life is done! But it is pleasant also to wake up from time to time." So here is ideal rest and peace? Is the secret of happiness to be found here?

The picture of rest and peace and freedom from anxiety, fear, and change that has been presented above is one-sided; for the peculiarity of memory is that if it reproduces pleasures and smiles, it reproduces equally vividly pain and tears, as is clear from this scene itself. Granny Tyl avers that here nobody is ever ill, but she herself carries her old rheumatics and Gaffer Tyl his wooden leg! All that she may mean is that here nobody is ever ill *afresh*; but if there were illness in lifetime, that illness continues as long as memory lasts. Illness in memory, it may be argued, causes no pain; but in that case the cabbage-soup will become tasteless and the grandmother's caresses as ineffectual as the grandfather's box on the ear, and life in memory a shadow and a dream, unreal to the core. This, however, is not Maeterlinck's position. Life in memory is real, he tells us in his Essay on the Past. It is the influence of life in memory that shapes the destiny of Jean d'Ypermonde in *The Power of the Dead* (1921). Pleasure and pain as they exist in memory have a reality of their own, though they differ from the pleasure and pain we experience in our matter-of-fact life. The Land of

Memory thus becomes a replica of our ordinary world, only shifted to a different level by its exemption from change. This is not where the secret of happiness is to be found. The secret that it offers is not the real one. The bird that Tyltyl takes out of the Land as blue turns black the moment it is touched by the light of the world of matter.

Failure that meets the hero at the very beginning awaits him throughout his journey. The Palace of Night, The Forest, the Graveyard, the Gardens of Happiness and the Kingdom of the Future are all rummaged but with as little success as the Land of Memory. Night has ever been an ally of dark terrors. Shrouded in darkness or the bewitching light of the moon, she stands as an eternal enemy of the life-giving light of the sun. Accordingly Light, who accompanies the children throughout the journey, does not cross the threshold of Night's Palace. Inspite of the encroachments of man with his implements of science and philosophy, Night is still full of mysteries. Sleep, death, the ghosts, the sicknesses, the wars, the shades and the terrors are still mysteries belonging to this malignant power. With the advancement of knowledge some of these mysteries have loosened their hold on man; but, even with diminished powers, they are in secret alliance with Night to overpower man. Man's fortune considerably depends on these allies of Night, but the final secret of happiness is not in their custody. Leaving them behind, Tyltyl places the key in the lock of 'the great middle door' that opens on to 'the abyss to which no one dares give a name.' The abyss reveals "the most unexpected of gardens, unreal, infinite and ineffable, a dream-garden bathed in nocturnal light, where, among stars and planets, illumining all that they touch, flying ceaselessly from jewel to jewel and from moonbeam to moonbeam, fairy-like blue birds hover perpetually and harmoniously down to the confines of the horizon, birds innumerable to the point of appearing to be the breath, the azured atmosphere, the very substance of the wonderful garden." The abyss is one which it is hazardous to attempt to define with a name, but the

garden it reveals is a dream-garden where we find countless blue birds eating the moonbeams. What are these mysterious inhabitants of a dream-garden, eating the moonbeams? They appear to be the breath, the atmosphere, the very substance of the dream-garden. Are they, then, dreams themselves? May be. A mystery of the boundless ocean of unconsciousness in which the human soul is merged during hours of sleep, dreams may affect our life for evil or for good. Dreams and illusions do give us a taste of a peculiar kind of bliss unknown in waking life. It is, therefore, not altogether impossible that man, in his eager pursuit of the secret of happiness, should be taken by the poet's fancy to these unexpected quarters within Night's jurisdiction. Like the bird of the Land of Memory, these birds of the dream-garden cannot stand the light of the sun; but while the former merely changed colour, the latter appear lifeless, with hanging heads and drooping wings, at the mere touch of daylight. Obviously, the secret of happiness cannot be, as the blue birds in the dream-garden are, thousands and millions and thousands of millions in number. Whatever and wherever this secret may be, it must be unchangeable and therefore only one, not more. Dreams, like memory, can give us the taste of an experience different from what we have in our workaday life, but they cannot afford us a coign of vantage whence we may see through the mysteries of being. Night, therefore, does not hold the secret that Tyltyl seeks.

The children now turn their steps to the Forest. The forest has been standing through the ages away from human habitation and activities. An inexhaustible store-house of matter, energy and life, it has played a part in making the earth what it is and moulding the destiny of man. It may be that the secret of happiness is concealed in this vegetable-*cum*-animal kingdom. So the Oak, as the representative of this kingdom, comes before us with a blue bird on its shoulder; or, perhaps, it is *the* Blue Bird that man has been seeking. Whatever the nature may be of this secret in the vegetable-and-animal world,

be it the final secret or not, it still eludes man's grasp. The souls of animals and trees reveal themselves as antagonistic to man and, in the struggle that follows between the two parties, man is wellnigh overpowered, when his unfailing guide and helper Light comes to his rescue. He escapes with his life but fails to catch the Bird; the secret that this vast kingdom of trees and animals had to offer still remains undiscovered, it may be for a renewed attack by man whose attempt to wrest from Nature the secret she holds is endless.[1]

The children next repair to the graveyard expecting one of the Dead therein to have hidden the Bird in his tomb. At the traditional hour of midnight, when the dead are supposed to leave their graves, the magic diamond is turned; but, instead of any dead coming out, the graveyard is transformed into a sort of fairy-like *nuptial* garden over which the day begins to dawn and signs of new life manifest themselves; the dew glitters, the flowers open their bloom, the wind murmurs in the leaves, the bees hum, the birds wake and flood the air with the first raptures of their hymns to the sun and to life. Tyltyl and Mytyl become convinced that *there are no dead.*

Outside the religions, Maeterlinck holds, there are four possible hypotheses regarding man's existence after death. Whether the truth is with the religions or with any of these hypotheses, the fact nonetheless remains, at least according to Maeterlinck, that those who ever really lived, that is, those who ever thought, felt, and did, cannot really have died for through their thought, feeling, and deed, they must have continued and

[1] Assuming the Blue Bird to symbolise celestial truth, Mr. Henry Rose interprets the innumerable blue birds in the Palace of Night as beliefs having no real vitality and the trees in the Forest as forms of religious belief possessing, or having at one time possessed, the promise of good (*Maeterlinck's Symbolism*, 1912, pp. 35, 36). The logical conclusion of this assumption and interpretation will be that even the great religions of man-kind today have failed to attain that celestial truth and are mere gropings in the dark in the world of the spirit. The interpreter must condemn his own religion. Besides, this assumption totally fails to give a consistent meaning to the conclusion of the play where Tyltyl gives away his Blue Bird to the Neighbour's daughter.

be still continuing as a vital force in succeeding generations. Likewise, those who never thought, felt, or did never really lived at all and so could not have died. In a sense, therefore, there are no dead and, if there be no dead, search for the Blue Bird in a graveyard is a fruitless search. The grave does not contain the dead; it only marks the beginning of a new phase in the existence of man.

In the Gardens of Happiness the Luxuries have been given a place alone with the Domestic Happiness and the Great Joys; but they live on a much lower level of existence in mere gratification of the senses. They have never even heard of the Blue Bird and are incapable of thinking except in terms of food and drink; so that, when Tyltyl asks one of them, the Luxury of being Rich, about the hidding place of the Blue Bird, he answers, "The Blue Bird? Wait a bit. Yes, yes, I remember. Someone was telling me about him the other day. He is a bird that is not good to eat, I believe. At any rate, he has never figured on our table. That means that we have a poor opinion of him. But don't trouble; we have plenty of much better things."

The Happinesses of Home are elemental in nature and interpenetrate our existence, while the Great Joys can create heaven on earth. The Joy of Maternal Love for example, dispels all ugliness and poverty and turns tears into stars in the depths of the mother's eyes. But even these Great Joys and the Happiness of Home, like the unspiritual Luxuries, are debarred from a knowledge of the great secret that man has been trying to discover. The Great Joys themselves are veiled off from "the last truths and the last happinesses" and stand in need of Light. The day is yet to come when the Joys and Light will be inseparably united without any shadow intervening between them. Whether that day will ever come, and even if that day comes, whether it will reveal the secret, we do not know; for neither of the parties thus to be united knows where the secret is. Light has been guiding man in his great quest, but she is merely

groping her way in the unknown. From the Gardens of Happiness, therefore we are taken to the Kingdom of the Future. The present and the past have failed.

Maeterlinck's outlook on life and the universe is characterised by the boldest optimism conceivable. He looks forward to a future when mankind will be free from the domination of the forces of nature and the gods, when inequality and unjust poverty will disappear from society, and even "that essential secret of the worlds which, for the time being and to soothe our ignorance, we have called the law of gravitation" shall be laid hold of, enabling man to guide the earth in infinite space according to his option. This astounding optimism supplies the key-note of the vision here presented of the Kingdom of the Future. It is a vision of infinite progress achieved by the spirit of man through science and philosophy. We are shown, as wonders in a dream, remedies to be used for prolonging life, a machine that flies in the air like a bird without wings, another machine that discovers the treasures hidden in the moon, daisies big as cart-wheels, grapes as large as melons, and melons as large as pumpkins. These are achievements of which science has already given us some foretaste. Next there appears on the scene the King of the Nine Planets who will found the General Confederation of the Solar Planets excluding only Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune because, as he says, they are at a preposterous and enormous distance (and therefore perhaps not convenient to rule). This sovereignty over the solar planets is but a logical consequence of that wonderful discovery which, Maeterlinck hopes, will be made of "the essential secret of the worlds." The king is followed by miracle-workers one of whom will bring pure joy to the globe by means of ideas which people have not yet had, another will discover the fire that will warm the Earth when the Sun is paler than now, a third will wipe out injustice from the earth, and the fourth will conquer death.

The future thus makes possible what has been impossible till now, and the Blue Bird that could not be found in the past

and the present may be concealed in the storehouse of the future. Light, in fact, is confident that she had secured the Blue Bird from the Kingdom of the Future and says to Tyltyl, at the end of the scene, "I have got the Blue Bird. He is hidden under my cloak." The search, therefore, comes to an end and the dream-world through which we were so long passing with the souls of the animals and the things is about to break. But when man's guide and followers are about to take leave of him, the "Blue Bird" of the Future has already turned quite *red*. Tyltyl says to light, "I have not got the Blue Bird! The one of the Land of Memory turned quite black, the one of the Future turned quite red, Night's are dead and I could not catch the one in the Forest. Is it my fault if they change colour, or die, or escape? And Light answers, "We have done what we could. It seems likely that the Blue Bird does not exist or that he changes colour when he is caged." This little bit of dialogue between Light and Tyltyl puts in a nutshell the profound truth that the search after the secret of happiness and things has engaged the attention of man ever since the birth of his intellectual and spiritual curiosity; but the secret has ever eluded his grasp. Somewhat as in a mirage, the secret appears in a fascinating form at a distance; but the moment that he approaches it, it disappears or recedes farther or changes form so as to seem altogether a new thing. What seems to be an unfailing source of happiness before attainment, is found, after attainment, to be no better than our old acquisitions, liable to change, decay and extinction.

The secret thus is not to be found in the physical world or in the outskirts of the inner life such as memory represents. It perhaps lies concealed in the unexplored depths of our spiritual being to which, Maeterlinck holds, most, if not all, mysteries of existence are to be traced. When Tyltyl awakes from dream and looks at his own turtle-dove hanging in a cage from the cottage wall, he exclaims, "Hullo, that's true, my bird!......there's the cage!......Hullo, he's Blue! Why, It's my dove!......Why, that's the Blue Bird we were looking for! We went so far and he was here all the time!" This is undoubtedly an indication

that no long and weary journey need be taken in search of the secret of happiness; it is much nearer ; it is within the four walls of one's cottage itself. It being childish, if not impossible, to attempt to represent on the stage the unexplored depths of our inner being, we might take this discovery of the Blue Bird within the cottage to symbolise even the Maeterlinckian creed that the secret of happiness is to be found within man's own self. But the conclusion of the play, and its sequel *The Betrothal*, we shall see below, render that view impossible.

An attempt has been made above to interpret *The Blue Bird* from the point of view of symbolism; but, as was stated at the outset, it is possible to enjoy the play as a story only, as a work of pure art, a creation of pure beauty, without any symbolic significance. Throughout the play there is a rich appeal to our sense of beauty through colour and light. The thick fog of the Land of Memory dispersing at the beginning and gradually re-forming at the end of the scene: the dream-garden in the Palace of Night with its thousands and millions of fairy-like blue birds hovering among stars and planets; the graveyard slowly transforming itself into a sort of fairy-like nuptial garden over which rise the first rays of the dawn; the galley with its white and gold sails passing slowly away from its moorings in the quay of dawn and disappearing in the distance, while the voices of unborn children in the galley mingle with an extremely distant song of gladness and expectation—the song of the mothers coming out to meet them; these scenes make a supreme appeal to our sense of beauty; and if, as this world of beauty gradually unfolds itself, a good story is at the same time told, there is a work of art that all would enjoy apart from any symbolic implication. In fact, the symbolic cast of the play may have been an accident that sprang from the artistic handling of a fairy tale originally perhaps meant for children. That the play, at least in one of its aspects, is of the nature of a fairy tale meant for children is too clear a fact to require much proof. The conception of the framework of the story as a journey taken in search

of a rarity is borrowed from folk-tales where kings and queens frequently fall seriously ill and adventurous princes go out and travel over hills and dales and across rivers and seas in search of impossible remedies. Fairy Bérylune, whose nose and chin meet and who gets angry every now and then without any reasonable ground, is a familiar figure of popular stories. The magic hat and diamond with which Tyltyl is equipped on the eve of his journey are only some of those magic accessories of fairy tales which work miracles in a moment to the eternal delight of children; and the costumes of almost all the human characters are those of characters in Perrault's and Grimm's popular tales. Lastly, the share of action assigned to children in the play is too prominent to escape notice. The hero himself is a child assisted by his little sister. The happinesses of home all appear as little children dancing and singing to their heart's content. The future belongs to children and the play ends in a happy note of loving union between two child souls.

(2) *The Betrothal, or, The Blue Bird Chooses.*

The secret of the happiness of man, Maeterlinck repeatedly tells us in his Essays, is to be found within his own self. But this view of what may be called the spiritual self-sufficiency of man is to be taken with some reservation when he is regarded in relation to society. Society is based on love and love is the most essential factor of the happiness of man as a social being. In an ideal state of things every individual ought to find love in every other individual; but, as a matter of fact, love for a particular individual manifests itself in varying degrees in various members of society so that, in some cases, it crosses even the border of neutrality and becomes positive hatred. Accordingly it becomes incumbent on a man, for purposes of social life, to find out where, in what particular individual, he will get love in its strongest and best form. The problem of a man's social existence thus becomes, very largely, a problem of selection: out of those souls

with whom he comes into contact he is to ascertain which one will throw in its lot with his and help to play the part that he is to play as a connecting link between the past and the future. This drawing together of what we may call binary souls in the firmament of love is given as the sequel to man's search after the secret of happiness pictured in *The Blue Bird.*

As in *The Blue Bird*, the old hero Tyltyl goes out in search of the secret of happiness ; but the secret is no longer a mystery hidden in the depths of the unknown. The secret is now taken to be love and the hero's task is to select the truest and best embodiment thereof. This selection does not depend, as very often it is supposed to depend, on one's own liking only. Other factors count and to ignore them means disaster. "The great choice which is to decide the happiness of two human beings first and of many others after that" cannot be the business of one man alone. So when our old acquaintance Fairy Bérylune says to Tyltyl, "Don't distress yourself ; its not your affair ; it's not you who'll choose......," Tyltyl is bewildered and asks, "Not I who'll choose?......" The Fairy firmly answers, "Why, no, it doesn't concern you......You must first of all learn what is wanted by those on whom you depend." When a man selects his bride, he may think that he is the only one agent in this act of selection ; but, as a matter of fact, this act is determined by a number of forces, past and future, as much as by his own self. His ancestors, as also his unborn children and grand-children and those future generations that are to be born of them, have, all of them, some voice in the selection of the bride for one who stands as a link between the generations of the past and of the future. We have already referred to Maeterlinck's belief that those whom we call dead are never really dead ; they live in us as we live in them. In the present drama we are shown that the unborn exist in us, as we say, dead. A man is thus the meeting ground of generations past and future. When, therefore, he selects his bride, his ancestors are at the same time selecting their great-grand-daughter-in-law and his descendants are selecting

their great-grandmother. The selection is not a simple, isolated act but a composite one, the resultant effect of forces past, present, and future.

Tyltyl's ancestors are dramatically exhibited as living high on the rocks and the unborn children as inhabiting the depths of space beyond the great veil of the Milky Way. To reach them Tyltyl has to make a most arduous journey, but this journey is all an allusion. The ancestors and the children all live within him and consequently the journey to reach them must also be confined within himself. Light points out to Tyltyl, "We seem to be taking a great journey: that is an illusion; we are not going outside yourself and all our adventures are happening within you......(Act III, Sc. i). And again, when Tyltyl asks her, "Where we are ?" she answers, "Near to the stars and yet within yourself" (Act IV, Sc. i). The ancestors, by themselves, are unable to effect a complete selection, some of them going altogether wrong. The rich ancestor, who lives within Tyltyl as a passion for wealth, confidently speaks for Rosarelle, the Mayor's daughter; the drunken ancestor, continuing it may be as a dormant desire for drinking, is in favour of Roselle, the wine-selling inn-keeper's daughter; and the murderer-ancestor still lingering as a faint and feeble murderous propensity would fain select the butcher's daughter Belline. The hints offered by these ancestors are misleading hints which, if followed in life, would only lead to grief. The Great Peasant, the Great Mendicant, and the Great Ancestor who "represent all that is best" in Tyltyl—the first contributing his sturdy manhood, the second his intellectual vigour and spirituality, and the third that common, fundamental humanity which furnishes the basis for all intellectual and spiritual growth and excellence—give a correct direction. They point to the figure, still a featureless, expressionless, white phantom, that is to be the Joy of his life, though they fail to identify it beyond doubt.

The ancestors failing to identify the bride, Tyltyl repairs to the abode of the unborn children. The children's knowledge of

their great, common mother varies in proportion to their distance on the line of descent from her. The youngest of these unborn children, who is to be the first and eldest amongst the born, detects her without the slightest hesitation and his selection tallies with that of the ancestors. The bride is found to be no other than Neighbour Berlingot's little daughter Joy (now no longer little, but a maiden on the verge of womanhood) to whom Tyltyl gave his own turtle-dove that turned out to be the Blue Bird of his search. The recognition of his true love has the effect of a revelation on Tyltyl. " How long had you loved me? " he asks in surprise, and Joy answers, " Ever since I first saw you, when you gave me the Blue Bird." " So have I, so have I, but I had forgotten........."

The two souls are thus drawn together by the Blue Bird. He loved her and she loved him when he gave her the Blue Bird. The Blue Bird is love, love that has its fruition in marriage. It is the Blue Bird that chooses man's life's partner and determines the course of happiness for him. The Blue Bird is the secret of happiness not of man as an isolated individual but of man and woman together forming a social unit. The Blue Bird is a turtle-dove not without reason. It is a bird which, of all birds, is noted for soft cooing and affection for mate and young.[1] The significance now becomes clear of Tyltyl's remark at the end of *The*

[1] The entire family of the turtle-dove is not uniformly blue, nor is any particular species entirely blue. The following particulars may be noted in this connexion :—

The American Turtle-dove (or Carolina Pigeon, *Columba Carolinensis*) ;.........the voice of love, of faithful connubial affection, for which the whole family of doves are so celebrated and, among them all, none more deservingly so than the species now before us......The turtle-dove is twelve inches long, and seventeen inches in extent; bill, black; eye, of a glossy blackness, surrounded with a pale greenish, *blue* skin; crown, upper part of the neck and wings, a fine silky slate *blue* ;.........

(*American Ornithology; or The Natural History of the Birds of the United States*, by Alexander Wilson and Prince Charles Lucian Bonaparte, 1876, Vol. II, pp. 187, 189.)

Blue Bird: "Don't cry. I will catch him for you......We need him *for our happiness, later on.*"

The Betrothal is a sequel to *The Blue Bird*; but both as an interpretation of life and as a work of dramatic art it falls far short of the excellence of the earlier play. In fact, *The Betrothal* has the effect of dislodging *The Blue Bird* from a place of glory which the latter play would have retained, were it allowed to remain faithful to the theme with which it apparently starts, *viz.*, the search after the secret of happiness *and things*, the secret of happiness, too, not in its narrowed form of social happiness, but happiness of man as a pilgrim of eternity standing upon the 'bank and shoal of time,' the great seeker after truth, a Promethean figure exposed to the assault of a thousand dark forces. That theme has a cosmic grandeur and a mystic appeal that the two plays, taken together, lack. That grandeur and appeal would have been possible if *The Betrothal* were not written and if *The Blue Bird* ended at the point where the dove escapes and flies away or, at least, the last sentence ('We need him for our happiness, later on') were

The European Turtle-dove (*Columba turtar*) : A brown mantle, spott d with brown, the neck *bluish*, with a spot on each side, variegated black and white. It is the smallest of the European wild Pigeons.........

(*The Animal Kingdom*, by Baron Cuvier, 1854, p. 231.)

The Turtle-dove or Turtle (*Turtur*, a genus of columbidæ) :.........a native of almost all the warmer parts of the Old world, a summer visitant of the south of Europe and of England .....The tail is long.......the crown of the head *bluish*......a black patch on each side of the neck .....

(*Chambers's Cyclopaedia*, 1874, Vol. IX, p. 599.)

The emphasis on the colour blue is, perhaps, not to be accounted for by a mere fact of natural history. This colour, in the present plays, has been used to symbolise the future : everything in the kingdom of the future is blue. The hitherto undetected secret of happiness, therefore, if it is to be symbolised by any colour, is best symbolised by blue. Blue, as an ecclesiastical colour, is 'the symbol of Heaven' (Sidney Heath, *Romance of Symbolism*, 1909, p. 216). By virtue of this association it may be aptly used of anything supremely spiritual in character. Lastly, considerations of stage-effect may have to some extent decided the selection of the colour : on a stage flooded with light and varied colours, a small bird, to be effectively visible to the audience, should be either blue or black. Black and deep blue contrast better with a lighted back ground than any other colour, not even red excepted; but of the two, black must be ruled out because of its association with evil.

omitted. Even when the kingdoms of the past, the present, and the future, and of the living and the dead have been ransacked, the great secret should remain a secret still, wrapped in mystery. But when the secret is identified with married love and the search after the secret of happiness and things leads to a search after a bride, the effect produced is one of anticlimax. The selection of a bride, however important it may be from the social point of view, cannot compare, in dignity as a theme, with the eternal quest of the human heart for the hitherto undiscovered thing that will solve the riddle of man's existence and happiness on earth.

JNANENDRANATH CHAUDHURY

LIFE BEHIND THE PERSIAN LATTICES

It is very difficult for a foreigner to investigate and give a true picture of the domestic life of the Persian Khanoums (ladies). But I was lucky to have been accepted as a paying guest in a noble family of moderate means. In Persia it is rather next to impossible to get attached to a respectable family. Paying-guest system is unknown there. As I was more closely connected than an ordinary traveller with a family, I hope my statement would not be lacking in justification. I found the ladies awfully busy in their household affairs, co-operating with one another without any bitterness or ill-feeling. They not only cook their meals but wash and iron the family clothes with their own hands. They are of energetic habits. Some of them know how to play on Viyālūn (from French Vialon), and Tar (stringed instrument). Besides a fair amount of education, needle and embroidery works are good assets to practically every Persian lady. She is so very useful to her husband that he has nothing to think of home. A small percentage of women sometimes drink liquors. They always keep themselves busy in some thing or other. They are quite serviceable and a great source of happiness to their husbands. They are orthodox in their prayers, overscrupulous and rigid in religious observances. Many of them are superstitious too, ever burning the rue to escape the bad effects of evil sight and regularly (at night before they go to bed) chanting some words and clapping hands in order that insects or reptiles may not sting or bite any member of the house while asleep. I think the custom of burning rue is a very ancient one in Persia. The ancient poet Hanzaleh of Badghais has referred to this burning of rue by the Persians :—

یارم سپند اگر چه بر آتش همي فکند
از بهر چشم تا نرسد مرورا گزند
اورا سپند و مجمر نايد همي بکار
با روی، همچو آتش و با خال چون سپند

"My sweet-heart rue-seed on the fire threw
For fear of harm the evil eye might do
Rue-seed and fire she needs not, with a face
As bright as fire, a mole as dark as rue."

(*Tr. by E. G. Browne.*)

Unlike the ladies of India, Persian ladies are quite healthy, free and liberal. In fact women are healthier than men. A lady in all up-to-date fashions and luxuries is seen walking freely along the streets and travelling along by buses considerably packed up with men. She feels no hesitation in going to men-tailors for her fancy dresses. She also proves herself quite helpful to her husband by marketing the daily necessities of home.

In summer Teheran is a warm place. The dress of a Persian lady is highly fashionable consisting of a chemise and a gown. She sometimes, after the French style, wears a necklace and a valuable tiny gold watch on her delicate wrist. These Khanoums (ladies) are blindly adopting the Western fashion in all their delicacies and exuberance, at the cost of their poor husbands labouring hard till their foreheads sweat. The economic condition of the country is sure to be out of the frying-pan into fire by the indiscreet prodigality of the fair sex. Unless this growing luxury of the Persian ladies is nipped in the bud now, an age of total demoralisation is bound to usher in and the noble constructive works done by H. M. Reza Shah shall be hampered. Persia is now in the making. The Persian ladies should shoulder the cause of advancement of the country. Pages of history bear testimony to the fact that the integrity and greatness of a nation very much depends on its womenfolk. The infidel women of Arabia in the memorable battle of Uhud carrying foodstuffs and water followed the combatants to the battle-field to inspire them with courage, spirit and hope by their extemporised verses chanted in sweet melody. Joan of Arc of historic fame inspired,

by her heroism, the French to drive the English out of Orleans and enabled Charles to be proclaimed king at Rheims. During the Russo-Japanese War when Japan fell short of ropes, the Japanese ladies clipped their long hair off and offered it to be used in place of rope. Are the Persian ladies in any way inferior to these women ? Have they not national enthusiasm in them? Do they not like that the Persians may become a mighty nation? They should know that the blind adoption of Western fashions at the present moment is quite detrimental to the advancement of their country. It would rather lead the country to ruin than to progress.

In Persia female education is in good progress. It is only due to the fact that the women have renounced Purdah (seclusion) and have withdrawn their veil. All the girls go to school on foot and schools have no vehicles to carry the pupils. A good percentage of women know French or English besides their mother tongue. I am very glad to learn that the Persian Government is taking keen interest in female education. Only in Teheran there are about 25 Government schools for girls. All these Madrassahs are *majjāni* (free). Besides these Government schools there are about an equal number of national schools for girls (Madāris-i-Millī-i-Neswān) where nominal charges are made. All these schools are packed with pupils. Education is imparted for eleven years in these schools to complete Dowrah-i-Dowum Mutawassateh, the highest examination held in Persia. Special care has been taken in the formation of their curricula. Needle-work, sewing, hygiene and house-keeping have been introduced in their courses.

The number of women is approximately double that of men. They, like men, enjoy full liberty in their movements and actions but no franchise has up till now been granted to them. They can neither stand nor can they vote for the election to the Baladieh (Municipality) or Parleman (from French Parlement, *i.e.*, Parliament).

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE

Reviews

Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist. Prafulla Chandra Ray. Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. Calcutta, 1932. Price Rs. 5.

It is a matter for congratulation that the public have been taken into confidence about the life-story of a distinguished chemist, social worker, educationalist and thinker of modern Bengal of the rank of Acharyya Prafulla Chandra. Acharyya Ray's life has been all along an open book before us ; his hours have been devoted to the service of Science and India ; without family encumbrances, he has time and again taken up the national burden, and manfully shouldered it. The reader would be sure of getting something new as he opens the pages of the autobiography, the life-history of a man whose time was given equally to abstract study and humanitarian service. Scattered along, we find that there are materials for a nineteenth century history of Bengal, which are both interesting and instructive; this lends an additional interest to the book.

The main incidents in the life have been given in the first part; the second dwells upon educational, industrial, economic and social matters concerning Bengal, matters which have received Acharyya Ray's most careful consideration, so that these thoughts also constitute a part of his life—one is tempted to say—and the more substantial part, the inner aspect. Whatever he writes comes from his heart, and as a result of experience and observation ; none of his remarks may be allowed to pass without their general soundness being admitted.

The few slips that we have come across in the whole of the book we commend to the publishers for rectification in the next edition; *Raja Rudrapratapa* for Raja Pratap Rudra (p. 135), Tennyson's *Lotus-Eaters* for *Lotos-Eaters* (p. 138), (though Oxford Concise Dictionary recognises the latter) and the omission of the name of the author's father from the body of the book and its relegation only to the foot-note and the index. The book has been otherwise fairly printed and published, and may well be placed by the side of such excellent biographies as *Ram Tanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Vanga Samaj*, Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea's *A Nation in Making* and Bepin Chandra Pal's *Life and Experiences*, which are all of abiding interest to the student of modern Bengali mind. The book records the life and thought of the Bengali mind in its very best form.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Some Bengal Villages--Edited by Prof. N. C. Bhattacharyya and L. A. Natesan. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1932, pp. 225.

This is an interesting Economic Survey of the village problems of present-day Bengal by the intelligent students of the Scottish Church College at the suggestion of the talented editors who have taken pains to frame a Questionnaire and present the garnered material in the form of readable essays. Though it aims primarily at unfolding the economic problems alone it embraces the wider socio-economico-political problems and organisation of the modern villages. Modern dynamic life is a tangled skein and the separation of pure economic material from that of the politico-social one is indeed impossible. The editors realise this and make due provision for discussing the character and nature of the village administration even.

Population problems and urban emigration, and the problems resulting therefrom are given the first place. The standard of living is distinctly a socio-economic problem and the means to raise the standard by economic improvement, improved diet, agricultural progress, intellectual achievement, enlightened social advancement, changed psychological outlook and the forsaking of vicious sanitary habits and religious rites occupy a prominent place. " Back to the village" is the insistent cry of all reformers though it ought to have been stated more accurately as "Back to the modernised village."

Lacking a Provincial Board of Economic Enquiry and finding Mr. Jack's excellent survey of Faridpur rather out of date the editors were compelled to undertake this study of " Rural Economy " in right earnest. We wish the essays had been more numerous for "a veritable mine of living facts and first-hand information" would indeed have been available to the student of agricultural economics.

As other Provinces were making great strides in the matter of village surveys Bengal was seriously lagging behind though occasionally certain districts have been made the subject of intensive study by distinguished authors. Barring Dr. Panandikar's *Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta* there has been a remarkable dearth of systematic attempts in the study of rural economic life of the province as a whole. Agricultural Bengal with its teeming population amounting to roughly 50 millions can thrive well on the prosperity of agriculture which ought to be thoroughly rationalised. Agricultural education, improved agricultural outfit making possible intensive agriculture, economic holdings, commercialised agricultural economy, improved animal husbandry, improved irrigational facilities, subsidiary industrial or quasi-industrial pursuits, superior marketing

organisation, and cheap and rapid means of transportation would augment agricultural output. The primary problem is that of increased production and better distribution. As the Indian industrial commission stated long ago a diversified life is essential and for that a prosperous agricultural peasantry is needed.

Collective effort—that of the people as well as the Government—is needed to transform the decaying village organisation. For example, the problem of the much-dreaded water-hyacinth pest can be solved by the untiring efforts of both the Government and the people alone. As an example of the economic wastage ensuing out of this pest it might be stated that " the entire rice crop stands to be ruined as a result of, vast floating masses of hyacinth."

An estimate of the comparative prosperity of the people would have been far more valuable and this ought to be taken up as early as possible. Mr. G. F. Shirras has something to remark on this interesting topic. Is Bengal after all the second wealthiest province of India? Another topical subject on which much information is needed is the taxable capacity of the province. Rightly or wrongly the popular view says that incidence in taxation has reached its utmost limit in Bengal. How far is this true? Such other vexed topics could have been inductively studied during the course of compilation of the raw material of the essays. A more careful editing is needed for there are apparent inconsistencies in some of the essays. Lest our remark might be misconstrued a few examples are mentioned. On p. 72 it is stated that " Widows... never add to the income of the house but rather form a drag to the healthful progress of the family as of the village." On p. 81 it is stated that widows serve in other families in exchange for food and clothing. Clearly then they are not a drag on the family. On p. 127 it is stated that "even the lower classes are using gold ornaments, whereas in the past gold ornaments were generally worn only by the well-to-do classes alone."·........On p. 131 it is mentioned that most of the middle class people resort to loans to preserve their higher standard of living." "About 125 families are in debt." Some sort of reconciliation could and ought to have been made when such conflicting data appear before the reading public.

On p. 136 the use of trinkets and other goods of ephemeral value is spoken of as a rise in the standard of living of the villages. There is indeed a very lax use of this nebulous expression " the standard of living." On p. 139, Goila in Backerganj is described as a village with a population of 15,000 people. No Census authority has so far described

this big aggregate of population as a village. Any conglomeration of people living in a selected area and numbering 3,000 in all is considered as living in a town.

The socio-económico-culture outfit of the Nepali village could be safely compared with that of the Bengali ryots.

We advise the general public to understand the real implications of our village economic problems and a refashioning of the same cannot be intelligently done and a new order cannot arise if a clear and comprehensive solution is not arranged. This survey affords an intelligent guide in the above direction. We advise the students of other Colleges to undertake similar studies and furnish us with accurate data so that a correct adjustment can be made in the old economic life of the Bengal villages.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Permanent Settlement in Bengal, by Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L. Published by M.C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Price one Rupee, pp. 47.

The author aims to throw light on the complexities of the different land problems of Bengal. In this brochure he aims at removing certain popular misconceptions about the permanent settlement in Bengal. Where distinguished and well-known writers of the stamp of Dr. Paranjpye hold the opinion that Bengal can solve all her financial ills by the unsettlement of the permanent settlement alone and hold the view that she deserves no mercy at the hands of sister provinces or the Central Government in any scheme of financial readjustment, it is high time that the children of Bengal wake up and expose the hollowness of the above prejudicial opinion.

It is not mere journalism that one comes across in these different pages. Though the journalistic experience of the author helped him in clarifying his ideas and expressing them in a crisp style, still the author quotes economic statistics from reliable sources to prove that (1) landlords do not intercept large profit, (2) the cultivating classes of Bengal are not worse off than that of other provinces, (3) that landlords do not and cannot act arbitrarily thanks to the legislative enactments, (4) that Goverment do not stand to lose as a result of fixing land revenue, (5) that permanent settlement should not be unsettled for it would be nothing short of sheer blunder and grave injustice.

There are indeed many rent-receivers but the average income of every land-lord is something like Rs. 6 per annum. There are roughly 200

Zemindars alone in the landholders' electorate who possess incomes of Rs. 12,000 a year. The general indebtedness of the landlords, and the disintegrating tendency due to the law of inheritance prove that landlords are not rolling in wealth. A comparative statement of rent-receivers and other facts of the Ryotwari areas would have been more informative. The truth is that too many are depending on land and the average income cannot but be low as it has to be spread over a series of claimants.

The land system does not condemn the ryots to economic bondage. Basing his statistics on information provided by the recent Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee he proves that per capita agricultural income is Rs. 90. If expenditure were to be deducted a net balance of Rs. 6 per head remains. The cultivator is rendered unhappy as a result of other factors (see p. 13) such as density of population, smallness of agricultural holding and fragmentation of the same, defective agricultural organistion and equipment, poor animal husbandry, lack of good subsidiary occupations, defective marketing of the crops and absence of sympathetic credit agencies.

The successive legislative enactments of 1859, 1885 and 1928 have conferred "a charter of rights on the tenants" (under-ryots including). The arbitrary action of the landlord is impossible.

While admitting that land revenue in Bengal has lost *elasticity* he contends that it has gained certainty. In times of acute depression even this certainty is bound to disappear. This can be evidenced by sales of landed estates for failure to pay *kist*. On p. 39 he quotes the Bengal Land Revenue Administration Report which says that the State could secure only 56·10% of the current demand from its estates while the collection from Zemindars was 90%. The ease, cheapness and simplicity of collecting land revenue are no less fundamental attractions of the P. R. Settlement.

The social hierarchy of landlords, middlemen and ryots could be rudely shaken if the P. S. were to be disturbed. Vast unemployment would ensue if the landlords' agents were to be dismissed as a result of any change in the land revenue system of the province. It would be causing grave injustice for the landlords have made agriculture a "paying profession." He cites the well-known verdict of R. C. Dutta in favour of his contention.

In his concluding remarks he points out that no revision of the land system is needed but other ameliorative measures—social, economic, political—are needed to enrich the people of the province. He sums up his dissertation by quoting H. E. Sir John Anderson's statement that "the

collecting of full amount of land revenue would have been impossible if the P. R. Settlement had been unsettled."

As a bold and up-to-date defence of the permanent settlement of land revenue, the brochure ought to receive wide praise and great circulation not only in Bengal but in the rest of India.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Elements of Co-ordinate Geometry—By J. M Child, B.A., B.Sc. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London, 1938 pp. xi and 468.

It is purely a text-book on Co-ordinate Geometry, divided into four parts. The first two parts deal with the elementary principles applied to the study of the properties of straight lines and curves of the second degree, which are generally to be found in all text-books on the subject. The third part opens with a discussion of the line and the points at infinity and their relationship with the foci of conics. The last part contains an elementary discussion on the homogeneous co-ordinates.

The book contains some more advanced topics than are found in many elementary text-books and has been written painstakingly with a view to establish, as stated by the author, that Algebraic Geometry is an independent branch by itself and so far the author seems to have attained considerable success. The selection of topics and the arrangement adopted are good. The chapter of plotting statistics is a useful addition and will appeal to teachers as very timely. The text contains a wealth of materials and numerous good figures. The chapter on Miscellaneous Methods and the large number of well selected examples make the book extremely useful to the student. There are several features of the book which make it all the more useful, *e.g.*, the convention for the sign of a straight line is satisfactorily explained ; tangents and gradients are discussed from an arithmetical standpoint, a correct interpretation of the homogeneous Cartesian Co-ordinates is used to explain the meaning of the equation of the tangent in the differential form. To the reviewer it seems that however successful the author might be in his attempt at showing that Co-ordinate Geometry is really a powerful analytical weapon of attack, the processes and proofs given at times seem to be laborious and the object could be easily achieved by other less complicated methods. The get-up of the book is good.

S. M. G.

Phrases and Idioms from Shakespeare. Brahmeswar Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L. The Book Company, Ltd. 1932. Price Rs. 2.

The compiler, Mr. Bhattacharyya, has attempted to select charming and instructive expressions from his reading of Shakespeare, and presents them in a handy form for the benefit of Indian students. Some of these are followed by Bengali renderings explanatory in nature, and the value of the whole is set off by notes from Abbott's Grammar given at the end in the form of an appendix. Mr. Bhattacharyya has taken great pains to make the book a success. If it leads to a study of Shakespeare in the original, it will have done the students of English literature a distinct service.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselves

The Late Mr. Jagadananda Roy.

It is with deep regret that we have heard of the death of Mr. Jagadananda Roy, on Sunday, the 25th June last. Mr. Roy was connected with the educational work of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan almost from its inception. He was a gifted and inspiring teacher and earned for himself the spontaneous respect and affection of generations of students. But there is a more weighty reason why his name will long be remembered in literary circles in Bengal. He belonged to that limited band of enthusiastic Bengali scholars, who engaged themselves in the task of popularising different branches of science through the medium of the Bengali language. He was a writer of a large number of books which had won for him a well-deserved reputation. The University had recently appointed him a member of a Committee for the purpose of drawing up a scheme for the development of scientific literature written in Bengali ; and it is a matter of deep regret that Mr. Roy's services will no longer be available for the completion of this work. His death is a loss not only to the institution which he had served with loyalty and devotion but also to the cause of Bengali literature itself. We offer our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

Dr. Hiralal Haldar.

The Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts has unanimously elected Dr. Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., as its President for the session 1933-34. Dr. Haldar has just retired from the service of the University, after having served as a

University teacher in the Department of Philosophy with great ability and distinction for more than twenty years. His association with the Post-Graduate Department would have ceased if the Senate had not elected him as one of its representatives on the Post-Graduate Council. His election as President has given genuine satisfaction to his numerous friends and admirers. We rejoice to think that the affairs of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts will continue to be watched by one who combines in him the qualities of a distinguished teacher and administrator, and has all along been a fearless champion of the interests of this Department.

* * *

Birth-day Honours.

The Birth-day Honours list includes the names of three members of the University who in their respective spheres of activity have rendered useful and distinguished work. The Knighthood conferred upon the veteran Principal of the Carmichael Medical College is a recognition which was long overdue. Sir Kedarnath Das has richly deserved this honour by reason not only of the pre-eminent position which he holds in his own profession but also of the solid constructive work which he has done in the building up of a first rate non-official Medical College in this great city. Sir Kedarnath is one of the senior members of the Senate and the Syndicate and has for several years been Dean of the Faculty of Medicine.

Lt.-Col. W. L. Harnett, who has been made a C.I.E., is a distinguished member of the Indian Medical Service and a teacher of repute at the Calcutta Medical College. He has also for some time been connected with the University as a Fellow and has taken a keen interest in the deliberations of the Faculty of Medicine.

Mr. Narendranath Sen, M.A., B.Sc., our popular Controller of Examinations, has been made a Rai Bahadur. Mr. Sen is

one of the seniormost Officers of the University and has shown considerable ability in the discharge of his arduous duties. He has for the last three months been officiating as Registrar in addition to his own duties.

We offer our cordial congratulations to the recipients of the honours.

* * *

A BEQUEST FOR FEMALE EDUCATION.

Our readers must be aware of the welcome news that the University will shortly receive another princely donation from the estate of a distinguished citizen of ours who died only a few months ago. This is the outcome of the provision left in his Will by the late Rai Bahadur Viharilal Mitra to the effect that the University would receive from his estate an annual donation of Rs. 48,000 for the promotion of female education amongst Hindus in Bengal. In addition to this, the University is the residuary legatee under the Will. In the event of certain contingencies taking place, the University will also receive for the same purpose the balance of the income of the estate at the end of each year.

We should at the outset pay a tribute to the memory of the illustrious donor, who did not give an opportunity to his countrymen to convey their feelings of gratitude to him personally. Rai Bahadur Viharilal Mitra belonged to that group of silent benefactors who do not hesitate to help others by their generosity but who never care to advertise their acts of benevolence. He was himself a person of scholarly habits and those who came into his contact always regarded him as a true promoter of culture and knowledge. It is indeed gratifying that the University of Calcutta still occupies a warm place in the hearts of the wealthy sons of Bengal who are not slow to recognise the immense influence which it can wield in furtherance of the truest interests of this great province.

A large and representative Committee has been appointed by the Syndicate to draw up a suitable scheme for giving effect to the wishes of the Testator. The Committee includes two distinguished Bengali ladies, Lady Bose and Mrs. P. K. Roy. We have no doubt the Committee will greatly benefit by the special knowledge of these two members. It would perpaps be desirable for the Committee also to invite suggestions from those bodies and organisations which are specially interested in the furtherance of female education in this province.

We shall refer in our next issue to some aspects of the problem of future control of female education in Bengal. In the meantime if any of our readers desires to offer any suggestions in connection with this matter, he or she is welcome to do so and may write to the Registrar of the University directly.

* * *

UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION RESULTS.

This year the results of the different University examinations have been published very early. It is expected that the University and the college classes will begin to work regularly by the end of July.

We give below a short summary of the results for the different examinations. We are indeed glad to find that in some of the subjects at the B.A. Examination, girl students have achieved brillant results.

B.A. Examination.

2,952 candidates were registered for this examination of whom 2,795 actually appeared. 1,812 Candidates passed the examination of whom 20 obtained First Class Honours in different subjects, 285 secured Second Class Honours, 162 passed with Distinction and 1,345 in the Pass Course. The per centage of passes in Calcutta colleges is 63·7, and in *Mofussil* colleges 66·7, the total being 65·15 as against 61·2 last year.

Three girl candidates obtained First Class Honours, one stood first in English, the other in Persian, and the third in French.

B.Sc. Examination.

868 candidates were registered for this examination of whom 837 actually appeared. 497 candidates passed the examination of whom 11 obtained First Class Honours in different subjects, 81 secured Second Class Honours, 100 passed with Distinction and 305 in the Pass Course. The percentage of passes in Calcutta Colleges is 60·3, and in *Mofussil* colleges 58·2, the total being 59·6 as against 63·7 last year.

I.A. Examination.

4,187 candidates were registered for this examination of whom 4,028 actually appeared. 2,437 candidates passed the examination of whom 950 were placed in the First Division, 1,250 in the Second Division and 237 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes in Calcutta colleges is 61·2, and in *Mofussil* colleges 60·2, the total being 60·6 as against 54 per cent. last year.

I.Sc. Examination.

3,725 candidates were registered of whom 3,604 actually appeared. 1,923 candidates passed the examination of whom 702 passed in the First Division, 966 in the Second Division, and 255 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes in Calcutta colleges is 50·7, and in *Mofussil* colleges 58·3 the total being 53·9 as against 47·5 last year.

Matriculation Examination.

20,841 candidates were registered for the examination of whom 20,650 actually appeared. 13,590 passed the examination of whom 4,838 were placed in the First Division, 6,877 in the

Second Division and 1,875 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes in Calcutta schools is 69·7, in the *Mofussil* schools 64·4, the total being 66 per cent. as against 65·7 last year.

B. Com. Examination.

183 candidates were registered for this examination of whom 176 actually appeared. 90 candidates passed the examination of whom 4 were placed in the First Division and the rest in the Second Division. The percentage of passes is 51·1 as against 50·7 last year.

L. T. Examination.

15 candidates were registered for this examination and none was absent. 14 candidates passed of whom 8 were placed in the First Division and the rest in the Second.

B. T. Examination.

89 candidates were registered for this examination of whom 1 was absent. 61 candidates passed the examination of whom 12 were placed in the First division and the rest in the Second. The percentage of passes was 69·3 as against 87·0 last year.

D. P. H. Examination, Part I.

23 candidates were registered for this examination of whom none was absent. All the candidates came out successful.

D. P. H. Examination, Part II.

4 candidates were registered for this examination of whom none was absent. All the candidates came out successful.

* * *

DATES FOR NEXT D. P. H. EXAMINATIONS.

The commencing dates for the next D. P. H. Examinations in Parts I and II have been fixed as follows :

Part I of the Examination ... 24th August, 1933.
Part II of the Examination ... 4th September, 1933.

* * *

Deutsche Akademie INDIA INSTITUTE.

The India Institute of the *Deutsche Akademie* whose object is to promote cultural relations and friendly understanding between Germany and India announces the award of six new scholarships for the academic year 1933-34 to the following Indian graduates who are to carry on higher studies in various German Universities and Institutes :—

1. Mr. B. N. Sharma, M.B., B.Sc. (*Lucknow Medical College*).
2. Mr. B. K. Palit, M.Sc., M.D. (*Chicago Hospital*).
3. Mr. H. D. Mookerjee (*Benares Hindu University*).
4. Mr. S. N. Sanyal, M.B. (*Calcutta University*).
5. Mr. N. G. Chokkanna, M.Sc. (*Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore*),
6. Mr. S. Hariharan, M.A., M.Sc. (*Madras University*).

The Institute also reports that during the last Semester the following Indian scholars of the India Institute of the *Deutsche Akademie* have successfully passed their Doctor's examination :—

Miss Dr. Moitreyee Bose, M.B. (*Calcutta*).
Mr. J. C. Gupta, M.B. (*Calcutta*).
Mr. B. M. Sengupta, M.B. (*Calcutta*).

"We wish to remind the prospective Indian Students," writes the Secretary in his Report, "who wish to visit our country that Germany has been passing through a National socialistic Revolution, with the least possible disturbance.

Germany seeks as before cultural contacts with other countries, especially with the people of India. However, it should not be forgotten that present-day Germany does not welcome alien Communists and those who are anxious to meddle with Germany's internal and international politics, in a way which may be detrimental to her national interest. We hope that the work of Indo-German cultural co-operation will not only continue undisturbed but be strengthened, and we shall continue to do our best with the hope of co-operation from cultural leaders of India."

* * *

University Inspector of Hostels and Messes.

Mr. R. O. Raha, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, has been appointed University Inspector of Hostels and Messes in place of Mr. Sudhanath Mukherjee who has been promoted to the office of Assistant Registrar. Mr. Raha was for a long time connected with the Y. M. C. A. For more than three years he was the Educational Secretary at the Indian Students' Hostel of the Y. M. C. A. in London. He has had a long and varied experience of students' life generally and hostel management and organisation in particular. We extend to him a hearty welcome and we trust that with his active co-operation it will be possible for the University to devise a scheme for improvements in the hostel life of Calcutta students.

* * *

Affiliation.

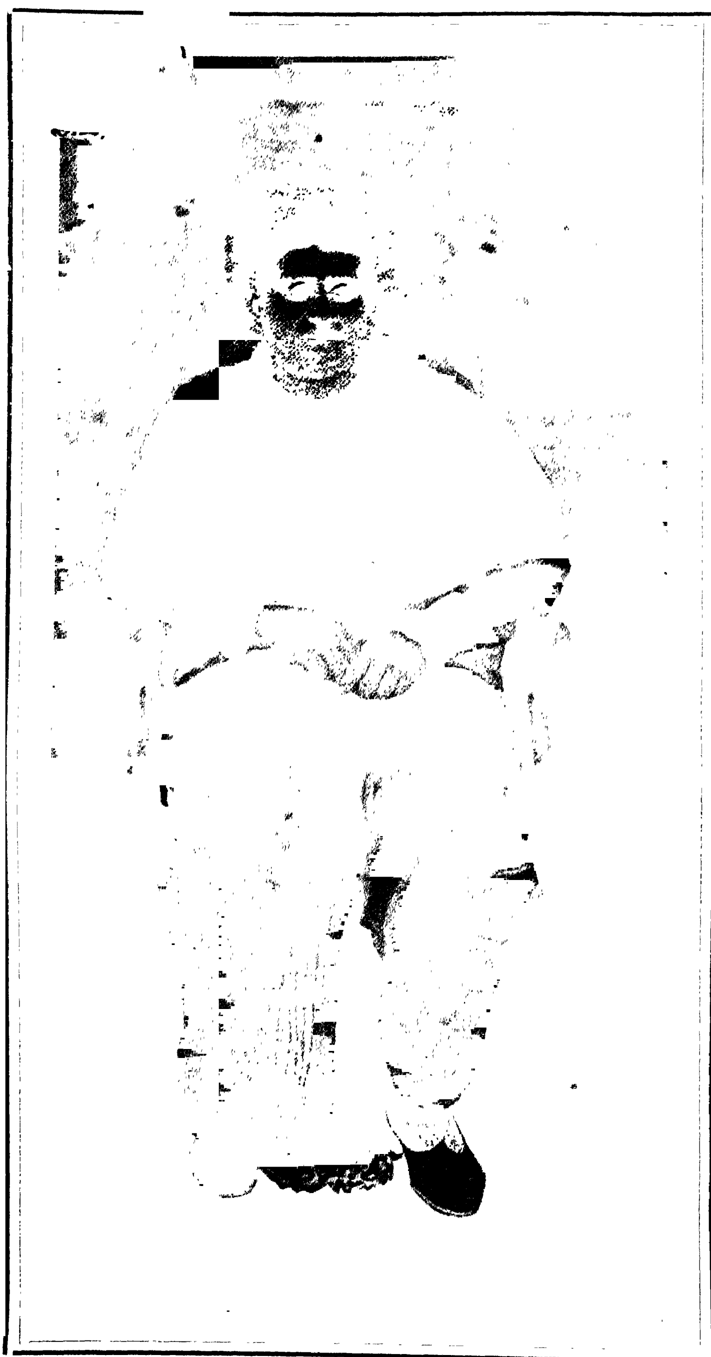
With effect from the session 1933-34 the following colleges have been granted extension of affiliation in the subjects mentioned against each :

1.	Anandamohan College, Mymensingh.	Civics (I.A.)

2.	Asutosh College, Bhowanipur.	Bengali as Second Language for female candidates (I.A.) and History (B.A. Honours).
3.	Wesleyan College, Bankura—	Civics (I.A.)
4.	Victoria College, Comilla—	Philosophy, Economics and Mathematics (B.A. Honours).
5.	Edward College, Pabna ...	Civics (I.A.)
6.	Bagerhat College ...	Civics (I.A.)
7.	P.K. College, Contai ...	Civics (I.A.)

Sanction has also been accorded for the establishment of two new colleges, both affiliated up to the Intermediate standard. One is Victoria School at Kurseong, the other is Scottish Mission College at Kalimpong.

* * *



Born 1885] *[Died 22nd July, 1933*

THE LATE MR. J. M. SEN-GUPTA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1933



HINDU SCULPTURE

——*By* ANANDA K. COOMARSWAMY

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

HINDU sculpture, like as its principles may be to those of archaic Greek or Romanesque, has little or nothing in common with late classical or post-Renaissance European art. The Hindu sculptor is not a social personality; he does not choose his themes; his productions are neither useless ("Fine Art") nor meaningless ("Decorative Art"); he never exhibits himself; his work is "exhibited" only when set up in the place for which it was made; he is not interested in technique (as distinguished from application), but only in skill; his work is always intelligible to those who are his patrons. The Hindu sculptor does not work from "life," but from mental images deliberately and consciously evoked in concentration on a given theme; the conception of an idea in the actual presence of an objective model may not be impossible, but is inevitably hindered, "for this purpose you must not extend the dianoetic power outwardly." Elements of visual origin are necessarily present in the idiom, but the construction is not "organic," for it was never contemplated that the work should be made as if to function biologically. Stylistic sequences, as now charted by the

Kunsthistoriker, cannot be described in terms of more or less observation of Nature but only in terms of energy or realisation, presuming in any case that the iconography is correct. Nor are the most profound themes necessarily expressed by anthropomorphic forms: theriomorphic, vegetable, or geometric formulæ may be equally significant.

The subject matter, canonically prescribed (that means, by authority, as was also the case with Christian art), is metaphysical: that is to say that the themes to be expressed in abstract terms are not individual appearances, not "effects," but types of operative energy, whereby appearances become just what they are. "Art" was thus understood, just as it was by the schoolmen in the Light Ages of Europe, to mean "the imitation of nature in her manner of operation."

The first essential in a work of art is reason or intelligibility. Only the conventional is intelligible: what is merely recognizable, is *ipso facto* unintelligible, as unintellectual as is the eye's intrinsic faculty which simply reflects a patchwork of colored areas. Plausibility, carried far enough, can deceive an animal; as an end in itself, it cannot be called a human value, for the work of man, as man, is the formation of ideas. And with respect to art for art's sake "some persons, for example, do something with their hands whilst thinking of something else. The actions of the insane and confused are of this kind" (Maimonides). Or again "Expressions not determined by ends beyond themselves can only be compared to the utterances of a mad man" (*Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*). Art is not an end but a means, *viz.*, the "right determination of the things to be made," *recta ratio factibilium*, Sanskrit *pramāṇa*. When we call a work of art "formless," we mean that it is not a work of art, but devoid of an intrinsic logic.

In other words, what is essential here is the form, or art in the artist, which is the model that he imitates in wood or stone to the best of his ability. This form must be taken for granted as the cause of the becoming of the tangible and

perishable work of art; it cannot be made an object of aesthetic criticism. The artist has no property in this idea or form; he has only to realise or apprehend an image that is equally accessible to other men, all that is specifically his being that manipulative skill which he is expected to employ when he proceeds to embody the intelligible form in sensible material. The resulting "work of art," the embodiment of an image, tangibly extended in space, is thought of as a piece of psychological apparatus (Sanskrit, *yantra*) such that the spectator, guided by its indications, may in his turn realise within himself the form or image embodied in it: that recreation of the art that was in the artist, our modern "criticism" rightly understood, will be successful in proportion to the spectator's own ability and energy. This recreation and realisation of the form accomplishes not merely the immediate psychological end toward which the work was ordered, but, in so far as it involves a self-forgetful self-identification with the contemplated form, constitutes what is defined in India as aesthetic experience, *rasāsvādana*, which experience is altogether independent of the theme, whatever this may have been.

It is entirely possible to own, identify, and date examples of Hindu sculpture, or to be charmed or annoyed by their aesthetic surfaces: all which amounts to nothing more than the satisfaction of a curiosity or the enjoyment of a new sensation. It is also possible to be seduced and influenced by an exotic style, so that we imitate it more or less deliberately; producing a caricature, just as in the case of archaism. Equally naive is the belief that certain modern types of stylisation are akin to those of Asiatic art: as though a calculated method could be compared to the traditional idiom in which a given content found inevitable expression. To think that form can be evoked by the manipulation of substance according to a given recipe betrays the sentimentality of our improper education: fetishists at heart, we still conceive of plastic art as something to be seen, of music as something to be heard, forgetting that "sculpture" is

not a piece of stone, but our endorsement of its form, the art in the artist.

Hindu art is intrinsically Indian : thought of as a model to be imitated, it can only delude or elude the modern craftsman. Its significance depends, not on our taste, but on our understanding. Our understanding should convince us that before we can aspire to be artists, we must first learn how to think and what to think of. I repeat, that the aim of man, as man, is the formation of ideas : whereas our day and generation of sculptors, neglecting all thought and all reflection on ideas, considers as their task the cultivation of the sense of touch, they only think and reason about government and love.

"Once upon a time we were in possession of such a thing as our own mind in India. It was living. It thought, it felt, it expressed itself. It was receptive as well as productive. That this mind could be of any use in the process, or in the end, of our education was overlooked by our modern educational dispensation. We are provided with buildings and books and other magnificent burdens calculated to suppress our mind. The latter was treated like a library-shelf solidly made of wood to be loaded with leather-bound volumes of second-hand information. In consequence, it has lost its own colour and character, and has borrowed polish from the carpenter's shop. All this has cost us money, and also our finer ideas, while our intellectual vacancy has been crammed with what is described in official reports as Education. In fact, we have bought our spectacles at the expense of our eyesight."

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

PERPLEXITIES OF THE AMERICAN PEACEMAKERS

——*By* R. E. WOLSELEY,
Illinois, U. S. A.

THERE is in the United States an increasingly powerful peace movement. The mere fact that the nationalistic journals and organizations are making so much ado about American pacifists is something of an indication that the peace movement is important enough to earn attention.

In times of peace, of course, propaganda against war goes on apace, with little to hinder if except the imprecations of the super-patriots. The American Department of Justice, except in unusual cases, pays little heed. Not so, however, when the guns are booming, when stories of the enemy cutting off childrens' hands and bombing art museums are sent by the propaganda mills to every newspaper, and when a thoroughly bloody battle is on to save the property of the owning minority. Some of the pacifists decide to fight a war to end war, others succumb to the patriotic tallyho, and a scattering few go to jail for their principles and suffer more physically, at least, than if they had entered service.

It takes more courage to be a pacifist in the United States. than not to be. The common application of this belief has it that in time of war only a strong mind, conscience, and purpose can withstand the plea to rid the earth of the tyrant across the seas, to protect one's fatherland against an invader, to do one's bit, to save humanity from destruction. Only an even stronger mind, conscience, and purpose can be adamant when neighbours, relatives, even one's own family, business associates, the government operatives, and old friends talk about one being "yellow," a "slacker," and a "traitor." It takes courage of a different sort, a bolstered, mass-spirit courage, all things

considered, to respond to the roll of drums, the adulation promised the hero, the power of the uniform, and the glory of fighting for one's country in an old tradition. With all this is the persistent and strange belief that we are going to escape the enemy bullet or that the battle will be over as soon as we near the scene. In other words, most of us can follow the mob, but few of us can oppose it.

The war time peacemaker has, by all odds, one of the hardest jobs man must face in his few years on earth. But the peace time pacifist has his troubles, also, and it is with his position in society, particularly American life, that we are chiefly concerned here.

The present situation in the States is an excellent example of the perplexity in which the American peacemaker finds himself. But just what is that situation ?

Chiefly through the churches, but likewise from other than religious sources, there has grown up in the United States in recent years a potent sentiment against war. Merely listing the dozens of anti-war organizations is only a superficial bit of evidence, although it is unfair to omit mention of the War Resisters' League, Peace Patriots, the National Council for the Prevention of War, the World Peace Commission, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Committee on Militarism in Education, to name but a few of the more prominent American groups.

Many women's organizations, with the logical and characteristic exception of such orders as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Woman Patriot, Inc., have put their strength behind the peace movement in the States, as they have throughout the world. The men, given less to crusading in these matters, are not idle, however, as the work for peace of Rotary International indicates. Openly taking a stand against

war we have many leaders of American thought, such as Raymond Fosdick, Nicholas Murray Butler, Jane Addams, Harry Elmer Barnes, Kirby Page, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Ernest F. Tittle, John Dewey, Stuart Chase, Frank B. Kellogg, Sherwood Eddy, Norman Thomas, John Haynes Holmes, John Nevin Sayre, Paul H. Douglas, E. Merrill Root, George Albert Coe, Reinhold Neibuhr, Carrie Chapman Catt, Refus M. Jones, Oswald Garrison Villard, Upton Sinclair, George Soule, and Robert Morss Lovett.

Even youth is taking a positive position (through such organizations as the Green International and the Christian Social Action Movement) and quite logically so. Hundreds of young men and women are banding for gatherings to be held in the States throughout the year, at which the war and peace question is thrashed out, usually with an increase in adherents to the pacifist side.

The peace movement has reached such magnitude that millions of signatures of American citizens were sent to the disarmament conference at Geneva, in what turned out to be a vain attempt to gain serious consideration of the armament problems of the world.

When the two quadrennial political circuses were held at Chicago recently, the representatives of the peacemakers in America urged the delegates to include drastic statements on war and peace in their platforms. How successful they were may be judged by a glance at the Republican and Democratic documents, if either scraps of paper are in evidence anywhere. Yet these men and women were not howled down as traitors because they recommended that Uncle Sam should take the lead in disarmament. They may have been considered deluded idealists, but they were treated with the same tolerance as the modern gangster, verily a tribute, and an indication of the strength of peace sentiment.

The picture would hardly be complete without noting the attention that the subject gains in the press. The majority of

the religious periodicals help in the crusade for peace, the most notable including *The World Tomorrow*, *The Christian Century*, *World Unity*, and *The Churchman*. There is a number of important general magazines, either openly fighting for a peace program or permitting intelligent discussion of the problem in many issues. The secular press, especially such reactionary sheets as *The Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Sun*, is in general unsympathetic, but the American press has ever been in the rear in social movements. Unlike the dodo bird, however, the subject of war and peace is a live one.

Many colleges, and large numbers of college teachers, lend support to the peace movement. At least one of the minor political parties leans considerably toward pacifism. This is the Socialist Party, whose war stand is remembered with pride by its members, specially those who remained faithful to it despite the war hysteria. It has taken a more courageous stand than either of the major parties would dream of taking unless the rest of the world led the way. This is explained by the fact that the Socialists, being not only realistic, have everything to gain and little to lose whereas the Republican and Democratic parties are already discredited in the eyes of many voters, and believe that any sort of experiment with social progress might lead to even worse difficulties.

Thus we see a strong peace movement in America, backed by the churches, in part by the colleges and universities, by some political parties, and by many responsible and respectable citizens of all ages. And now we come to the dilemma of these peace-makers. It can best be appreciated now that we have obtained some historical perspective.

The American peace patriot of to-day is not, as was the case years ago when pacifism was the province of Quakers, religious fanatics, radicals and the so-called "cowards," an extraordinary or abnormal being. The various shades of pacifists, from the Tolstoyan type who refuses to take part in any war or any sort of violent action, to the sort who believes a war of defense is

legitimate, are found in all classes of American life. Roughly, however the pacifists to-day are in either the wealthy class, which has been reached by the clergy and the educational facilities of the day as well as through its opportunities to travel and learn from other countries that may be far in advance of its own; the middle class, which likewise is reached by the preacher and teacher as well as by the radio lecturer and which is learning because it has been paying for the recent wars in taxes for more armaments and the staggering debts incurred by past wars; or in the intelligent laboring and skilled worker class, which is reached by the labor and workers' political organizations whose programs oppose war (except possibly class war) as well as by some of the other afore-mentioned disseminators of the pacifist message.

These solid citizens have, many of them, done some thinking on the matter of war and peace. The secretaries and other leaders of the organizations setting the pace in the crusade for a warless world have also, of necessity, done even more cogitating. And this thinking has brought many of them (and is destined to bring many more later on) to the place where they realize that their ideal can be achieved not by coaxing statesmen of various nations to sign paper agreements to avoid fighting but by making some fundamental changes in the economic structure which will make wars as unnecessary and as futile as feuds between neighbors on the same street.

The cure for war, they have learned, is not the scrapping of battleships, abandonment of powder plants and arsenals and armories and naval coaling stations, curtailing of the construction of war planes and tanks and big guns, or even the banishing of all spears or beating them into plowshares. With our modern industrial efficiency most nations can build the implements of war in short order. Nor is it enough to say that the cure for war is the will to peace. Not that the will to peace will not help abolish war. It will. To say so is merely an enunciation which leaves unanswered the vital question. How is the world to be given the will to peace?

Further investigation into the causes and cures of war reveals, inevitably, that modern conflicts rarely are fought for the announced ideal. Democracy, instead of having been saved by the victorious nations who were fighting for it, is passing speedily out of our hands. Dictatorships in Russia, Germany, Italy, Chili, Japan, Hungary, Poland, and Cuba, to name the best known instances, provide little evidence of the growth of democracy as a result of the war to save it. The calls, from some quarters, for a dictatorship in the United States, supposedly the stronghold of democracy in the western world, are hardly encouraging to believers in the republican form of government.

The Yankee peacemaker, therefore, with study soon ascertains why wars are fought. Revisionist historians, confessing capitalists, research workers, ex-soldiers, and economists have disillusioned us about the causes of many, and particularly of specific wars. One research worker is prepared to reveal, ere long, the definite relationship between the falling off of the shipbuilding industry in the United States and other countries and the demand which followed for an increased naval defense. Propagandist activities against disarmament by the firms which employed William B. Shearer are now old stories but significant none the less.

Such revelations lead the true peacemaker to the realization that it is business which seem to want wars. But why does business want war? The answer, he finds after further investigation, is that business must make a profit. But why, he asks, especially if he is not himself a business man, is the wholesale murder of men and women profitable ?

War, he learns, opens markets and according to its outcome redistributes markets. Business is based on competition and needs these markets. In as much as unethical methods of competition have been allowed to flourish, it is not surprising that our economic order permits nations to go to battle over nitrate fields, Manchurian resources, and strategic points in the fishing industry. The most successful competition is frequently based on the greatest and most ruthless use of anti-social methods.

War, some of the peacemakers have realized, is inseparable from the price or profit system which is the life blood of competitive business. So long as men must fight a terrific battle for gain they will resort to any tactic or technique, even to the staging of a war such as was practised by Messrs. Hearst and Pulitzer in 1898. So long as one nation covets the foods, resources, or territory of another, so long as those desirables are used for the great profit of the relatively few, war is inevitable. Why? Because nations, like individuals, are not at the high stage of development where they will give outright to others or share with others the moneys, mines, or square miles of territory that are now a source of trouble.

Some changes, then, must be made in the economic system which underlies war and usually is the source of war.

This, the peacemaker decides reluctantly, seems to be the case. He studies the changes necessary. He inspects the historic proposals—economic, social, and political—shuddering at socialism and communism, becoming mildly interested in such super-capitalism as fascism, or, possibly, feeling that a properly administered individualistic system, such as our present capitalism, is the way out. The conclusion of a great many of the peacemakers in this dilemma is however, that a co-operative commonwealth is, instead of a competitive society, the only solution. The files of the national office of the Socialist Party of America at Chicago will reveal the large number of ministers, rabbis, rectors, pastors, and even Catholic priests who are flocking to membership in that organization or at least supporting it with votes and money. It is logical. The churchmen are often pacifists—therefore radical on that question at least—and they translate their radicalism about war and peace to the social, economic, and political spheres as the only sufficiently drastic course of action to satisfy their ideals. The support that not only church officers and church workers are giving to radical economic proposals but that is coming also from social workers, educators, lawyers, and other professional classes is frightening the

firm believers in economics as it is followed to-day. Not only are radical political parties gaining (there were more than 100,000 Communist, 907,000 Socialist votes in the States in the 1932 election) but so is the co-operative movement, particularly the consumers' co-operative, and such semi-radical organizations as the League for Independent Political Action.

Because they find, on the one hand, a discredited, planless and inefficient economic system with cyclical depression and periodic wars and, on the other, an unpopular, largely untried economic order based on high ideals, many of the pacifists are perplexed, unhappy, and discouraged. The knowledge that disarmament is not the great and only goal of the peacemaker between nations is disillusioning. It would be comparatively easy to achieve that and have peace reign for ever after. But an even far greater task is asked of the pacifists now—he must repudiate the economic, social, and political system with which he has grown up and upon which, possibly, he has become prosperous. He must align himself with the social and political radical—and being pacifist he must cling to the Socialists, or their equivalent, because they believe in revolution without war, rather than to the Communists, whose tactics and techniques dismiss them from consideration by the consistent pacifist—and more than ever incur the hate, disdain, and persecution which the radical always has suffered.

The situation will become less acute, the opprobrium will decrease as the American pacifist who turns social radical becomes less and less alone in his community. Until the brotherhood becomes large enough in a nation of 120,000,000 souls, however, it will go hard with these peacemakers. Like the early Christians, they will be persecuted for their behavior and beliefs. But we can only hope that, like the early Christians, they will survive the ordeal. They must succeed, as their whole movement must succeed, for without such success the continued evolution of man may become impossible.

THE NEW ITALY

——*By* DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.
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I

ONE cannot get a true estimate of new Italy, unless he is able to visualise the panorama of the history of the Italian people for the last two thousand and five hundred years or longer. The new Italy is a phase of rejuvenation of a great people who have played the most conspicuous part in the evolution of the people of the Western world in its cultural, social, political and economic life. Without minimising the contributions of various Western nations in the fields of art, religion, science, commerce and government, one may rightly say that the Italian people have contributed more than their share in furthering the cause of human progress. If the world is deprived of the achievements of the Italian people in the fields of painting, or music, or architecture, the civilised world will then undoubtedly be the poorer. Christianity owes its origin to the Jewish people and yet the organised religion of Christianity with the Roman Catholic Church, which has made a tremendous contribution in the process of evolution of humanity, is the product of Roman ideas of organization. In the field of positive and applied sciences the people of Germany, Great Britain, France, the United States and other nations have made significant contributions, during the last three centuries; yet it cannot be denied that great Italian scholars of the Middle Ages were many in respects the pioneers. When one studies the history of world commerce and shipping, one realises that the Mediterranean was once an Italian Sea; the commerce of the world between the East and the West was directed by the businessmen of Genoa and Venice. The very discovery of America by Columbus is one of the exploits of the Italian mariners.

Even the British navigators to the North American continent owe a debt to the Italian mariners who settled in England and the "Cabots" of New England States (especially, Boston) are descendants of Italian mariners. Needless to say that in the field of Government—of city states, republics, empires—all the nations of the West have learnt much from Italy.

In many respects, the place of Italy in the West is similar to the position of India in the East. There is not a country in the East which has not been influenced by Indian ideals and achievements and similarly there is not a land in the West which is not indebted to the people of Italy. Just as in the past glories and greatness of India lies the root of the future of Greater India, similarly in the heritage of the glories of the Italian people the New Italy has her foundations.

II

The New Italy has passed through three distinct periods—the Italy of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, working for Italian Independence and Unity; then came the period of consolidation through participation in World Politics and internal development. This era ended with the World War. Then came the era of Fascist Italy, conscious of her Imperial destiny and asserting her position of a new leader in the world. It is not necessary for one to be an adherent of Facism to recognise that Italy, under the leadership of Signor Mussolini and with the loyal co-operation of his co-workers and the majority of the nation, has assumed the rôle of leadership in World Politics. The best evidence of this fact is that the much heralded Four Power Pact, which has brought new hopes of peace (at least for the coming ten years) in the war-torn Europe, is a contribution of Fascist Italy. It originated with Signor Mussolini; it was discussed in Rome where the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the mighty British Empire went to consult Il Duce. It has been signed at Rome. In one way Rome has

taken precedence over Geneva in devising this new instrument of international co-operation towards peace, through readjustment of questions involving conflicting interests of Great Powers. In matters of world peace, disarmament and re-alignment of powers, Rome, the Eternal City, is playing her new rôle.

It may not be out of place to say a few words about some of the cardinal principles of Italian Foreign Policy which is based upon the ideal of "sacred egoism of a great people." To be sure, one will find the details of Italian policy in the speeches of Signor Mussolini, and the proceedings of various international conferences. However, it may be mentioned that the present foreign policy of Italy has continuity in the form of (*a*) securing international support to throw off the foreign yoke, (*b*) entering into such alliances—such as Triple Alliances—as enhanced Italian prestige and Power in World Politics, (*c*) fighting such wars which enabled Italy to gain greater power and to expand—Italo-Turkish War, Italian participation in the World War against the Central Powers—and (*d*) winning greater victories through peace and assertion of the right of the Italian people.

III

With the signing of the Four Power Pact, it is finally established that no important question involving great powers of Europe can be settled without an agreement with Italy. In the meantime Italy has become a dominating factor in the Balkans, through Italian expansion in Albania, extension of Italian influence in Hungary, Bulgaria and even in Austria as well as Germany. Fascist Italy has established close political and economic relations with Soviet Russia.

Ancient Rome had her African Empire and Fascist Italy is exerting her best to consolidate the existing Italian Empire in Africa and to acquire greater influence in various regions of this continent. Fascist Italy, under the leadership of Signor Mussolini, has checked Italian immigration to foreign countries;

and at the same time it is encouraging Italian colonisation in Africa. Fascist Italy demands that Italians settled in French possessions in Africa should retain their Italian citizenship, and this is one of the causes of misunderstanding between France and Italy in Africa. The nature of importance placed in the idea of extension of Italian influence in Africa, can be well understood from the fact that the Italian King has not only visited various parts of Italian Empire in Africa, but went to Egypt where Italian influence is not in considerable.

Italy entered the World War on the side of the *Entente* group of powers, because she was promised by a secret treaty that she would not only be able to annex certain parts of Austrian territory adjoining Northern Italy, but she would also be given a portion of Turkish territory in the Asia Minor. The Powers did not fulfil the promise of conceding certain parts of Turkish territory to Italy. This was one of the causes of Italian dissatisfaction to the Versailles Treaty. However, it is to the credit of Fascist Italy that, instead of encroaching upon any part of Turkish territory, Signor Mussolini has befriended Mustapha Kemal Pasha and used his influence in bringing about reconciliation between Turkey and Greece. Italy took the initiative to sign a " non-aggression pact " with Turkey which has strengthened the position of the Turkish Government in World politics. Therefore, Italian influence in Turkey politically, economically and commercially is increasing. It is also evident that Fascist Italy has extended its support in more ways than one to the government of Persia under Shah Riza. Persian confidence in Fascist Italy is evident from the fact that the Persian Government has sent a large number of students to Italy to master various branches of national defence. Italian commerce, and Italian political influence are also growing in Persia. Signor Mussolini showed his sincere sympathy for the progressive idealism of the late King Aman-ullah of Afghanistan who is now living in Rome, as an exile.

IV

Italian interest in India has a history of centuries. This interest has been intensified and wisely directed by Signor Mussolini. It may be mentioned that it was under the Fascist *regimé* the Indian scientists and scholars—Bose, Raman, Saha, Sarkar, Nag, Dasgupta, and others—were given full recognition. Signor Mussolini, realising the significance of India in the world, sent eminent Italian Indologists—Professors Formichi and Tucci—to Santiniketan and other culture centres of India to establish personal contact with Indian cultural leaders. It was through Signor Mussolini's interest that a library of Italian literature was presented to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore for his University. Let this be also recorded that Dr. Tagore was invited by the Italian Government and honored in the most befitting manner. Since then Prof. Tucci aided by the Italian authorities has carried on several expeditions in Nepal and Tibet. While Italian leaders are active in establishing cultural contact with India, Italian business-leaders have done their share in promoting Indo-Italian commercial relations, through the expansion of Italian shipping and export trade.

It is a vital factor of Italian foreign policy that Italy must not incur hostility of Great Britain; yet Signor Mussolini and Fascist Italy pursue an independent policy regarding better understanding between India and Italy. Italy recognises the world significance of the struggle for Indian Freedom. During the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to continental countries after the Second Round Table Conference held in London, none of the Governments of European countries (fearing the possibility of incurring displeasure of the British Foreign Office) officially took recognition of the visit of Mahatma Gandhi, except the Government of Signor Mussolini. Leaders of Fascist Italy have taken special care to come in contact with Indian leaders passing through Italy. This is evident from the cordial attention extended to Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya as well as to

Subhaschandra Bose and others. Lest there be any misunderstanding, I wish to make it clear that Fascist Italy is not hostile to Indian national aspirations. They feel that to be on friendly terms with Britain does not imply hostility to India. On the contrary, promotion of Indo-Italian friendship is consistent with Italian policy of promoting better understanding between Italy and all great peoples.

V

It will be of great interest to the Indian public and also to the peoples of the Far East that with the approval of Signor Mussolini, a society has been established in Rome to promote closer relations between the peoples of the Far East and India on the one side and those of Italy on the other. The name of this society is *Institute per l'Asia Media ed Estrema*, and its headquarters are in the University of Rome. Most influential persons of Italian public life and commerce are directly interested in the success of this society. His Excellency Senator Gentile is the President of this organisation; and he is ably assisted by Prof. Tucci, Barone Ricciardi (Member of the Italian Parliament) and others.

It is most gratifying that Italian efforts to promote cultural co-operation with India have been reciprocated by some of the Indian educators, especially Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar and Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta University. However the most significant event in Indo-Italian relations is the establishment of Hindusthan Association of Italy. It has come into existence through the efforts of Indian students who are studying in Italian Universities and getting practical training in Italian factories. They realise that India should do her share in promoting Indo-Italian friendship.

It was my good fortune to participate in the inaugural meeting of the Hindusthan Association of Italy which was held in Hotel Elyaee, Rome, on the 25th February, 1933, and in which

many Italian statesmen and educators and social leaders were present, while others sent their messages of support. I wish to mention the names of few persons who, representing various walks of Italian life, were present on the occasion :—H. E. De Francisi (Minister of Justice) and Donna de Francisci, H. E. Arrigo Solmi (Under-Secretary for National Education, who responded to the address of welcome), H. E. Brodrere (Vice-President of the Italian Parliament), Donna Ermina Gentile (wife of the ex-Minister of Education), His Excellency Prof. Tucci and Donna Tucci, Count and Countessa Romanelli. Several members of the Italian Parliament—Barone Ricciardi, Gray, Benni, Tassinari, and others ; many prominent educators—Prof. Vacca, and others ; and prominent journalists—Dr. Puccio, Dr. Caprile, Dr. Malgeri, and others were also present.

New Italy has risen to her present position through the supreme efforts of her leaders and people by increasing their national efficiency. Young India, seeking the ways for Freedom, National Consolidation and National Expansion, can learn much from New Italy. It is to be hoped that far-sighted Indian leaders will make systematic and determined effort to co-operate with the leaders of Italy, to bring about closer cultural co-operation and better understanding between the great peoples of Italy and India.

> "Humanity, where it is living, is guided by inner ideals; but where it is a dead organisation it becomes impervious to them. Its building process is only an external process, and in its response to the moral guidance it has to pass through obstacles that are gross, and non-plastic."
>
> —*Rabindranath Tagore*

ZOOLOGICAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

——Dr. Baini Prashad, D. Sc.
Director, Zoological Survey of India.

PROBABLY no country on the face of the earth has a richer or more varied fauna than India, and the study of the problems connected with the origin and relationships of the various elements in this fauna has attracted naturalists from very early times. The lakes, the river systems with their extensive deltaic and estuarine areas and the backwaters of India offer the most favourable conditions for the study of the origin of fresh-water and land animals from marine forms, while the oceans and seas along the coasts and the extensive coral reefs have as rich a marine fauna as any other region of the globe. The rapids of the higher reaches of the rivers offer extraordinary examples in the adaptations of different classes of animals to their peculiar habitat, while in the vast continental area of India all kinds of environments from the palaearctic or even Alpine to the tropical and even the desert areas are equally well represented. The last, but not the least, important factors of interest from the point of Zoo-geographical study are the discontinuous and very peculiar distributions of some animals, both Vertebrates and Invertebrates, and the unravelling of the causes underlying these distributions is indeed a very fascinating study.

The limits for the area, which is included within the limits of India from a Zoo-geographic point of view, were admirably defined by Blandford, one of our most distinguished Geologists and Zoo-geographers, as consisting "of the dependencies

* Lecture delivered on the 22nd May, 1933, before the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Calcutta, (at 210, Bowbazar Street) by Dr. Baini Prashad, D.Sc., Director, Zoological Survey of India.

of India with the addition of Ceylon, which although British, is not under the Indian Government. Within the limit thus defined are comprised the whole of India proper and the Himalayas, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, all the Kashmir territorries with Gilgit, Ladak, etc., Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and other Cis-Himalayan States, Assam, the countries between Assam and Burma, such as the Garo, Khasi and the Naga Hills and Manipur, the whole of Burma with Karenni, and of course Tenasserim and the Mergui Archipelago, and lastly the Andaman and Nicobar Islands;" with this we have also to include the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, which are not only under the Indian Government but the Fauna of which shows very distinct affinities with that of the Indian area. The total area of India is very large, roughly, 1,800,000 square miles, and it will be presumptuous to claim that we are, by any means, fully acquainted with all the forms of animal life which inhabit this vast region, still one would not be far wrong in saying that we are to-day fairly well informed about the main features, and in many cases, even the details of this fauna.

The limits of India, as defined above, fall mainly within the Oriental Region of Wallace or the Eastern Palaeotropical Region of some authors. Probably, however, as Blanford suggested, the best name for the region, owing to Oriental having been used by the Botanists earlier for South-western Asia and Persia, is Indo-Malay, as employed by Elwes for Birds. This name also is a purely tentative one, and the classification cannot be said to be entirely satisfactory as practically the whole of the Western Frontier Province and the greater part of the Punjab, and the Western Himalayan area to the western limit of Nepal with Gilgit and Ladak are undoubtedly to be included in the Holarctic or the Palaearctic Region rather than the Indo-Malay. Similarly parts of the Indo-Gangetic Plain are also more closely related to the Western Frontier territory than to the rest of Indo-Malayan area. These conclusions of Blanford regarding the main division were based on the distribution of the Vertebrates,

but the distribution of the Invertebrates, so far as it is known, has also confirmed these conclusions, at least in the main points.

The division of this vast area into subregions owing to the heterogeneous nature of the faunas of different areas is not an easy task. The affinities of the faunas of the different areas are very complicated and probably the best course under the circumstances is to take physiographical rather than zoo-geographical tracts as the basis for the consideration of the fauna of different parts. In this connection it will be out of place to consider here shortly the history of the various attempts that have been made by previous workers for subdividing the Indian area into regions. Jerdon taking the Birds and Gunther the Reptiles, as the bases for their conclusions, divided India into several subregions, but their subdivisions were based mainly on the geographical units rather than on the available zoological data. Blanford basing his scheme on the distribution of the Land Mollusca divided India into four areas or subprovinces as he called them: 1. Hindustan from the Himalayas to the Nerbudda, 2. Decan from the Nerbudda to the Krishna and bounded on the east by a north and a south line a little east of Nagpur, 3. Bengal east of the latter, extending south of the Godavari, and 4. Madras south of Krishna with Northern Ceylon. Elwes who considered India with Malay Peninsula as a single unit for Birds, divided into three sub-regions:—1. Himalayan or Himalo-Chinese, 2. Indian, and 3. Malay. Wallace from a general consideration of the distribution of all the groups of animals divided the Oriental region into:—1. Hindustan or the Indian subregion consisting of the whole of the Peninsula from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to somewhere near Seringapatam on the south-east and Goa on the south-west, 2. Ceylon and South India, 3. Himalayan or Indo-Chinese subregion comprising the Himalayas as far west as Kashmir from the base to an elevation of 9,000-10,000 feet, and the countries east of the Bay of Bengal, Assam, Burma, Southern

China, Siam and Cochin China, and 4. Indo-Malaya or the Malayan subregion consisting of the Malaya Peninsula and the Archipelago. Kobelt basing his conclusions mainly on the distribution of the Molluscs divided it into :—(1) The north-western area of the Indus Plateau limited in the south-east by a boundary running almost in line with the Arrawali mountain range. (2) The greater part of the Peninsula in the south bounded by a line from Goa on the west to Madras on the east, on the north-west by the Arrawali range and including almost the greater part of the Gangetic shed ; the latter bordered on the north by the Himalayan chain and on the east by a line running from the eastern border of Nepal to a little to the west of Calcutta, and (4) The Basin of the Brahmaputra including a part of Bengal, the whole of Assam and the hill areas of the Garos, Nagas, etc., and bounded on the east by a line running from Cape Negrais along the Arrakan Yomas and then running further east along the Irrawaddy river to Tibet. He did not consider Burma and Tennaserim in his account. Sharpe from the distribution of the Birds divided the Indian region into :— 1. Indian Peninsular subregion, 2. Indo-Malay subregion, 3. Indo-Chinese subregion, 4. Himalo-Malayan subregion, and 5. Himalo-Chinese subregion. Blanford in the Introduction to the Mammalia in the "Fauna of British India" divided the region into six subregions :—1. Tibetan, 2. Himalayan, 3. Indian, 4. Malabar or Ceylonese, 5. Burmese, and 6. South Tennasserim. Newton and Gadow treating of Birds and W. L. Sclater considering the Mammals, followed Wallace, but united his Indian and Ceylonese regions into a single unit. Blanford in his classical work on the Distribution of the Vertebrates of India, divided the whole area into 5 subdivisions :- -1. The Indo-Gangetic Plain, 2. The Indian Peninsula, 3. Ceylon, 4. The Himalayas, and 5. Assam and Burma, and further subdivided these into 19 tracts. Alcock taking the fresh-water Crabs as the basis for his work divided India into 6 territories :—1. The Western Frontier territory, 2. Western Himalayan territory

3. North-eastern Frontier or Eastern Himalayan or Eastern sub-Himalayan territory, 4. Burma-Malay territory, 5. Peninsular territory, and 6. Indo-Gangetic Plain. Annandale found that the distribution of the fresh-water Sponges and Polyzoa confirmed Alcock's conclusions, but it was necessary fo divide the Peninsular territory into (*a*) the main area consisting of the Peninsula east of Western Ghats and (*b*) Malabar Zone including the Western Ghats from Taptee River to Cape Comorin and eastwards to the sea ; and also found it necessary to consider Ceylon as a separate territory. Stephenson in considering the Geographical Distribution of the Oligochaeta found that in addition to the territories recognised by Annandale it was necessary to separate the narrow southern end of the peninsula below the level of Goa and south of the fifteenth parallel from the eastern to the western shore as a distinct region. Christophers found that for the Anopheline mosquitoes it was necessary to divide India into 6 areas :—1. Trans-Indus area, 2. Indo-Gangetic area, 3. Peninsular area, 4. Malabar and Ceylon, 5. Assam and Burma, and 6. Himalayan area. Recently taking into consideration the results of systematic work on various groups, I suggested the following scheme :—

Subregions :—1. Western Frontier Territory including Baluchistan, the North-Western Frontier Province and the greater part of the Punjab. 2. The Himalayas consisting of the Upper Indus Valley with Ladak, Gilgit, etc., the Western Himalayas from Hazara to the western limit of Nepal, and the Eastern Himalayas from the limit of the Western Himalayas to the Mishmi Hills above the Assam Valley. 3. Assam and Burma comprising the greater part of the Lower Brahmaputra Drainage System and the Burmese territory including Tenasserim. 4. The Gangetic Plain to the east of Delhi, and including the whole of the United Provinces, Bengal, and parts of Assam up to the base of the Assam Hills, together with the plain of the Brahmaputra as far as Goalpara and including Cachar, Sylhet and the plains of Tipperah. 5. Peninsular

India, with the Malabar zone as a very distinct subdivision, and Ceylon.

A comparison of the faunas of the different tracts enumerated above shows that while the Western Frontier territory including the Indus Basin, the higher reaches of the Himalayas and South Tenasserim do not belong to the Indo-Malay Region, the remainder of the area can be grouped into two main divisions for which Gadow's divisional names—Cisgangetic and Transgangetic—originally suggested for areas of distribution of Birds—are available and were used, for the fauna of the Indian area as a whole, by Blanford. The Cisgangetic area includes the whole of the Peninsula with Ceylon and the greater part of the Gangetic Plain. The Transgangetic area comprises Burma except South Tenasserim, Assam, and the forest areas of the Himalayas in the Indian Territory and extends further to the south-east to include South China, Siam, Tonkin and Cochin-China.

The fauna of the Western Frontier territory including the Indus Basin and the Tibetan tract with the upper reaches of the Himalayas is entirely that of the Central Asiatic type, and represents the south-eastern extension of the Holarctic or Palaearctic Realm A fair number of Indo-Malayan types have also migrated into this territory from the east and south, but these are easily distinguished and are of no value for assigning the territory its proper zoological position.

In the Cisgangetic region a peculiar admixture of different faunas seems to have taken place. In main characteristics the fauna of this region differs from that of the Transgangetic partly in the absence of numerous Eastern Types, and partly by the presence of two other distinct constituents, which form, especially in the forests, the majority of the animal population of the area. One of these constituents to which Blanford gave the appropriate name—The Aryan (Faunal element)—consists of certain genera of mammals, birds and reptiles. The typical genera of this Aryan Fauna are, for the most part, represented in the tropics of

Africa at the present day, but do not occur in Western Asia or Northern Africa. There are, however, many other forms associated with the first named in Peninsular India, which either range into Western Asia or are represented there by allied species of the same genera. Both of these groups of genera are well represented in the Pliocene Siwalik Fauna of the Himalayan foothills, and it appears probable that most of them are descended from animals which appeared in India, so far as we know at present, in the Pliocene period ; a few however, may be later migrants. On the whole this Aryan element is subtropical rather than tropical, and best developed in parts where the rainfall is moderate. Several of its most conspicuous and characteristic members, such as the Antelope and Nilgai, are not found in the extreme south of India or in Ceylon, and they are inhabitants of grassy and bush-covered plains with scattered trees, not of dense forests and bamboo jungle in which Gaur and the Indian Elephant flourish. The second constituent of this fauna is the Indo-Malayan or the oriental element. It is more diffused and much more richly represented in the tropical damp forests of Malabar and Ceylon than in the drier parts of the Peninsula. This diffusion of the Indo-Malayan element renders it probable that it is an older inhabitant than the Aryan element mentioned already, but it is also probable that it is an immigrant and not an indigenous element, for it is only an impoverished representative of the typical Oriental life found in the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Some authors have opined that the Oriental or the Indo-Malayan fauna, owing to the presence in it of representatives of the Lower Miocene and Oligocene faunas of Europe, is also of Palaearctic origin and that it was driven down into the tropics by the diminishing temperature of the Holarctic region in the Miocene times. The third element in the Cisgangetic fauna that can be recognised distinctly from the other two is what Blanford termed—Dravidian. It is thoroughly tropical and damp-loving, and is only represented by lower groups of the Animal Kingdom, *viz.*, Reptiles,

Batrachians and Fishes. It is probable that this is the oldest element in the Cisgangetic fauna, and may have inhabited the country since India was connected with Madagascar and South Africa, across what is now the Indian Ocean, in Mesozoic and early Cenozoic times.

The Transgangetic region has mainly the Indo-Malayan type of fauna. It is distinguished from the Cisgangetic region by the presence in it of certain families of mammals, birds, reptiles, batrachians, and invertebrates. These families are markedly different from those of the Malayan subregion.

In the fauna of the Peninsula in Malabar and Ceylon there is a much greater concentration of the Oriental element. There are, for example, various genera like *Loris*, *Tragulus*, *Draco*, *Liolepis* and *Ixalus*, several genera of earthworms like *Drawida*, *Megascolex*, *Notoscolex*, etc., and other types of invertebrates, which are represented in Burma and the Malay countries but not in northern India. In connection with this the limitation of the Dravidian element to the south of India has also to be remembered. There is also the occurrence of certain Himalayan species on the mountains of Southern India and Burma and even further south but not in the intervening area. These have all been explained as being due to the effect of the Glacial Epoch, but the explanation is not quite satisfactory, though it is hard to understand how otherwise the animals of temperate Himalayan types could have been forced to migrate to the hills of Southern India and Ceylon on the one hand, and those of Burma and the Malay Peninsula on the other. After the Glacial Epoch when the country became warmer, the Oriental fauna must have migrated rapidly from the south-east into Eastern Himalayas. At the present day the comparatively narrow plain of the Brahmaputra in Assam is far more extensively covered with forests than the much broader Gangetic Plain, and if, as is probable, the same differences existed at the close of the Glacial Epoch, it is easy to understand why the Transgangetic fauna of Burma and south-east should have had greater facilities for

occupying the vacant region of the Himalayas than the Cisgangetic fauna which had been driven much further south by the cold.

I have already referred to the Aethiopian element in the fauna of Peninsular India when considering the Dravidian element, and it would suffice to add that, as was pointed out by Annandale, several groups of Invertebrates, Sponges, Polyzoa, Hydroids, Oligochaetes, Crustacea and Mollusca, found in the Malabar tract show a very great affinity, if not distinct identity, with the forms found in Africa. I will sum up this lecture in his words: "In the freshwater fauna of India the African element is more evident among the lower invertebrates than it is in the fish and the higher invertebrates. This fact probably indicates that the geographical connection was a very ancient one and ceased to exist at a remote date. Geologists are apparently willing to admit that in late Cretaceous or early Tertiary times a land-bridge, in the form either of a solid territory or of an archipelago, extended from what is now East Africa to what is now the Malabar Zone, the Indian Peninsula being then an island separated from the main land of Asia by a sea that occupied the present position of the Himalayas. A similar, but probably wider and more continuous, bridge existed between Africa and South America. Doubtless the three territories (*i e.*, Africa, South America and India) had then a very similar freshwater fauna, but there is some evidence that Africa was its centre of distribution. It is almost inconceivable that there can ever have been a direct land-passage from India to America in which Africa was not included, and the cases in which genera (*e.g.*, Batrachain genus *Herpele*) occur in America and in India but not in Africa may well be due to the dying out in the intermediate territory of forms which survived at the two extremes. Madagascar, if it ever actually formed part of the land that joined Africa to India and did not merely lie adjacent to it, must have been separated at a period more remote than that at which the whole connection was finally interrupted."

PROBLEMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL*

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INDULGENCE in a formal thanksgiving and expression of courtesy is, I think, quite out of place when on a momentous occasion like this all the teachers of the Hughli district meet together in this historic place for deliberations on certain vital problems of secondary education in Bengal. I call it a momentous occasion because we meet at a very critical moment of our national life. The times are such that it is difficult even for the sanest of philosophers to divine what this little world of ours is going to be. Under the prolonged trade depression that has seriously affected the life and happiness of men all the world over we all clearly perceive that the ship of our national life is caught in quicksands and is slowly sinking down before our very eyes without the faintest hope of rescue from the impending calamity. To keep up the show, we, as in private so in our public life, have been increasing our debts and liabilities with hardly any chance for liquidation or solvency.

Thanks to the bounties of Nature, our fields abound in crops, our granaries are full, and our markets are flooded with stocks of commodities, and yet we have little money to buy even the barest necessaries of life. Living, as we have to, in a strange world of plenty and penury, we are crying out like Coleridge's Ancient Mariner: "Water, water, everywhere, not a drop to drink."

The last great European war, the dreadful memories of which are still fresh in us all, palpably showed, to our utter

* A presidential address for the 12th session of the Hughli District Teachers' Conference held on the 14th April, 1933.

dismay, that inspite of all boast of science and philosophy, religion and poetry, art and morality, man had not advanced an inch from the primitive brutal instinct. The League of Nations supplied, no doubt, a much needed corrective,—a new consciousness of international morality to make amends for the sense of guilt and remorse. But diplomatic developments in recent world politics are just tending to show that without an international police the international morality is but an empty talk. "Might is right" remains after all, the same old guiding principle of misguided humanity. Inspite of much increased facilities for intercourse and inter-communication the separatist spirit is still a living reality among all the nations. Religion is taboo, philanthropy nil, comity of nations a farce, and chastity a thing of the past. The very essential is sacrificed at the altar of the mere expedient, comfort, and convenience are mistaken for real hapiness, cheap popularity is mistaken for originality, excitement for welfare, machine for the man, body for the spirit, in short, appearance for reality. The teachers of this district quietly meet to-day for mutual deliberations on this important occasion and in this memorable place when ruin is threatening mankind from all sides and the destiny of our national life is being shaped on the anvil of the steel-framed White Paper.

I understand that at this session of the conference I am just to state some of the important problems of secondary education in Bengal, and that in such a form as to start up discussion amongst this learned gathering. In other words, I take it that my business as President will be to suggest certain pertinent questions and deepen their significance indicating some lines of argument which may lead to fruitful conclusions. And in discharging this very duty I have to ask all to be clear as to what is meant or should be meant by secondary education.

The term in its accepted sense implies a system and gradation of education standing midway between what is called lower primary on the one hand and what is called the collegiate on the other, the latter admitting of three gradations,—intermediate,

under-graduate and post-graduate. To be more precise, it ranges from the upper primary and M. E. stages to the matriculation, excluding but the lower primary stage where just the three R's are taught to fight the bugbear of illiteracy.

Whether this should continue to be the definition of secondary education is a question which has been so ably handled by the Sadler Commission. According to finding of this Commission, the upper range of the secondary education should so extend as to include the intermediate stage. If this recommendation be given effect to, as has already been done in some of the recent Indian Universities, the scope of secondary education will be broadened enough to enhance its importance and increase its responsibility, but that at the cost of the existing first grade colleges which would thereby suffer diminution in both population and income, not to say, importance. Even in its present limitation it occupies a middle place and drives a wedge, so to speak, through the very heart of the system of education prevailing in this country.

The lower primary, the upper primary and the M. E. schools, and, in some instances, the local *tols* and *maktabs*, organised as separate institutions, serve as feeder to the secondary or High English schools. These are under the direct control of Inspectors of Schools and their subordinates. Regarded asa distinct entity, the secondary schools keep clear of the control of the inspecting staff up to the rank of District Inspectors, and remain under the control of the respective managing committees, on the one hand, and the Education Department and the University, on the other, the duty of Government supervision being mainly entrusted to the Divisional Inspectors, and that of final examination alone to the University. The secondary schools may or may not come under the control either of the Department or of the University, it all depends on seeking or not seeking grants-in-aid or recognition for sending up regular candidates for the Matriculation examination, the success at which is made a condition for eligibility for collegiate as well as certain vocational education.

Under the University regulation, now in force, the learners, too, may or may not join any school, it all depends on their desire or opportunity for appearing or not appearing as regular students at the Matriculation examination, they being in a sense the real makers and unmakers of the secondary and lower institutions.

Theoretically, each secondary school with its own managing committee, teaching staff and *alumni* is an autonomous body, the chief duty of the teaching staff being to maintain its academic efficiency and internal discipline and that of the managing committee to devise ways and means for the finance and proper upkeep. The trinity of control—of the managing committee locally bestowing its parental care, the Department centrally watching affairs with the eye of a dreaded benefactor and the University providing an angelic protection from the high, ensures safety of the whole academic constitution by neutralising *ultra vires* and injustice born thereof, and imparts health and beauty to the internal life by co-ordination of the respective resources.

By the recognition granted by the University the secondary schools come to be affiliated to a grand parental institution and are enabled to feel their existence as a part and parcel of a vaster scheme of education—which itself acts as a great incentive to a larger life that lies open both before the teachers and the taught.

As, on the one hand, the simple fact of recognition enables the University to tap a new source of income, so, on the other, it empowers that body to exercise high control through its code and court and no less through its prescription of text-books so as to shape the course of study to be followed in the two upper classes. Although the whole course of study in the lower classes has to be graduated to meet the higher, the Department steps in by stealth, as it were, to exercise its inherent right of prescribing text-books so as to determine the lower course of study, and appoint for the purpose a Central Text-book Committee, the constitution of which is arbitrary and, therefore, questionable.

All this arrangement presents a vast mass of anomalous complications, which are wanton creations of a power-ridden bureaucracy. The Central Text-book Committee in its present working form, opens only an avenue for corruption, leads to a field for gambling, and pursues throughout a policy, which is amply ruinous to the publishers, harmful to the authors, and ultimately baneful to the learners. The publishers who are the men to hunt out the authors are required to submit the intended books not in manuscripts but in printed forms much to their risk and loss; the authors who are not always first class men have, in writing the books, often to go through a great hurry and find themselves compelled to write not so much of their own accord and after their own taste and as a result of their own profound study and long experience as under compulsion and persuasion from outside, and actuated not so much by the real motive and inner urge of an educator as by that of commercial gain. In short, this Text-book Committee, as it works in its present form, would seem to rank with the three other models of sanity—the Share Market, the Race Course and the Grog Shop, set up before public eye by civilised governments of the modern world.

From this reading of the situation of secondary education it is easy to realise how certain problems arise and demand solution. There is a persistent effort on the part of the Goverment to take secondary education entirely out of the control of the University and to place it under a new authority like the Board of Secondary Education and replace the present system of examination by another under a less dignified name, such as the School Final, and remodel the whole course of study, in the first place, to raise the standard, and, in the second, to better equip the learners both for the intellectual advancement and for the various duties of life.

That the present Matriculation standard has gone low, even as compared with the earlier Entrance course, now abandoned, or that it needs a thorough remodelling is but an admitted fact.

But the suggested line of action, calculated to be an improvement harbours a twofold danger.

First, it will deprive the secondary institutions of the hard-gained and long-enjoyed privilege of developing from a connexion with a greater academic corporation. This connexion has so far enabled the institutions to regard their life as no mean part of a glorious tradition bound up with the noble sentiment of imbibing a great cultural heritage as well as with the silent aspiration for rising up to a higher status.

Secondly, by the shifting of the control on to an altogether new body without any tradition secondary education, so essential to modern society, may have to suffer a serious set-back, and it is very likely to work under a new authority, in the constitution of which many extra-academic elements will predominate serving no other useful purpose than departmentalising the whole thing under the deluding name of democracy and circumscribing the whole mental outlook by introducing a hide-bound compartmental system of education instead.

To my mind, the real remedy lies not in creating a Secondary Board or in introducing a School Final but in reorganizing the secondary schools and second grade colleges and co-ordinating the various institutions of technology [1] and schools for technical education [2] under a completely separate examining university, the University of Calcutta with the affiliated colleges having so long proved too unwieldy for the twofold function of teaching and examining.

The double advantage accruing from the proposed scheme will be (1) that it will not interfere with the existing arrangement, and (2) that it will relieve the University of Calcutta of a great burden giving at the same time an impetus to the development

[1] This class of institution consists of the schools of engineering—civil, mechanical and electrical—as well as various polytechnic institutes for imparting training in weaving, tailoring, printing, and the rest.

[2] The medical schools, the commerical schools, and the schools of art, music, agri. culure, etc., fall under this head.

of a new seat of learning with ample scope. for broadbasing secondary education. Thus we are to imagine a picture of the University of Calcutta flourishing with its Post-Graduate Departments and incorporated first-grade colleges as the highest teaching body, and that of a separate university, under such a name as the University of Bengal, created as a purely examining body with the Education Department, the Inspecting staff, the Central Text-book Committee and the various State and private faculties, Councils and Boards merged in its body-politic.

There was a lamentable cry sometime back amongst the members of the Bengal Legislative Council for a free and compulsory primary education which has found an effective expression in the passing of the Primary Education Bill. Although this bill has received sanction to become the law of the land, it has so long been kept in abeyance obviously in view of the present financial distress of the people. The Calcutta Corporation and some of the *mofussil* Municipalities have already set the ball rolling by introducing a free and compulsory primary education within their jurisdictions. The primary object of this laudable scheme is evidently the speedy removal of appalling illiteracy. The advocates of the scheme generally take their stand on the percentage of illiteracy given in the Census Report without pausing for a moment to think whether the calculation was made on a sound statistical basis. In determining the correct figure the persons above the age of ten ought to have been left out of consideration, for, in spite of spreading a net-work of primary schools, we cannot think of sending the grown up persons with no schooling to these infant-institutions for learning A. B. C., and they are no worse for it on account of the fact that they learn all necessary principles of life and religion through *yatras*, *kavis*, ballad-recitations and the like.

It would then be no presumption on my part to say that among the present generation of boys and girls the percentage of literacy is as high as could be, and that even without the addition

of many new schools one may expect to find cent. per cent. literacy among the younger people within another decade.

The launching of a systematic taxation for free and compulsory primary education, understood in its present sense, will hardly seem to have any justification. Primary education stretched even to its upper stage provides at the most for teaching the Bengali alphabet and the rudiments of language and arithmetic, which in itself is not a task difficult of achievement even by private efforts. It had its days when it led to some openings in life. Now you may raise it to the M. E. stage, and yet you will find any openings of life beyond the possible. Thus it has lost all its importance but as preparatory to secondary education.

The University of Calcutta has recently taken steps to vernacularise the whole course of secondary education. The adoption of Bengali as a medium of instruction has enabled it to widen the scope of instruction in various useful subjects. Henceforth the Matriculation will virtually occupy the place of the earlier M. E. course with an enlarged scope. This timely step, the results of which are still to be seen, alters the whole angle of vision. It goes so to modify the character of secondary education as to easily incorporate in it even the lower primary system.[1]

In the altered circumstances, if any system of education is to be made financially stronger by taxation, it is, no doubt the secondary. In the Hughli district alone there are about forty H. E. schools, situated in some of the areas, at the interval of 2 or 3 miles, with certain M. E. and Primary schools around each as feeder institutions. With the founding of some more schools in the backward areas you may soon find a net-work of such useful institutions, the maintenance of which will largely depend on their financial strength.

[1] The repetition in English of the course of instruction in certain subjects, Bengali, History, Geography, Hygiene, Geometry and Arithmetic, being unnecessary is possible to save at least four years' course.

Taking things as they are, it will not be unreasonable, I think, for the secondary schools to make a demand for a legitimate share of government bounties for primary education in so far as they include the Primary and M. E. stages in their scheme.

Deprovincialisation of government institutions is certainly another means of financially strengthening the position of the secondary schools in general. When in the past Western education had not struck root in this country the Government were justified in founding certain model H. E. schools maintained at a high degree of efficiency. Those State-managed schools, superior no longer to the aided and unaided private schools either in the quality of teaching or in the strength of the teaching staff, have been enjoying the lion's share of educational grants-in-aid. Trained teachers are fast increasing in number and it may be hoped that with the opening of training classes under the Calcutta University the teachers will get greater chances for equipment than possible at present on account of the rigorous restriction of the number of seats in the two existing training centres. With a fare and equitable distribution of Government grants-in-aid each of the H. E. schools that are and to be will be financially stronger to properly function as academic institutions.[1]

We are to imagine then, that in the future scheme of educational reorganization primary education is to terminate in the M. E. and the secondary in the Intermediate. The intended distinction between the two systems of gradation gives rise to a problem of no mean importance. How the distinction will shape itself is a matter of experience. At this stage it may broadly be pointed out that education in the earlier stage shall as far as possible be *vocalized* and that in the later stage *vocationalized*.

In the ancient Indian scheme of primary education the beginners were introduced to as many alphabets and languages

[1] Deprovincialisation resorted to as a means of retrenchment must always be condemned as a suicidal step as it is likely to lower the prestige of the Government.

as possible, the alphabets and languages that stand as permanent barriers between man and man and between one nation and another. As we need an All-Bengal or an All-India so also an international *lingua franca*. In this stage the proper articulation of human voice for a correct manipulation of all possible sounds along with a knowledge of the principal systems of alphabet is a *desideratum*. Instructions should in this stage be imparted orally as far as practicable and the main end in view shall be to suggest the great wonders of life and of nature around, above and below, in order to increase the receptivity of the sense and mind. And this groundwork, when placed in expert hands, may easily be done within a very brief expanse of time, of which we have seen so long with no very great easiness such a criminal waste in that respect. This is what I mean by *vocalization*.

By *vocationalization* in the later stage you are to contemplate a rightly conceived and practicable course of instruction and training in virtue of which the young learners will acqiure fitness for an intelligent appreciation of all things of interest and importance, and will at the same time feel inclined to follow a definite and consistent plan of action for a solid station in life in future with the vocations that wait for them with or without having to go up for higher education in arts or science. I stress this point because a great majority of our boys and girls will have chances of receiving scondary education and only a select few, the higher. How this course of instruction and training is to be determined and realised will need careful deliberations amongst all sections of the people interested.

With the raising of the age of marriage and the widening of the scope of female franchise the education of our girls has become a necessity fraught with difficulties of various kinds. For the present you will have to face the system of co-education as a delicate bye-problem of secondary education. The safer course is, no doubt, to have separate schools and to work up separate ideals. If co-education is at all to be adopted, it has to be adopted with all possible safeguards against moral dangers

especially in this part of the country where sex-precocity is too common an experience.

The absence of religious instruction is a regrettable feature of the modern educational system. The feeling for such instruction which is extremely keen amongst a respectable section of educationists is finding its expression in certain recent organizations. The Government and the University have so far acted wisely in excluding religion from the school and college *curricula*. But the great fact remains that the real genius of the Indian people lies in faith and worship. The inclusion of religious instruction in the *curriculum* of secondary education is another delicate problem needing a very cautious handling. The utmost that may now be attempted is the imparting of only the general principles touching the essence of all religions without fostering predilection for any of them.

There are certain minor problems, one of which is surely concerned with the tenure and prospects of service of the teaching staff. Fortunately, the teachers are in this respect somewhat better situated than before. The minimum scale of pay is regulated by the School Code, and the teachers have the benefit, of a Provident, and in some rare instances, of a Death-benefit Fund. The local Managing Committee is eager to raise their pay and status. But in most cases shortage of funds is the stumbling block.

The broad classification of the schools into Urban and Rural and a certain modification of the existing rules governing their life and conduct also offer a problem of some importance.

There is a section of people who are against holding mid-day schools in an enervating climate like that of Bengal. The boys and girls are shut up within four walls of the school room from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., without any proper tiffin in between. The supply of wholesome food is a far cry until and unless each school owns some sort of an estate or a co-operative store of its own, with substantial contributions from the guardians, from which to provide for the much needed refreshment. To me,

rather no physical exercises at all than physical exercise without proper tiffin.

There is now-a-days a growing demand on all hands for providing each school with facilities for imparting a more systematic physical education and practical lessons in the rules of civic life, in the both of which discipline is the most essential thing. So far as the discipline part of the question goes, the drill and the boy-scout movement have undoubtedly a salutary effect.

Upon the whole, the problem is economic,—of belling the cat. One real grievance of the teachers is that the surplus money in the Reserve Fund is wasted on the show-case rather than profitably spent for the improvement of the health and morals of the learners, for whom alone the schools exist.

These are some of the striking problems that seem to confront secondary education in Bengal. I have tried to state them as precisely as I could and indicate the altered circumstances under which one has to face them. Now, before I conclude, I must say that however ill-paid and ill-placed the teachers may be, their task as teachers remains supreme notwithstanding as the real builders of the Nation; the real trust of human progress is somehow in their keeping. Theirs is the true parental heart that nourishes the abiding good of humanity. They are the high priests to keep the lamp of learning burning in every sacred temple, however humble. Theirs is the hard-won honour of traditional sacrifice and encouraging smiles, and yours, the security on the sanctified altar more than that of the king trembling in his throne. And to them all, I bow down and pay my respectful homage.

ALL INDIA FEDERATION AND PROBLEM OF INDIAN STATES

—*By* G. JANIKIRAMAYYA
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THE framing of a Federal constitution for a country like India, bristles with serious difficulties. The peculiar difficulty of the problem depends not so much on the vastness of the country or the vastness of the population but essentially in the reconciliation of certain conflicting interests between the British Indian provinces and the Indian States. There must be a harmonisation of political values and views between them in coming together. But unfortunately, this essential quality is what is wanting to-day. We accept blindly the idea of Federation for All India, without seriously thinking about the dangers of such a scheme. The applicability of a constitution on Federal basis for All India had been considered by many commissions and committees, Indian and British, when they dealt with the constitutional questions regarding the future of this great land. It is a significant fact to note that the reports issued by all these commissions without even a single exception, were unanimous on the point that Federation should not be forced upon All India immediately. "Federate in haste, repent at leisure" is the unanimous verdict of all the reports. They all expressed the doubt whether it was wise to force the pace all at once as was done when the First Session of the R.T.C. assembled in London. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report stated that "we need not conceal our conviction that the process at work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character. But in that respect there can be no intention or desire to accelerate growth by artificial means." Similarly the authors of the

Butler Committee stated "We have left the door open to close union. But it has been borne in upon us with increasing power as we have studied the problems presented to us that there is need for great caution in dealing with any question of Federation at the present time." Again the authorities of the Simon Report state "We are, therefore, following what has become the generally accepted view, when we express our own belief that the essential unity of greater India will one day be expressed in some form of federal association, but that the evolution will be slow and cannot be rashly pressed." The Simon Commission also made a constructive suggestion for the ultimate Federation of India. After stating some of the difficulties regarding the position of the Federal Government, the formation of the Federal executive, the composition of the Federal Legislature and the necessity for a Federal court, the Simon Commission concluded "We think it may well turn out that the more probable course of evolution of a Federal Legislature will be by the gradual accretion of Indian States to a federal scheme rather than by a sudden and complete transformation affecting all the principal States at the same time." We know that when the Nehru Report was drafted, the question as to what to do with the Indian States was a very live issue. The States people had been urging the Congress to frame the Report so as to enable the Indian States to enjoy all the benefits which Swaraj for India was likely to confer on the British Indian subjects. The leading politicians who drafted the Nehru Report felt that although federation was a natural result they could not easily frame a constitution on Federal basis for All India. Thus all the Reports agreed in principle that to force a Federation for All India would lead to disastrous results.

Subsequently, when the Government summoned the Round Table Conference, the position altered to a considerable extent. By a combination of circumstances and of political conditions in India, it became necessary for the Government to view the problem of the future Indian constitution not merely

in relation to British India, but also in relation to Indian States, with the result, that they tried to kill two birds at one stroke. They said that the problem was a wider one and that Indian States were necessary parties to the future constitution of even British India. Therefore they thought it best to propose a Round Table Conference and discuss these matters to which representatives of British India and Indian States should be invited to confer with His Majesty's Government. So the Princes and their representatives also went to England and to the surprise of all, made speeches which were sympathetic to the idea of Federation for All India. The result was that a unanimous resolution was straightway adopted at the first Session of the R.T.C. in favour of an All India Federation.

But at the time of the First Round Table Conference the Indian politicians feared rightly that the presence of these rulers of Indian States was intended to be a drag on their efforts and there was also the feeling that the Indian States and their representatives would be used as a buffer with a view to warding off any attempt that might be made in respect of central responsibility and transference of powers into the hands of an Indian executive responsible to the Legislature. What is important to note is the fundamental error in the political conceptions which have evidently influenced some of the Princes in accepting the basic idea of Federation in the same manner in which similar conceptions have as is now clear, influenced certain sections of British opinion, notably conservative, in accepting the scheme of Federation for India. The late Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, asserted at the last session of the Chamber, and the report of the Chamber of Princes' Delegation to London has also confirmed it, that " His Majesty's Government were relying upon the Indian States with their essential monarchical politics to continue the necessary elements of stability and experience." " It was, therefore, an underlying assumption," he contended, "of His Majesty's Government and of all three political parties in Great Britain,

that the monarchical form of Government in the States should be effectively maintained under the new constitution." The States Delegation put the issue in a different form. "Democracy and autocracy if brought together have equal chances of diluting each other. His Majesty's Government looks up to us, the Indian States, as elements of stability and moderation which would prevent the extremist section in British India from snapping the British connection and putting the ideal of independence before the whole country." These are some of the striking observations contained in the Report which Sir Manubhai Mehta and Sir Liaqual Hyat Khan have submitted to the Standing Committtee of the Chamber of Princes summing up their efforts as delegates to London to secure the conditions laid down by the Chamber of Princes in the new scheme of Federation elaborated at the Third Round Table Conference.

On a closer examination, it will be found that the proposals of the Round Table Conference and the proposals of the White Paper are themselves nebulous. Firstly, no individual State is bound to come in as each State is free to decide whether to come in or not and when to come in. But there is Sir Samuel Hoare to declare that the Federal Constitution can only be brought into operation when the Rulers of the States representing "not less than half the population of the Indian States and entitled to not less than half of the seats to be allotted in the Federal Upper Chamber" shall have executed instruments of accession. Now the Princes put forward eighteen conditions precedent for joining the Federation. They have again revived the proposal that Federal laws should not apply *proprio rigori* to Indian States, but the States should accept and pass Federal laws as State laws, a proposal which if accepted would destroy the foundations of the future Federation. They insist that their sovereignty should be fully preserved and respected, thatt heir rights under treaties, *sanads* or engagements should remain wholly unaltered after the establishment of the Federation. This is somewhat inconsistent with their desire to enter an All-India Federa-

tion. The attitude of the princes, it must be frankly admitted, has not been so far very helpful if judged from the proceedings of the last session of the Chamber of Princes and the subsequent utterances of some of their representatives like Sir Manubhai Mehta, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Rampur, etc. There is thus a definite movement of revolt against the Federal ideal and the Princes have made it the chief plank of attack against the White Paper scheme that it does not sufficiently safeguard the interests of the States. The recent resolution adopted by the Chamber of Princes clearly indicate a retrocession in their views. Judging from the sentiments expressed at that session, we can easily opine that the Princes have receded from the ideal of Federation. They are more anxious now for guarantees for the preservation of the monarchical order and the prevention of the democratic sentiment spreading into the States than for a Federated India. So it is unlikely that the Princes would join the Federation as is anticipated in the White Paper, unless their demands for safeguards are granted totally which act will destroy the foundations of a real federation. Are we, in British India, to wait till the required number of States join the Federation? We have seen that the princes are antagonistic towards the Federation now. So how long are we to wait to get a new constitution? The prospects of an All India Federation are thus gloomy. So it is now our duty to give up seeking for a co-operation which is not forthcoming on the part of the princes and strive to secure complete responsible self-government for British India alone.

Even if the States come in, they may not surrender any of their expressed powers to the Federal Legislature or Executive, leading thus to a want of uniformity, which will make the Federation almost unworkable. The White Paper says " Since Parliament cannot legislate directly for their territories, the range of authority to be conferred upon the Federal Government and Legislature in relation to the States must be determined by agreement with their Rulers and the States have made it plain

that they are not prepared to transfer to a Federal Government the same range of authority in their territories as it is expedient and possible to confer upon it in relation to the Provinces." Indian Federalism, more than any other federalism, cannot be thought of unless equality of rights and privileges as between the combining units are made possible. It is fundamental that Federation should be so framed that while it yields from a strictly Federal point of view, the independence claimed by the combining units, it also yields the benefits of a strong unitary government. The future of our country depends entirely on the preservation of a strong central Government, unfettered in its actions against numerous forces of disintegration that are always liable to raise their heads in this extensive land. So it is necessary that a few enumerated powers be granted to the combining units and locate all residuary authority in the Central Government. It is only the communalists who want to secure an unfair advantage in certain provinces over their fellow subjects belonging to other communities and the Princes who want to retain their autocratic powers intact that argue stoutly in favour of residual powers being left in the hands of the combining units. So to achieve the benefits of a strong unitary government all the units comprising the Federation must sacrifice their rights and privileges equally. There should be no difference in granting such powers as between the British Indian provinces and the Indian States. If this is not possible then it is better to have no Federation at all. The extent of Federal jurisdiction in terms of subjects has not been defined. The White Paper as we have seen says that only those matters will be Federal for a State which its Ruler would be willing to recognise as such. If this all important question of Federal Functions is to be left to the sweet will and pleasure of the Ruling Princes, it may very well happen that the Federation will have to administer only minor matters such as horse-breeding, etc. From the proceedings of Chamber of Princes we can form an idea of the nature of the subjects which the rulers would be willing to hand over for All-India

Administration. Is a Federation worth having for such purposes?

Let us see whether the Federation will be of a genuine type or only a spurious substitute. By a federation, we understand the creation of a super-state to which the component units surrender the requisite amount of power and functions necessary for the purpose of a common governance. A real Federation therefore, implies the existence of a super state having jurisdiction over the entire area. But what is contemplated by the White Paper is not a system of this kind. It is a subterfuge by which the Princes are shepherded into an All-India Federation in order that they may act as a check on the progressive elements of British India.

The position of the people of the Indian States presents a most tragic spectacle when we come to consider the question of Indian Federation. A constitution is being forged for the first time in the history of India without the least reference to the people of the States, who form one fourth of the population of India. I doubt if the world can furnish another instance where a constitution affecting the future of a whole people was decided upon without the direct participation of their chosen representatives in the task of framing the constitution. It is stated in the White Paper that the representatives from the States will be nominated by the Princes. In this case the proposed constitution cannot be a genuine one as one-fourth of the subjects under the Federation are let off unrepresented in the true sense of the word. It is a monstrous injustice to the people of the Indian States that they are not allowed to elect their own representatives to the Federal Legislature. From the point of view of British India also, it must be obvious that, if the Federal Legislature and the Federal Executive are to be popular and effective to any extent, at least in the Lower House the representatives of the Indian States should be elected in the same manner as the representatives of British India will be elected by the people of British India. Federal Responsible Government is bound to become

more or less a farce, if a considerable portion of the Federal Legislature is to be composed of the nominees of the Princes. We know well that the Indian States are in the hands of the Political Department of the Government of India and that this Department will be reserved to the Viceroy himself. In this case we can easily opine that the States representatives would follow the dictates of the Viceroy and will vote as a solid block and would be used as a substitute for the Official block.

The ideal of Federation will be of any value only when the States become self-governing. The existence of autocratic princes amidst the rising tide of democracy is a potential source of infinite friction, trouble and confusion for the future of the country. The States people who formed themselves as the States' Peoples' Association holding periodical conferences in different States want that their own privileges and rights should be guaranteed in the future constitution as against the despotic rule of the Princes. Even though there are representative and responsible institutions in model States like Mysore, Travancore and Baroda yet a vast majority of the States are governed by Rulers who still think of their States in terms of "personal equation where the administration is purely autocratic and where they have considered their personal happiness as that of their subjects, in which there is no impartial judiciary, no security of life and property to the subjects and no distinction between the privy purse of the Ruler and the general budget of the State." It is a strange anomaly to have a Federation of democracies and autocracies. Now the subjects of the Indian States demand that in any future Indian polity their rights should be effectively protected by the establishment of responsible government under the ægis of the Princes, by the introduction of an impartial judicial system and the separation of Princes' privy purse from the budget of the State. Again, is it not necessary that at least in respect of fundamental rights of citizenship, they should be established firmly and on a statutory basis in all component parts of the Federation including the Indian States? Are the

Princes to-day willing to accept that position? It does not seem likely.

The process of weakening the Federal Government of India may be said to begin with the separation of the capacities of Viceroy and Governor-General in Council. The White Paper says "Except to the extent to which the Ruler of a State has transferred powers and jurisdiction whether by his instrument of accession or otherwise and in the case of a State which has not acceded to the Federation, in all respects the relations of the State will be with the Crown represented by the Viceroy and not with the Crown represented by the Governor-General as executive head of the Federal Government. Accordingly all powers of the Crown in relation to the States which are at present exercised by the Governor-General in Council, other than those which fall with the Federal sphere, will after Federation be exercised by the Viceroy as the Crown's representative." Thus there will be always a third party besides the Federation and its component parts, *viz.*, the British Crown acting through the Agency of the Viceroy. That this constitution will give rise to great difficulties must be quite obvious to any politician or statesman. Under the pretext of controlling the relations of the Crown with the rulers of the States the Viceroy as a distinct functionary will be exercising in perpetuity subtle and potent powers in the constitution of India, thus driving a permanent wedge in the body politic and guaranteeing the effective sway of British Imperialism in India for all time. Thus this creation of triple authority in a Federation will be an anomaly in Federalism and it would negative the right of India to full Dominion Status. Moreover the Princes demand the protection of the Crown in case of trouble from their subjects as though there were forces at the command of the Viceroy as distinguished from the Governor-General. The fantastic nature of this supposition will be apparent the moment one remembers that defence is a Federal subject though at present reserved to the Governor-General. Apart from the military aspect, the

partial character of Indian Federation takes for granted the continuance of their dependence on the Crown for all non-federal matters, so that their allegiance will be divided between the Viceroy and the Federal Government of India. Constitutionally therefore, there will be hereafter two parallel sources of authority in India.

In view of all these difficulties I do not see any reason why the Federation should be forced. If Federation is to be a fact it must be recognised by all parties with a full realisation of all its implications. A hasty attempt at a formal Federation may postpone actual Federation. "Federate in haste, repent at leisure." Therefore, unless the Indian States are willing to come in recognising firstly that their representatives in the Federal Legislature must be elected representatives of the people of Indian States, secondly that the fundamental rights of citizenship should be granted to the people statutorily and thirdly that they must submit in the ultimate resort to the sovereignty of the Federal Parliament in all matters agreed to be federal and in these respects there can be no difference between the Indian provinces and the Indian States, I prefer not to force a Federation but to seek for a Dominion Status Constitution for British India alone.

"I do not put my faith in any new institution, but in the individuals all over the world who think clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth. Our moral ideals do not work with chisels and hammers. Like trees, they spread their roots in the soil and their branches in the sky, without consulting any architect for their plans."

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

C. E. MONTAGUE

—By C. L. R. Sastri, B.Sc.
Trivandrum.

" He nothing common did nor mean
Upon this memorable scene."—*Andrew Marvell.*

I.

CHARLES Edward Montague was the son-in-law of the late Mr. C. P. Scott, the famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian.* He was a product of the Oxford University, and, until two years or so before his death, was the chief leader-writer in that world-famous paper. He has been described as one of the best leader-writers of his time, and as one of those very few who contributed to the raising of its standard. The majority of journalists have, by choice, or by compulsion, to keep their lights under a bushel, to be content to be so many violets 'neath a mossy stone, but as for leader-writers—anonymity is the badge of their tribe, the very condition of their being. But some of them, nevertheless, attain to such distinction that it is not difficult for practised readers to identify them behind their necessarily unsigned productions. Most of us (and especially is this the case with journalists—the journalists of the leading articles and paragraphs) have a stereotyped way of writing. It has been said that every man has his own peculiar style, just as he has his own peculiar cast of countenance: this is one of those truisms that are not true. The generality of mankind are not individual enough to possess a distinct style. They but imitate that which is most fashionable at the time: or, to adopt the words that Prince Henry applied to Poins's thought, their style " keeps to the road-way," it does not budge so much as an inch from the prescribed line. It requires some more than common talent to cultivate your own manner of writing, out of the rubbish-heap of words that is lying about for everybody's use. This is the first step in the process; the second is

to make that chosen instrument of yours so distinguished and so much a part of yourself that discerning readers can at once find it out to be yours wherever it is seen. This is not such an easy thing as may be supposed: this kind cometh not out but by prayer and fasting. Among such writers were the late Mr. H. W. Massingham and the late Mr. C. E. Montague. Massingham, indeed, was a prince among journalists: whatever he wrote, whether a leader, or a piece of dramatic criticism, or a book-review, or a "London Diary" (under the pseudonym of "A Wayfarer") became a thing of beauty in his hands. It could not have been bettered. It was *English*, "of purest ray serene." I do not say that Montague was as great as Massingham; but he, too, had an individual style that could be easily identified among a thousand; and he brought to leader-writing such gifts as are generally bestowed on less perishable things. To-day's leader is to-morrow's chaff. But the great writer is he who does not disdain to give the whole of himself to the writing of it, knowing that it has, and can have, at most but a life of twenty-four hours, if even that. This is to have a literary as well as a journalistic conscience; and I shall show in the course of this article to what a pitch Montague cultivated it. He was simply dead earnest on the leading-article, and he showered all the wealth of his irony on the *wrong* kind of leading-article. I refer my readers to his early novel, *A Hind Let Loose*.

Before I leave this branch of the subject I should like to write a few words on the extraordinary talents that are often dedicated to the service of journalism—talents that are not always rewarded as they ought to be. Unless the journalist in question takes to book-writing also his fame has little chance of surviving him, has little chance, that is, of sailing unhurt along the stream of time: it will, at best, be confined to his own generation. Journalism is a very hard task-mistress; it takes all, or almost all, from us, and gives very little in return. It is, therefore, a pity that some of the greatest

intellects give the most of their abilities to it. To alter the words of the poet slightly, they give up to journalism what was meant for mankind.

II.

But, fortunately for him as well as for us, Montague was an author also, and to posterity will be known only as an author. He belonged to the generation of Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, and Conrad. Now, in any review of the novelists of the Edwardian and Georgian eras, we generally observe the names of these four, but not that of Montague. But Montague brought to the writtng of his books considerably more literary talent than any of the quartette of novelists just cited. One can see that he was meant for literature from the very beginning. But it is a pity that he spent so many years of his life in active journalism: with the result that, whereas Mr. Wells, Mr. Bennett, etc., have written books by the dozen, Montague was author of only eight books in all (nine, with the posthumously published *Action and Other Stories*). This, in the majority of cases, detracts a good deal from a writer's reputation. Of course, there are authors,—as, for instance, Mr. A. E. Housman and Mr. T. S. Eliot,—who are known widely despite the meagreness—the extreme meagreness—of their production. Literary merit, we know, is not always directly proportionate to the number of volumes that a writer publishes, or has published: A man may write only one book, but that one book may be precious as rubies. "The poems of Sappho," said Meleager, "are few, but roses." But, all said and done, volume also counts in literature. It shows fertility of imagination. Montague, wrote few books; but I believe they are sufficient to ensure his fame—if not in the eyes of the "general public," at any rate in the eyes of those competent to judge. What, indeed, as Mr. Birrell furiously asks somewhere, has the "general public" to do with literature? In literary circles Montague is, and will be, known.

III.

For any detailed account of Montague's life and work as a journalist, I shall refer the reader to Prof. Elton's excellent *Memoir*, which is as interesting and informing a book as the work of that well-known author usually is. I propose to deal however, in this survey with Montague's literary works. Apart from the posthumous work (*Action and Other Stories*), Montague was the author of the following eight works: (Novels): *A Hind Let Loose*, *Fiery Particles*, *Rough Justice*, and *Right Off the Map*; (Essays): *The Morning's War*, *Disenchantment*, and *The Right Place*; (Criticism): *Dramatic Values*.

Montague was a master of irony; and in the days when it was not fashionable,—nay, when it was positively outrageous,—to speak the truth, or to speak in favour of the truth, he bent all the energies of his mind to champion its cause. The *primum mobile* of his work was to cast out hypocrisy from public life. Of course, he did not succeed: no one can. Unless the whole temper of a political community changes fundamentally people, even if they be of the calibre of Montague and Massingham, have little chance of success against corruption in high places. For, let us admit once and for all, there *is* corruption in high places; and it reached its high-water mark in the days of the war. Montague waged an unceasing battle against it, and it is not to his discredit that he did not win. Human nature must undergo considerable alteration before such things are possible. All the same, there is merit in fighting against evil (of whatever sort): it requires a great deal of courage, and it bespeaks a noble mind. Montague, then, stood up for truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; his irony was directed against whatever was false or underhand. Let us not minimise the importance of irony, either in literature, or in that allied art, journalism. So

[1] *C. E. Montague : A Memoir*—By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto and Windus, 1922.

long as it is put to the right use, it is a weapon of the very first class against all kinds of uncleanliness in life. We need not think of Swift in this connexion. Swift, of course, has his defenders, like the late Mr. Charles Whibley, [1] who, indeed, seems to have believed that he is a typical instance of that class of persons known as injured innocents. But, taking the consensus of opinion, we can say that he was at bottom a malignant person, and that the springs of his irony were consequently foul at their very source. Leaving aside, therefore, the famous Dean of St. Patrick, we may safely aver that irony, so long as its motive is to let truth have a fair chance of success in this world, is to be encouraged and not discouraged. Montague's irony was of this sort : falsehood, wherever found, was anathema to him.

> " Antonoio Stradivari has an eye
> That winces at false work and loves the true."

He had, to apply the words that Thackeray used with reference to Swift, " a genius wonderfully bright and dazzling and strong—to seize, to know, to see, to flash upon falsehood and scorch it into perdition, to penetrate into the hidden motives, and expose the black thoughts of men." [2]

Now this irony of his, as it is seen in his books, is directed against two classes of persons : the politicians and diplomatists and journalists that actually contrive to promote war between nations, and the wrong kind of journalism and journalese.

IV.

His first novel, *A Hind Let Loose*, [3] is a rollicking fantasia on journalism, or, at least, on journalism as it was once. I think that this is the only novel in the whole range of English fiction that is pre-occupied, from beginning to end, with

[1] *Literary Studies*, by Charles Whibley, Macmillan, 1919. Essay on Swift.
[2] *Lectures on the English Humorists*, by Thackeray. Lecture on Swift.
[3] *A Hind Let Loose*, by C. E. Montague, Methuen, 1910.

journalism and journalists; and of course, only a journalist could have written it. Montague knew journalism as few people have ever known it; and he knew it *con amore*. There is a town called Halland which boasts of two papers: *The Warder* (Conservative), and *The Stalwart* (Liberal), edited respectively by Brumby and Pinn. Both papers happen to have (without, however, the editors being aware of it) the same leader-writer, Fay. The entire comedy of the book rests on this fact. The *Warder* was printed at two in the morning, and the *Stalwart* at four.

" 'And so............ ' said Fay. The graphic ellipse was wasted on Molly (Fay's wife)............' So? ' she asked. ' So a man can be here (*i.e.*, at the *Warder's* office), say, from ten till one, savin ' away at the Empire, and then step across to the *Stalwart*, and save it some more—from the *Warder* and all such perils of the night—from a quarter past one till three....' "

Fay might very well have stood for the original of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways in Bunyan's masterpiece. He was a consummate artist in a certain type of leader-writing which used to be the fashion once, and which, I believe, is not completely extinct even now. Two or three columns of a paper may be filled daily, yet if you come to analyse what is written, you will fail to find a single salient thought, or a single pointed phrase : it is merely a sort of literary Bermecide feast. It scarcely touches the subject at all : it serves, not to convey any idea, but rather to conceal the absence of one.

As Montague says :

" Not till now had he seen with eyes fully open, the rite of splashing solemnly about in a vocabulary, for splashing's sake, the preference for just jingling, for the sound they made, the bunch of keys that, rightly turned in the locks, were inlets to gardens by rivers in Bagdad. And the strangest thing of all was connoisseurship in the practice; to a man like his uncle there were, it would seem, a better and a worse in the trade of making words stand for nothing; there were qualities of nullity,

degrees of skill in keeping mind and head blank; the void was not all one, nor zero a level." (*A Hind Let Loose*, p. 218.)

Fay was capable of writing, on the same night, two *entirely different* leaders on the same subject, *e.g.*, on Lord Albry's speech. But it so happened that, on the night in question, the office of the *Stalwart* was burnt down and Pinn, its editor, had to seek the hospitality of Brumby and the *Warder's* office for the printing of that night's *Stalwart*. While he was hobnobbing with Brumby, Fay, all unawares, entered Brumby's room and there met Pinn's eyes which were staring at him, all amazement. Fay, it is necessary to add, passed as "Moloney" in Pinn's office. Pinn greeted him:

"'Moloney! you here!' Brumby stared wildly, 'Moloney!' Pinn's eyes hunted round the room. No, there were only the three of them there. He started back as wildly as Brumby, 'Fay?'"

The cat, then, was out of the bag. Fay's goose was, at long last, cooked. He was given the sack all round.

Then followed the farce. Fay-less, the two papers started their existence on the morrow. But both Brumby and Pinn had reckoned without their host. Highly respectable men both, they lacked one thing—lacking which they lacked all—and that was the gift of writing. For one whole week or so they lashed themselves into leader-writing and managed, no doubt, to issue their papers as of old. But there was a lack of the peculiar Fay-ian grandeur and of the genuine journalistic touch about their articles, and readers at once recognized it: they unerringly put their finger on the diseased spot. The talk of the town did not fail to reach the ears of our hoary and perspiring editors. What was to be done now? Nothing else but to kiss the rod, to face the inevitable humiliation, and to solicit Fay's services again: which they accordingly did, *independently of each other*. And the curtain descended on Fay's enhanced honor.

Now, what is the moral of this? It is "plain as way to the parish church." He who runs may read. It is to abolish

insincerity in journalism, and to raise the standard of writing, and, what is most important, to allow only such people to become editors that know how to write.

Let me now turn to Montague's war novels. They include his *Rough Justice* [1] and *Right off the Map* and his collection of short stories, *Fiery Particles.* Montague detested war and the things that lead to war. He detested, especially, the last war. He had peculiar opportunities of watching the war from the inside, so to speak. He was at the very heart of the rose. And, behold, he saw that it was all vanity and vexation of spirit. *Rough Justice* deals with the last war: *Right off the Map* with an imaginary war in an imaginary country.

In *Rough Justice,* the important persons are Thomas Garth, a retired politician, his son Auberon Garth, his niece Molly Garth, and a young man, Victor Nevin, a friend of theirs. A good deal of the early portion of the book is taken up with the gradual growth of Auberon and Molly from children to young persons, and also with their baby-talk. This part of the book could easily have been considerably shortened. And the baby-talk could very well have been dispensed with. It is not exactly necessary to the developed scheme of the book and, even otherwise, it is wholly out of place.

The turning point of the story occurs when war is declared. Auberon and Victor join as privates. Eventually they go to France. While marching to the front, a shell bursts near Victor and makes him temporarily unconscious. When he comes to, he finds all his comrades gone. He is excessively weak, and, seeing a light issuing from somewhere, makes for it: it beckons him, as the lonely lamp in Greenhead Ghyll beckoned Wordsworth's Michael. That light issues from a house which is occupied by a French lady, who readily allows him to rest himself. While he is asleep she covertly destroys his uniform and gives him, instead, the civilian clothes of her deceased

1 *Rough Justice*: By C. E. Montague, Chatto and Windus, 1926.

husband. To cut a long story short, Victor henceforward stands in the same relation to her as the latter. After two or three years he is found out by the military authorities, and shot down as a deserter.

Montague does not spare himself words of praise in describing Victor in the earlier half of the book. In the later half he is equally unsparing in delineating him as an unspeakable coward and monster. The two parts of the book, therefore, are not consistent with each other; they are, so to speak, set up in different types. And very, very rough justice indeed, is meted out to Victor in the end.

Now, about *Right off the Map*,[1] Montague invents an imaginary republic called 'Goya' which, as such things will happen even in the best-regulated republics, breaks up into two independent republics, 'Ria' and 'Porto.' Affairs in Ria are in full swing when, all of a sudden, its public men discover that a little more speeding-up, a little more 'pep,' or 'ginger,' is needed in the nation's activities and, accordingly, they set about—as only public men know how to—to create a war-fever among the inhabitants. By public speeches and by newspaper-articles they do succeed in their ambition, and the mob is soon on a fair way to clamouring for war with the neighbouring Portans, though they cannot, for the life of them, tell what on earth they want it for. They know this much, that it is a highly righteous war that they are going to wage, that the Portans are simply asking for it by their notorious savageness, and that they are doing a vast service to humanity by thus waging it. Well, at last hostilities *are* declared and, in the event, the Rian army, except a small portion of it which, all unknown to both the Portans and the Rians, finds refuge in an hitherto unmapped locality, called the 'Scout Valley,' is routed, devastated, as no known army has ever been routed, or devastated. Finally, the Portan army enters the Rian capital and makes Ria a part of Porto.

1 *Right Off the Map*: C. E. Montague, Chatto and Windus, 1927.

VI.

His war-novels are thus written exquisitely, no doubt, and much labour, assuredly, went to the making of them, but what impression do we carry away with us after their perusal? Merely this, that they do not convince us. They lack 'reality.' Actual life, heaven knows, may be wonderful enough: it may contain incidents that baffle the wit of man. But life as portrayed in fiction must be more according to a pattern; if a certain thing has happened, we must be in a position to say that, considering the structure of the story, it was likely enough to have happened. Fiction must be more methodical than life. Montague's fiction breaks very often all the laws of probability. His *Right off the Map* is one whole piece of improbability from beginning to end. The entire 'Scout Valley' episode is the *nadir* of unconvincingness. *Rough Justice* also, though to a much lesser extent, is unconvincing. Its earlier half is in one key, and its latter half in another. Wordsworth, we are told, demanded of a poem that it should have 'inevitability.' Certainly, in fiction there ought to be inevitability. And this is what Montague's novels lack. That brilliant novelist, essayist and critic, Mr. J. B. Priestley, sums up the weaknesses of Montague's fiction thus:

"What interested him were the high lights of his own experience, and these do not form a sound basis for fiction. He lacked that jogging prose-strain which a novelist must have, even though at moments he may be all lyrical ecstacy......It is the weakness of his fiction throughout that there is too much rough justice in it and that nearly all his tales, and not merely the last of them, seemed to be right off the map." [1]

What is the chief ingredient in a novel? It is, assuredly, creative imagination. Style is only a secondary quality. That

[1] Article on "C. E. Montague" in the *London Mercury* of August, 1928.

is why we find that many who can write beautifully, but who lack this primary gift of 'creating' men and women, do not, in the American slang, "get away with the goods:" whereas authors who are not acknowledged stylists but who can nevertheless convince us that their characters are not mere puppets, are not mere automatons that dance to their measure, *do* "get away with the goods." That is why, to name only one instance, Dickens, who had not much of a 'style,' and who could not dabble in the dead languages, is a more considerable author than Thackeray, who could manage his sentences as few novelists have ever been able to, who could make them run to a lilt, a rhythm, a measure, who could, in other words, invest them with a sort of music, and who could, moreover, quote his Horace at the slightest opportunity, or at no opportunity at all,—that is why, I say, Dickens is a more considerable author than Thackeray. It is, if we only come to think on it, wonderful what your unscholarly men can do with fiction, and what your scholarly men, your "high-brows" *cannot*, for the life of them, do. It is very good to be a stickler for style. But so far as novels are concerned, it is not a quality of the first importance; in short, it can even, in some cases, be completely dispensed with. Novelists, like poets, are perhaps born, not made. Montague, certainly, was not a born novelist. He has done better as an essayist and critic and as a miscellaneous writer. If one wants to see Montague at his best, one must read his *Disenchantment* and *The Right Place.*

VII.

These two books are his very best; and his fame will eventually rest on them. I have just now said that he is far better as an essayist than as a novelist. If only he had let fiction severely alone and, instead, given all his attention to essay-writing and criticism, he would, have been a much greater author than he was. Montague was a born

essayist: but he strangely mistook his vocation. *Disenchantment* is about the last war. As the title indicates, he was, as many others before him, disenchanted with it. For him, as for them, the first bloom of his enthusiasm withered at the cold touch of reality; the gilt, in other words, was off the gingerbread. Some books defy criticism: they are so good. This is one of them. His whole soul is revealed here. It is a record of how the war reacted upon a sensitive mind. Montague, though about fifty, and though his hair was snow-white, enlisted (after first dyeing his hair black, of course) and finally rose to Colonelship in the Intelligence Department. He had, therefore, a right to publish his opinions about the war. In *Rough Justice* there are some pages describing the experiences of those who enlisted as Privates. I hazard the guess that they are more or less autobiographical. Both there and in *Disenchantment* he writes deliciously of the Old Army. The Old Army, he implies, was as rotten as any Army, old or new, could be. Whenever he has occasion to write about it, he surpasses himself. So early as page 14 of his book, he begins the attack:

"Dearest of all the New Army's infant illusions was the Old Army—still at that time the demi-god host of an unshattered legend of Mons."

Again:

"From any English-training camp, about that time, you almost seemed to see a light steam rising, as it does from a damp horse. This was illusion beginning to evaporate." (p. 27.)

If one wants to read what some fine English natures thought during the war, one will scarcely do better than read *Disencthanment* from the first page to the last. Nor is it, I suggest, a difficult feat. One has only to begin, that is all. Then one cannot help proceeding to the very end. The first chapter is one of the finest bits of writing that Montague ever attempted. One can see, after a careful perusal of the volume, that it simply *had* to be written: Montague could not

have helped writing it more than he could have helped breathing. *Disenchantment* is himself; and, as has been remarked, it baffles analysis. It would be sheer impertinence to try to criticise it : as well criticise Mont Blanc or the Matterhorn. Montague might very well have applied to himself the famous lines of Walt Whitman :

> " Camerado, this is no book,
> Who touches this touches a man."

The Right Place altogether is a different sort of book. It is a glorious incentive to travel. Montague loved mountaineering. If one referred to *Who's Who*, one would find that he belonged to only one club, and that was the *Alpine*. All kinds of physical exercise attracted him : rowing, cricket, walking, mountaineering. *The Right Place* contains many beautiful passages. If once one began quoting from these two books, *Disenchantment* and *The Right Place*, one would hardly know where to leave off.

VIII.

I have yet to discuss Montague's style. Of course, it was excellent : else it would not need to be discussed. " Give me a nation's ballads and I don't care who makes its laws," Fletcher of Saltoun is reported to have said. " Give me a style—and the best going," one can imagine Montague declaring, " and I don't care what it is all about." The magic of words enthralled him : to him style was (if I may say so) as horses and dogs were to the gentleman in the tall white hat whom David Copperfield met on the top of the Canterbury coach :

" Orses and dorgs " (said that gentleman) " is some men's fancy. They are wittles and drink to me, lodging, wife, and children, reading, writing, and 'rithmetic, snuff, tobacker and sleep."

Montague was a conscious artist; and the chief peculiarity of his style is the large number of metaphors one finds in his pages. Some of them, no doubt, are exquisite; and none besides Montague

could have managed them. Every one, it is only fair to point out, cannot coin metaphors. But, then, one *need* not coin so many metaphors. In sound prose there should be as few as possible. But in Montague they are as

> "Plentiful as tabby-cats,
> In point of fact, too many."

Montague, then, revels in metaphor. But, Montague's style was much better when he used it sparingly than when he let it frolic to its heart's content. The following is a passage that is as simple as he could have made it:

"In every mountain country you will find some legend of a lost valley, having in it a tiny world that is better than our big one. Its pastures are deeper and its waters clearer, and its trees are heavier with fruit. To lock it in, safe from such thieves as men have been since the Fall, there are usually hanging glaciers and tiers of unclimbable precipice.

"There may be people in the lost valley of myth and there may not. According to most of the local legends there lingers in it a choice morsel of the Golden Age which vanished everywhere else some time ago. Even Shakespeare could only partly resuscitate it in the Forest of Arden. Perhaps a ripe apple, bitten by a child's teeth, has been found in a mountain torrent into which the stream that drains the lost valley must have made its way by some underground channel that cannot now be traced. And there may be other proofs of man's presence there, equally cogent. The valley of other legends has no human possessors; only the wild goats, the white hares and the chamois of all the surrounding mountains flock to it in winter to live out the evil months in this patch of mild fruitfulness left over from Eden; the valley stream is never quite frozen, nor its grass buried deep under snow." (*Right Off The Map*: p. 164.)

Montague *could* write like this. But he *would* also write as follows:

"But Dick was a disconcerting lump to address; not lumpish, strictly; a graceful mass, a great stalking athlete from a Greek frieze; you might feel him crazy, but not dull; docile too, in a way; as often as Brumby came out with some crystal of practical wisdom, the slowly formed gains of a lifetime, or handed to Dick some holograph chart, his own work, of the shoaly seas of thought upon life and conduct, upon business, manners and the arts, Dick would listen with rounding eyes, silent or only putting in, here and there, a question that opened up new reaches to be buoyed out by the pilot mind; and yet—well, to change the figure, it seemed as if some fine pile of rock had asked nothing better of Moses than just to be smitten, and have its miraculous waters drawn from it, and Moses had smitten, and then found the rod would not bite on that special formation of rock: there are feathers, again, that a pellet will glance off; in Dick's willingness to learn, the most unerring shafts of the elder's sagacity buried themselves and were lost, like bullets fired into penetrable-looking sand. Still, a man must try; it was only fair to the boy, and to the paper." (*A Hind Let Loose*, pp. 28-29).

This is not a solitary passage. Scores of such can be found scattered up and down his pages Here that peculiar disease known the world over as *cacoethesscribendi* has simply overdone itself: like a wild horse it has taken the bit in its mouth and run amok.

We are told that there is a time for blank verse and a time, too, to refrain from blank-versing. Likewise I may say that there is a time for metaphors and a time to refrain from metaphors. But Montague had a fatal felicity for coining them: and I firmly believe that it ruined his style more than it improved it. What started out to be a manner became, in course of time, a mannerism: what began as a virtue became, ere long, a virtuosity. And even if a metaphor be employed, it should, I have no hesitation in saying, be completed as soon as possible: it should

not drag on to the bitter end. Leslie Stephen, speaking of Matthew Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum," writes :

" 'Sohrab and Rustum' is to me among the most delightful of modern poems, though in it Arnold indulges, perhaps more than enough, in a long-tailed Homeric metaphor, which drags in upon principle all the points in which the thing compared does not resemble the object." [1]

Montague was very fond of this kind of portmanteau metaphor. While on this subject I shall do well, I think, to remark that figures of speech are the bane of most writers of prose. Aristotle, as everyone knows, put a premium on metaphor, raising it almost to the level of a divine gift; and poetry, perhaps, becomes all the more poetical for it. But in that (as Dryden calls it) "other harmony of prose," metaphor (or, for that matter, any figure of speech) is not such a prime necessity. Nay, it is often a positive hindrance. Some of the most exquisite writers of prose have avoided metaphor as they would have done the devil : they have let it severely alone. Swift is a case in point. "The rogue never hazards a metaphor," said Johnson, and right he was not to hazard it. People are apt to forget that what is good for poetry is not always equally good for prose. "There is one glory of the sun and another of the moon;" and prose has its distinct glory, and it is harder to be attained than the one appertaining to poetry.

IX.

Summing up, I may say that, with all his faults, Montague was an excellent author. In judging of a man's work, we shall do well to pass by his weaknesses and concentrate only on his strong points. Every author has his faults; the important thing is to lay hold of his virtues and to make them public. As the late Mr. John Bailey says :

[1] *Studies of a Biographer.* By Leslie Stephen, Vol. 2, Duckworth, 1898, p. 83.

"But in the arts no number of blunders or failures outbalances a single success."[1]

Or, as the late Mr. Lytton Strachey puts it:

"So complex and so various are the elements of literature, that no writer can be damned on a mere enumeration of faults. He may always possess merits which make up for everything; if he loses on the swings, he may win on the round-abouts."[2]

[1] *Walt Whitman.* By Joahn Bailey. ("English Men of Letters," New Series) Macmillan, 1926, p. 207.

[2] See Lytton Strachey's article on "Macaulay" in the *Nation* of June 21, 1928.

"It is for you, people of Bengal, to determine whether you will make this University a national asset. We invite every citizen, conscious of his duty and responsibility, unmoved by ignorant and prejudiced criticism, to come forward to be united with us in feeling, in purpose, for the realisation of our vision of duty and of service. It is ever been our ambition to bring the University in intimate touch with the nation, because of the supreme part that it must play in the national consciousness, pointing out by its attitude towards the things of life, through the whole wide range of human intelligence, the true direction of national safety and national progress. The University should thus be alive and progressive, not a passive and inactive force in the life of the Community of which it is not only a part but a participant. The University would be dead to the nation, if it were made to stand on a height of its own isolated from the Community. On the other hand, if the activities of the University were more and more assimilated with the life of the nation, it might then be even more determinate as a teacher, and more dominant as a leader than it has ever been before."

—*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1922*

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

———*By* Dr. L. Neme'nyi

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's refusal to stabilise the dollar has led practically to what amounts to a breakdown of the Conference. The layman looks bewildered at these events and feels that he cannot get any proper reply to a set of complicated questions :—

(1) Why did President Roosevelt refuse to agree to a stabilisation of the dollar ?

(2) What is the economic foundation of the controversy between internationalists and isolationists (nationalists)?

(3) Can the world economic crisis be remedied by abolishing tariffs, stabilising currencies, and by an all-round return to the gold standard, as preached by the internationalists or is a further depreciation and expansion of currencies, a rise in the price-level, the maintenance of high tariff walls and a stronger promotion of the idea of self-supporting nations or groups the right solution?

(4) Should the whole world return to the gold standard as advocated by the countries on gold or should the gold standard be abandoned altogether and a new system of managed paper currencies be adopted ?

(5) Can silver, in some or the other way, be remonetised or bimetallism reintroduced?

This note attempts to elucidate these problems on broad lines.

They will be examined from three angles of vision :—*first*, from the point of historical evolution, *secondly* in the light of the economic theory, and *finally* from the point of practical politics

within the framework of recent happenings. A description and explanation of the historic evolution of the last hundred years is strictly necessary for a proper understanding of the problems of the present. This evolution will be depicted in two separate compartments, *i.e.*, economic and monetary. An analysis of the actual problems connected with the World Economic Conference will form the third part.

I. The Economic Evolution.

(a) *The age of "laissez-faire."*

Inventions of modern science and technique have found a world with an economic system practically unchanged for thousands of years. The new methods of manufacturing and transport based on steam, oil and electrical power gave the possibilities for enormous new activities. Factories and mills have been built all over the world, railways and steamships constructed, telegraphic and telephonic communications established. The field was open to furnish the world with new inventions. The number of suppliers, manufacturers and merchants, was limited, and the profits obtainable were considerable. The few industrialised nations supplied the agricultural countries with manufactured goods and purchased the necessary raw materials from them. The development was not always undisturbed and boom periods were followed by times of depression. These crises were caused by two distinctly different factors. The first,—and from a general point of view more important—factor, was the fact, that sometimes the supply exceeded the demand for the time being. But the world had still ample possibilities to offer and the gradual development of the colonies absorbed superfluous stocks and offered new chances for increased production. The second factor consisted in exaggerated speculation, which destroyed capital and lowered the general purchasing power of the population for a longer or shorter period.

These crises cannot be compared with the present, as their origins were always relative and not absolute.

The advance of technique, the rise in wealth and standard of living of the rapidly growing population of the world required, on the other hand, a greater quantity of raw material than was produced in earlier days. More and more land came under cultivation in the colonial world and products of agriculture, mining, etc., found rapid absorption. The chance of making profits induced the growth of industry and agriculture.

During the period of development there was ample chance for individual units as well as for nations to expand and the principle of "free trade" and "laissez faire" justified the demand that the state should not interfere in economic matters and the insistence, that "the survival of the fittest" would provide proper selection, by gradual liquidation of the weaker units.

The period just depicted was the classic age of laissez-faire and free trade. There was practically no state interference in matters economic and the free flow of goods, services and capital went on unhampered and the then well functioning gold standard was gradually introduced in most countries of the world. To buy in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest, was the basic commercial principle of those days.

The age of laissez-faire and free trade appears to-day as a beautiful dream of the past and no wonder, that an important school of thought advocates to bring about such measures, which will make free trade and laissez-faire possible again. This school of thought is the group of internationalists, who firmly believe, that if tariffs are lowered or possibly abolished, currencies stabilized again on the gold standard, and exchange restrictions given up, the international free flow of goods, services and capital will be restored and the golden days of the Victorian age will automatically return. The plan of the internationalists seems, however, to be based on the assumption that no essential, structural changes have taken place in the world economy and that accordingly the

removal of the mentioned barriers would immediately restore prosperity. But even a superficial analysis of the evolution of the last few decades will prove that in fact *such* structural changes *have* taken place all over the world, which make a simple return to free trade altogether impossible.

(*b*) *Structural changes.*

Towards the end of the last century the tendency in every country gradually arose to manufacture as many commodities within its boundaries as possible. Industrialisation of hitherto agricultural countries led gradually to the erection of tariff walls. At the same time the number of manufacturers and merchants, as well as of shipping, banking and insurance companies grew decidedly faster than the volume of business and the purchasing power of the world's population. As a consequence competition became keener and profits lower. Finally a stage was reached, which was rightly characterised by the MacMillan Report as a "crowded and increasingly competitive world."

The fact that the World War was caused by economic competition is scarcely doubted now-a-days. The tendency after the war was more and more towards industrialization. Practically every country has done its utmost since the war in establishing industries with the help of tariff protection and all these new industries have attempted, apart from satisfying the needs of their own countries, to export as much of their products as possible. Such desperate efforts of exporting goods have naturally lowered the price level, eliminated every chance to make profits and had furthermore the consequence to raise tariffs still higher in the endangered countries. Now according to the good old laissez-faire principles the bankruptcy of the weaker units should have brought about the necessary and automatic adjustments, but, at the same time another structural change of the world's economic organization frustrated every such adjustment. In the last century, namely, manufacturing and trading was chiefly in the hands of private firms, with limited means and credit, whereas

the last decades have seen the growth of huge joint-stock companies with enormous reserves, with practically unlimited credit, and often aided by the state. The automatic adjustment to-day cannot take place as easily as during the last century, as these large concerns will go ahead and face considerable losses for years and years—as their balance sheets prove it,—without going into liquidation. The only natural consequence of these structural changes are the high tariff walls which try to make every country self-sufficient as far as possible and which will reduce world trade to the exchange of such goods only which cannot be grown or manufactured behind the tariff walls.

In this connexion it may be mentioned that the importance of foreign trade has been grossly over-exaggerated. It is worth mentioning that estimating most carefully, international trade, at its highest level was utmost 10% of the internal trade of all countries of the world. It is true that in case of some countries foreign trade plays a much larger role, but such countries constitute only a fractional minority. Apart from these few countries every nation has to look after its internal economy first.

What would be the consequence of a lowering or a complete abolition of tariff walls? Nothing less but a further growth of desperate competition and price cutting which would only aggravate the crisis. International cartels only could counteract the effects of free international competition, but the comsumer would have to pay for the higher prices just as behind the tariff walls. On the other hand behind the tariff walls a gradual adjustment of production is bound to take place and internal competition will gradually lower the price level which at first may have been kept too high on account of protection. Efficiency will also rise as a consequence of internal competition. These improvements can, naturally only take place if no cartels keep up the prices, *i.e.*, if there is a, so to say, free trade position behind the tariff walls. The possibility of more planned internal economy is discussed below.

II. Changes in the Monetary System.

The second point to be considered is, how are payments to be effected within the country, as well as in the international sphere.

Amongst the most complicated economic questions of the present are no doubt currency matters and in consequence it seems to be necessary to devote—even out of proportion—most of the very limited space at disposal to an explanation of the currency problem, as otherwise, it is feared, the underlying motives of the difficulties encountered by the Conference cannot be fully realised. An attempt will be made now to explain the working of the gold standard from its early beginnings:—

(a) *The primitive gold-standard.*

The second half of the last century marked the period of transition from the silver standard and bimetallism to the pure gold standard. From our special point of view, only the evolution of the gold standard is of actual interest.

Let us theoretically assume a state of affairs, where gold coins are the only money in circulation. Such a currency system may be described as the *primitive gold standard.* Let us further assume that banking and paper currency are unknown. Now, how will such a primitive standard function? The changes in the quantity of gold in the country—assuming also that no gold is mined in that country—will depend on the balance of foreign trade and payments. If the balance is favourable, for instance on account of an abundant harvest, gold from foreign countries will flow into the country and the currency will expand as more and more coins come into circulation. An expansion of currency, according to the quantity theory of money, has a price raising effect. A higher price level on the other hand acts as a brake on exports and consequently the favourable balance of trade will decrease and, later on, when it turns

out to be an adverse one gold will leave the country. If gold leaves the country less and less coins circulate and the currency is gradually contracted. A contraction of currency will, according to the quantity theory, lower prices, the lower price-level stimulates exports and the balance of trade will again be restored and gold will again flow into the country. In very simple words this process is the so-called automatic working of the gold standard. The rate of foreign exchange in case of the primitive gold standard is determined by the proportion of the actual gold contents of the gold coins of various national currencies.

(b) The fully developed varieties of the gold standard.

The introduction of banking and paper currency made matters far more complicated. The first step was the issue of paper currency backed partly by gold reserves and partly by security reserves, consisting either of discounted commercial bills or of Government securities. Currency notes issued against security reserves are in fact nothing else than credits granted against a certain security determined by law, and accordingly under this advanced system, we have to observe not only the expansion of metallic money but also that of paper currency and credit. The system when gold coins and paper notes are both in circulation, is called the *full gold standard* or *gold standard proper,* also *gold specie standard.* During and after the war gold coins disappeared from circulation and were not reintroduced. When currencies were stabilized—after the war, two new main types of the gold standard were established, the *gold bullion standard* and the *gold exchange standard.* Under the *gold bullion standard* gold coins do not circulate, but the paper notes are exchangeable into gold bars of a minimum weight and fixed fineness. The gold bullion standard has been adopted by the U. K. in 1925 and abandoned in 1931. In case of the *gold exchange standard* gold reserves consist partly of foreign exchanges

of such countries which are on the gold bullion standard and the currency notes are exchangeable into such foreign currencies instead of into gold. The gold value of the notes, in case of all the three main types of the gold standard, is kept up by the fact, that the currency authority is compelled by law to buy and sell gold—or gold exchange—at a fixed price, *i.e.*, at the rate at which the currency is pegged to gold. The automatic working of the gold standard in case of paper currency is somewhat more complicated, than that of the primitive gold standard, as the rate of foreign exchange can fluctuate between the gold points.

(c) *The automatic working of the fully developed gold standard.*

If the balance of trade and payments of a country is favourable, foreign debtors will have to buy the currency of that country in order to pay their dues and as a consequence the rate of foreign exchange will tend to rise by these purchases. If it will rise to such a level at which it becomes cheaper for the foreign debtor to send gold and to sell it to the currency authority at the fixed price, having allowed for freight, packing, insurance and interest, then the upper gold point is reached. Gold will flow into the country, the currency will expand, prices will rise and the balance of trade will gradually tend to become adverse, when exactly the opposite process will take place. Under this highly developed system, the automatic working is also strengthened by a rise or fall in the bank-rate, directed by the management of the bank of issue (reserve bank, central bank). Higher or lower interest rates have practically the same effects as a contraction or expansion of the currency. The automatic working is furthermore accentuated by the in and outflow of foreign capital. High interest rates coupled with a low rate of exchange attract profit-—seeking foreign short term capital, which also helps to expand the currency and thus by making the balance of payments favourable helps to reverse the situation. When the rate of exchange has gradually risen and the rate of interest fallen foreign

capital will leave the country and strengthen the automatic working by contracting thus the currency. In case of the gold exchange standard the position is somewhat more complicated, for gold, contained in the monetary reserves, cannot leave the country. Instead of gold leaving the country the foreign exchange reserves of the Central Bank will be partly depleted.

(d) *The chief characteristics of the modern gold standard and credit structure.*

(i) *The internal position.*

Prior to passing a final judgment on the gold standard it is essential to analyse its chief features. It has been mentioned, that paper currency notes are issued under the gold standard system partly backed by gold and partly by securities. The gold backing accordingly forms only a certain percentage of the paper notes actually in circulation. This percentage, in various countries, fluctuates between 25-40% as minimum gold cover prescribed by law, but may be actually as high as 60 or 70% or even more under favourable circumstances. It is evident that even in the case the actual percentage of the gold reserves is much higher than the legal minimum, if all the note-holders are panic-stricken on account of the outbreak of a war, revolution or a financial crisis and all of them approach the bank of issue at the same time, only a certain percentage of the note-holders can get gold in exchange for their notes. In case of such runs—as-well-known to every reader of newspapers—the convertibility of notes into gold has to be suspended for the time being.

If a further analytical step is undertaken the real position of the modern monetary structure can be revealed, *i.e.*, the importance of what may be described as *bank money*. Under a highly developed banking and cheque system, practically nobody keeps more notes than actually necessary for daily cash-transactions. All surplus money is deposited with the banks. The banks on the other hand keep only a certain portion, say, 10 to 25% of the cash thus

received, in their safes and will use the surplus for granting new loans to their clients. Under a developed cheque system however the clients to whom the loan has been granted will most likely not take the amount in cash from the bank, but will make payments by cheque. Now it may be assumed for simplicity's sake that there is only one bank in a certain town. In that case those who received these cheques will also deposit them in the bank and their value will be credited to their account. The result is, that with the help of such transactions, the total value of deposits and loans will increase whereas the cash in the vaults of the bank will remain unchanged. Such an extension of granting loans and receiving deposits could go on indefinitely if a certain minimum proportion between actual cash and the value of deposits would not have to be kept up for the simple reason, that small amounts of cash are always required by the depositors for their daily transactions. This proportion varies from country to country. In the U.K. the cash percentage uniformly adopted is at present 10% only. In India it is 20 to 25%.

The fact that the banks in the U.K. keep only 10% of their deposits in cash, means actually nothing less, than that with the help of a certain amount of fresh cash the banks can create ten times as much new loans and that these new loans on the other hand return to the banks—under a highly developed cheque system—in the form of deposits. In the above example it was assumed, that there is only one bank in a town, in order to facilitate the explanation of this somewhat complicated phenomenon. Going a step further, it is clear that if there is any number of banks in a town the position for all the banks, taken as a whole, will remain unaltered. If the loan granted will be credited in connection with a cheque payment to the account of the receiver of the cheque in another bank, this will make no difference, as from the point of view of all banks deposits will increase whereas the actual cash remains unchanged.

The credit and deposits thus created by the banks is called "bankmoney" and is handled with the help of cheques. The existence of bankmoney can explain *two* important points. *Firstly* it makes it clear how it is possible that statistics show the value of all the deposits in the banks of a country to be much higher than the value of the actual currency notes in circulation and *secondly* it explains the rapid development of industry during the last few decades. Apart from the phenomenal inventions of technique, without the huge expansion of credit—which was only possible by the creation of "bankmoney" —the modern development of industries could have never taken place. On the other hand this modern system shows no doubt certain weak points. Similarly to the runs on the gold reserves, the public, in case of a panic, will attack the banks and demand currency notes in exchange for all demand deposits. No bank in the world could pay out all demand deposits at one and the same time and accordingly it will have to close down the shutters for some time and issue a moratorium, or pay only a certain small percentage of the deposits for the time being. As is well-known, such events happen only in times of crisis. Summing up, one may say that the gold standard and the modern banking system can only function in normal times and that these two systems are based on the hope that under normal circumstances all the depositors will not try to cash all their demand deposits at the same time and that all note-holders will not run to the bank of issue and ask for gold in exchange for their notes. If such runs happen the system breaks down and a moratorium has to be declared.

If a comparison is made between the proportion of the bank deposits and the actual gold reserves it becomes evident that the money held by the depositor is covered by a very small percentage of gold only. If we assume, for example, that the notes in a certain moment are covered by 50% of gold, and that the actual value of all bank deposits is five times that of the value of the notes in circulation, in that case the deposits are only covered

by 10% of gold. This fact leads to the observation, that now-a-days under the highly developed banking system—the value, or with other words, purchasing power of the actual money, *i.e.*, bankmoney plus notes is scarcely influenced by the volume of the gold reserves. In fact the small amount of gold held in the reserve has no influence on the actual value, *i.e.*, on the internal purchasing power of the notes and cheques. The word "cheque" may be used for "bankmoney" as the deposits, are symbolised by cheques in case of payments. The purchasing power of the money under such a system depends chiefly on the larger or smaller quantity of money in circulation.[1] An expansion of currency and bank money namely, will raise prices and a contraction will lower the price level. The decision to contract or expand bank money rests with the management of the banks and finally with the bank of issue and as a result of this bird's eye view of our present monetary system one may safely state that our money—even when it was on the gold standard, was in fact a managed paper currency and was in reality but little connected with the actual gold reserves. The currency authorities and the banks can contract and expand currency and credit to a great extent even when the gold reserve remains unchanged. It is only the belief of the public based on tradition that the existence of the gold reserves give an intrinsic value to a currency. It has been sufficiently proved that the convertibility of the deposits into gold is most remote and that the value, *i.e.*, the internal purchasing power of the notes and deposits depends chiefly on their quantity in circulation.

(ii) The external position.

On the gold standard, as explained, the rate of foreign exchange fluctuates between the gold points. Should however, the balance of trade and payments remain adverse for a relatively long

[1] The further problems connected with the velocity of circulation and the volume of business may be omitted here.

period the gold reserve will not suffice. Under such adverse circumstances countries, as a rule, try to obtain foreign loans to tide over the lean days. In case foreign loans are not forthcoming there is no other alternative but to go off the gold standard and to depreciate the currency or to introduce exchange restrictions. Under a system of exchange restrictions practically the entire foreign exchange business of the country is concentrated in the hands of the government. All exporters have to sell their foreign exchanges to the government, which in turn distributes the foreign exchanges thus obtained to the importers of most necessary goods only. With the help of such restrictions the external position is balanced as far as possible. If the balance cannot be maintained even with the help of restrictions, then a moratorium regarding foreign payments has to be declared as is the case to-day with many countries in Central Europe and South America.

If a country goes off the gold standard, the rate of foreign exchange as a rule depreciates and the notes are not convertible into gold. The currency can be still well kept in hand as a "managed paper currency" which is in fact not very much different from the management of a currency under the gold standard now-a-days. The paper sterling is a good example of such a managed paper currency since September, 1931. The working of managed paper currencies, the basis of the value and purchasing power of inconvertible notes and the functioning of exchange equalisation funds are scarcely understood by the public. Unfortunately space forbids to deal with these questions.

If the position of the gold reserves is examined from the external point of view only, it becomes evident that in case of a country, which is likely to have often an adverse foreign balance, a huge gold reserve would be required in order to tide over the adverse position.

In practice, it is most unlikely that a country which has frequently an adverse balance should have a huge gold reserve. And assuming even that it would possess such a huge gold

reserve, that reserve would be lost to foreign countries fairly soon under the adverse position. Nowadays the greatest part of the foreign balances are adjusted by giving and taking foreign loans and accordingly the rôle of gold is greatly decreasing in connection with foreign payments.

(e) Is a return to the gold standard possible ?

The gold standard has been much praised and much abused. The layman expects a definite reply, whether the gold standard is a bad or a good currency system ?

The question as asked in this form is not formulated correctly.

All economic institutions have a relative value only. They are most satisfactory under suitable circumstances and cannot function in an adverse situation. Such is the case of the gold standard too. The gold standard has functioned excellently during the days of laissez-faire and free trade. It has been explained how the gold standard functions and corrects, by its automatic working, the fluctuations of the price level and thus the balance of trade and payments. It is true that the fluctuations of the price level—on the long run—depend on the scarcity or abundance of the supply of newly mined gold too. An increase of the gold supply will expand currency and raise the price level, conversely a decrease of supply will have the opposite effect. Statistics of the last 60 years show, however, that the price movements caused by changes in the supply of newly mined gold were never exorbitant and always gradual only.

The chief point to be stressed in connection with the gold standard is the fact, that it can only function if the free flow of goods, services and capital is assured and if exchanges in the international sphere are stable. The gold standard is essentially an international standard and can only function if it is widely adopted in the international sphere and if all mentioned preliminary conditions are fulfilled. During the days of laissez-faire

and free trade the gold standard has functioned most satisfactorily and that was the reason why the greatest part of the world has adopted it in pre-war days. There is nothing wrong with the gold standard itself, but the world has changed, deep going structural changes have taken place which have been sketched in the beginning of this paper, and these changes have made the functioning of the gold standard impossible under the changed circumstances. The economic evolution—as explained—stopped the free flow of goods, services and capital and as a consequence the gold standard broke down and to-day only 5-6 countries are left on gold.

III. The Actual Problems Faced by the World Economic Conference.

The events of the last few years are too well-known and therefore, it is not necessary to recapitulate them.

Now the actual situation has to be faced and the final conclusions will have to be drawn. It is hoped that the explanation of the economic and monetary evolution succeeded in making it perfectly clear, that the trend of evolution by the gradual growth of industrialization all over the world has brought the age of laissez-faire and free trade to an end and that the end of laissez-faire was the death-knell of the gold standard.

Now a further point has to be mentioned which is of utmost importance in connection with the actual dead-lock of the W. E. C., namely the fact that the depreciation of currencies has been used by some countries as a device in order to bring about better conditions. Some countries have depreciated their exchanges in order to stimulate exports but the recent decision of the U.S.A. to depreciate its currency has deeper going reasons. The extremely bad internal economic conditions of the U.S.A can only be remedied by a quick and substantial rise in prices. The huge internal indebtedness has been contracted at prices 2 to 3 times as high as the level of February last. At that

low price-level the debtors could not possibly fulfil their engagements and wholesale bankruptcies and a further expansion of the crisis would have been unavoidable, if the decision would not have been made to depreciate the currency and to inflate. Prices have risen considerably on account of the new policy, when the powers at the W. E. C. tried to persuade the U.S.A. to stabilize its cross-rate at the level of 405. The immediate stabilization of the dollar at that rate would have caused a collapse of the price level of the U.S.A. and would have had incalculable bad effects on economic conditions. Mr. Roosevelt's decision was perfectly correct not only in a narrower national, but also in an international sense.. President Roosevelt has taken the lead and pursues a policy which is the only way out of the crisis and which will finally defeat the international school of thought, who believe that, by stabilizing currencies, lowering tariffs and so on prosperity can be restored. No country will follow the advice of the internationalists against its own vital interests and no nation will give up its newly established industries for the sake of the free trade of other countries.

The most acute consequence of the world crisis is no doubt the low price level, which makes production unprofitable and which created an unprecedented disequilibrium between creditors and debtors resulting in wholesale bankruptcies. There is no other way out of the crisis than to raise the price level and to make thereby production profitable and to adjust debts to the former level of prices. Mr. Roosevelt has gone in for a bold decision and the world will have to follow his lead. There is little doubt left that all currencies will be forced off gold sooner or later, inspite of the recent decision of the countries still on gold. An all-round policy of currency expansion will raise the prices all over the world and bring about a new era of prosperity within a relatively short time. Currencies in the near future will have to be depreciated to a lower, more suitable level at which they may be gradually stabilized. A higher price level will benefit all producers and will be disadvantageous only to those with a

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rigidly fixed money-income. This latter class forms only a small percentage of the population, which has greatly benefited by the recent fall in prices.

It is most interesting to state that economic co-operation has definitely failed at the W.E.C. and that the U.S.A. have made all the change pursuing their own egotistic interests. It is still more remarkable that the egotistic move of the U.S.A.—more than likely —will bring about better conditions gradually all over the world.

Summing up, it appears to be quite sure, that the world is on the eve of drastic changes. The events of the W.E.C. have taught a good lesson to those who still believed that one could just muddle through by uttering some commonplace phrases. The world to-day asks for strong and decided actions and Mr. Roosevelt has clearly shown the way. But this is the first step only. Every country has to take stock of its economic position, has to draft its future plans and has to work out its own salvation. The world crisis marks the period of transition from the age of free trade towards national self-supporting units or groups and planned economy. The trend as depicted in part one, points distinctly in this direction.

Some nations might combine into self-supporting larger groups, as has been already partly achieved by the British Empire at Ottawa. The Danubian States may in time also form a similar group. Other large self-supporting nations might work out their own plans.

As regards currencies, there is no doubt left that the gold standard cannot be restored. Managed paper currencies will hold the field and gradually a certain pegging and stabilization of currencies in convenient groups will take place when matters will settle down later on. The sterling group is already at present a good example. As regards managed paper currencies a policy of relative price stability will also most likely be considered at that stage.

And finally it remains to reply to the questions raised in connection with the introductory remarks. The replies are

practically contained in the foregoing and accordingly it will be sufficient to indicate the main principles only :—

(1) President Roosevelt refused to stabilise the dollar, as such an action would have been decidedly harmful to the economic position of the U.S.A. Mr. Roosevelt has declared in this connection, that the internal economic prosperity of a nation is far more important, than the stability of the rate of its foreign exchange.

(2) The internationalists believe, that, if tariff-walls are removed, exchanges stabilised, the gold standard restored, etc., the good old days of laissez-faire can be again brought back. The isolationists (nationalists) on the contrary, feel sure, that deep going structural changes have taken place which make every reversion to free trade impossible and that only a further depreciation and expansion of currencies and a thoroughgoing consolidation of self-supporting nations or groups of nations can bring about better conditions.

(3) The reply given to question 2 contains the reply to question 3 too.

(4) A return to the gold standard is not practicable even if it is assumed that in principle such a return is desirable, as the gold standard could not function under the present conditions. The gold standard if restored under the present circumstances would break down very soon.

The possibility of a return of such conditions under which the gold standard can function is more than remote and to the mind of the writer most unlikely.

(5) As the writer believes that in future managed paper currencies will hold the field, the question of remonetising silver may be ruled out.

The chief lesson derived from the World Economic Conference is the duty of every country to work out its own salvation. When, later on a national economic adjustment has taken place a certain stability of exchanges and other international economic relations may be discussed. For the present international economic co-operation is not workable.

THE WHITE PAPER PROPOSALS

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I

THE Constitution proposed for India in the White Paper departs from the definite declarations and pledges given and repeated by Government on the subject. In 1929, Lord Irwin as Viceroy went all the way from India to England to obtain Government's consent to his Declaration that the immediate objective of Indian Reform should be definitely a Dominion Constitution for British India. The Viceregal Declaration was fully debated in Parliament in November, 1929 in more authoritative speeches which raised high hopes in India. The Round Table Conference was convened to work out a possible Dominion Constitution for India under that Declaration. It was further agreed in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and Gandhi-Willingdon Settlement that (*a*) India is to obtain a Dominion Constitution subject to safeguards (*i*) to be for a limited period and (*ii*) such as are demonstrably necessary in the interests of India; and (*b*) that the three governing principles of such a constitution should be Federation, Responsibility and Safeguards. It was, however, no part of these Agreements that any one of these principles or factors should jeopardise or nullify the other. It was not agreed that the Safeguards should be so overweighted as to bear down Responsibility, or that Responsibility should indefinitely wait on and for Federation, or that Responsibility is to come to India in doses and by stages, provincial and central or federal, and not by a single process. And yet all these alterations of established agreements are precisely what the White Paper proposes. It has frankly introduced safeguards, financial and

commercial, some of which, far from serving the interests of India and her economic advancement, are flagrantly injurious to those interests. Some of the administrative safeguards by reserving to the Governor-General and to his Agents, the Provincial Governors, special Responsibilities, several Departments and wide general powers, are frankly intended to reduce to a shadow the little substance of Independence and Responsibility left in the proposed Constitution. As a result of these elaborate safeguards eating up the freedom of the constitution, the provincial governor will be enabled to pass into law what the present Governor-General is not empowered to do, except as an Ordinance and that only for the limited period of six months. In the sphere of Finance, India, Federal or British, will not have any say in the matter of determining whether the Rupee should be 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d. She will have no say in the matter of export of her gold. She won't be permitted to protect what she may consider to be her national key-industries for fear of racial or commercial discrimination. She won't see even the beginnings of a National or Dominion Army, nor have any voice in determining the expenditure on her present Army, its strength, recruitment, or the pace of its Indianisation. To crown all, the Constitution is to be based upon a system of Communal Electorate upon which a Democracy or Dominion Constitution can never be built. It is the best antidote to Democracy, its direct negation and contradiction, and is, accordingly, without any precedent or parallel in modern history and politics.

II

It is a surprise that Government has not tried to solve the Communal Problem for India in the light of its international solution. It is a greater surprise that in the framing of that

international solution the leading part, if not the initiative, was taken by His Majesty's Government through their distinguished representative, the then Foreign Secretary, Sir Austen Chamberlain. As a step towards world peace after the Great War, it was agreed that one of the sources of future trouble was Minority problems calling for an international treatment and a final solution. The collective statesmanship of the world as represented at the Paris Peace Conferences applied itself to the production of a general scheme of Minority Protection, which might be at once imposed upon the then militant Minorities of Europe, the Greeks and Turks, Germans and Poles. Regular Minorities Guarantee Treaties and Stipulations were then framed and were presented for signature to the different States concerned in post-war reconstruction of Europe. Nearly twenty such States are now bound by these Treaties and Stipulations. Then the question was raised and hotly debated at the League of Nations as to whether these signatory States alone were to be exclusively bound by these Minority Obligations from which the non-signatory States proposing them could be free. The debate led to the fundamental question of the equality and brotherhood in all matters of all the States Members of the League of Nations. It was ultimately concluded by the adoption of the following Resolution at the Third Assembly of the League of Nations in 1922 on the basis of proposals submitted by Prof. Gilbert Murray and the Latvian Delegate, Dr. Walters:

> "The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to Minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic Minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

To the question whether there should not be a general treaty binding all States for Minority Protection, the French Delegate, M. de Jouvenel, replied that "he could readily understand that States which had signed Minorities Treaties should think it unreasonable that others had not done so. He was quite ready to present the excuses of his own country. France had not signed any such Treaties, because she had no Minorities. To find Minorities in France, they would have to be created in imagination."

The same ground was urged by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the British Empire. To the suggestion made by the French Delegate that "some ill-humoured Welshman might pose before the League of Nations as the Champion of Wales," he replied that "he was not afraid of the obstreperous Welshman because he did not exist."

Unfortunately, such a way of escape was not open to India who has Minorities with vengeance, and even Minorities in the making.

But India equally with France and England, as an original member of the League of Nations, cannot lay aside a solution for her own domestic problems, which she has herself helped to propose and enforce for other States, her own colleagues in the League of Nations. She is herself a contributory and a signatory, one of the High Contracting Parties, to these Minorities Treaties imposed upon States troubled by Minorities. Therefore, both the Government of India and His Majesty's Government are in a special manner bound by these international arrangements, which should automatically apply to the solution of India's own communal problems.

There is no reason why India should be at liberty to depart from the World-solution, and to find her own solution of her Minority problems. It is time that she should adjust her political clock according to the world's chronometer.

The position, indeed, has been finally stated by Mr. Arthur Henderson, the then Foreign Secretary, who as President of the Council of the League of Nations explained at its meeting held in January, 1931, how the League's system of the protection of Minorities was "now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world."

The Government's Communal Award for India in its principles and details is completely at variance with this recently evoloved International Law on the subject of Minorities.

III

An objection may be raised to the application to India of the International Scheme of Minority Protection that the different Communities of India are not agreeable to it. But these Communities are not agreeable to any settlement among themselves. A settlement means 'give and take.' One Indian Community, the Moslems, started with their fourteen points at the first, and even went on adding to them up to the last Round Table Conference. They did not yield a single point for the sake of compromise. This is how Communal compromise had failed in India. But communities in Europe had fared no better. The Germans and Poles, the Turks and Greeks were not left to themselves to achieve a compromise after the Great War. Minority Problems became an international concern calling for international treatment lest they threaten Peace once again. The same should be done in India. Nearly 20 different sovereign States of Europe are now bound down by the League of Nations' Scheme of Minority Protection, the Minorities Guarantee Treaties to which India herself is a party. The question did not arise as to whether the communities concerned in these States of reconstructed Europe were agreeable to that scheme or not.

The application to India of that Scheme has been agreed to by its so-called Majority Community, the Hindus, making up $\frac{3}{4}$ths of India. But the attitude of a fourth of India has been hostile and has determined that of the Government! The Hindus have sacrificed their own communal interests and made a bold bid for genuine Democracy and Responsible Government in declaring for the international communal award of the League of Nations as the highest and most impartial arbitral body imaginable. And in this they have been also joined by all non-Moslem communities, the Sikhs, Christians, and even the womanhood of India. But His Majesty's Government who have and are doing so much to uphold the authority of the League of Nations and of world-settlements have themselves flouted that authority in the case of India in the sphere of Minority problems only to placate one particular Indian community. It is sometimes urged against the Hindus that they stand for the international communal award, because it suits them as the majority community in India. No doubt, they are the original and indigenous, and, naturally, the majority community of India, now making up 75% of the population of India which has been their home, and only home, through the ages, like the Poles of Poland or the Czechs of the newly-created State of Czecho-Slovakia, with lesser majorities. It is, however, forgotten that the Hindus are the majority, only in India as a whole, for purposes of her central or federal government, but not so in the Provinces which are to function in the coming constitution as practically so many sovereign States. It is the game of Moslems always to describe themselves as the helpless Minority Community needing all protection! and yet, in the whole of Northern India, from Karachi to Delhi, and in the large Province of Bengal, they are the majority, and any question of protection that may arise in the four Provinces of Sindh, North-west Frontier, the Punjab and Bengal is the question of the protection of the Hindus as a Minority. And yet even as Minorities the Hindus are prepared to stand

for the world-solution of the Minority Problem irrespective of its consequences to their position as Minorities for the sake of India's progress in peace towards a democracy and a Dominion Constitution. It is to be hoped that the British Government will demonstrate the authority and usefulness of the League of Nations by applying to India the benefits of its work in the sphere of Minorities, with the consent of so many communities of India, Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis and others, nay, even Moslems of the growing Nationalist School, even Indian women of *all* communities, making up nearly four-fifths of India's population.

IV

The Goverment's communal award has not, as was expected, come up to the expectations of any community in India. Different communities have expressed different degrees of disapproval of the scheme. No doubt the situation created by it is due as much to India as to Great Britain. Both the countries are to blame for the cleavage that has grown between them. This aspect of the matter has not yet received enough public attention. India herself is to blame for creating the deadlook that has arisen because she was asked to produce an agreed solution of the communal question, and has not been able to produce any so far. But even here it may be stated in defence of India that the communal problem was not in its origin her own creation. It was the creation of the British Government. It was due to Lord Minto's short-sighted statesmanship and weakness in yielding to communal tendencies which first became articulate in his time. But if India is not responsible for the creation of the problem she is much less responsible for the fact that no solution of the problem has yet been forthcoming. The last organised attempt at a solution was by the assembling of the first Round Table Conference. The Conference was perhaps unexceptionable in theory but

in reality it was open to grave objections. The most serious of these objections applied to its compositioin. The Conference was a packed body of members chosen in a most arbitrary manner without any reference to the choice of India in the matter, not even to the opinion of the most representative body, the Assembly. It was on account of this unsatisfactory composition of the Round Table Conference that India was not able to reach agreed conclusions not merely on minority problems but also on many more fundamental problems of Indian constitution. Therefore the conveners of the conference were themselves primarily responsible for the differences and divisions for which India stands disgraced in the eyes of the world. A conference meeting under such circumstances, which were beyond India's control, could not but reveal in their exaggerated forms the difference and diversity so natural to a country of continental proportions.

But granting that India is to blame for bungling the communal problem the blame of Great Britain is not less. Failing an agreed Indian solution the Government felt compelled to produce their own solution of the problem, and it is further stated that they felt compelled to undertake this task at the invitation of India. It is, however, open to question, whether any such invitation was really sent to the British Government for which India can be held responsible. There was a proposal for arbitration raised at the second Round Table Conference for which India could be held more responsible, but the proposal fell through and has not been heard of since. The later invitation on which the Government profess to have acted was in the form of a resolution passed by what was originally called the Working Committee of the Round Table Conference but later called the Consultative Committee in accordance with the deterioration of its status, as decided by the Secretary of State. It was this advisory body, which was the least representative of Indian opinion and further disabled from influencing the opinion of His Majesty's Government,

that is supposed to have sent this request in the name of India for the Government's communal award. Therefore the Viceroy has not shown a strictly impartial judgment in considering, in his latest speech at the Assembly, that India should be bound by she award which the has herself invoked.

Apart, therefore, from the supposed obligations resting on India to accept the award, which are not admitted in India on the grounds stated, it was not open to the British Government to fashion the award as if writing on a clean slate or making out a blank cheque. The award should have been related to its unalterable historical setting. It has come in the wake of a long course of constitutional development. India is out to achieve full responsible government or dominion constitution and Great Britain has also pledged herself to accede to her demands. The first Round Table Conference had agreed only to certain safeguards to such a constitution but the character of the constitution as a democracy was beyond its purview because it has been repeated in at least four Parliamentary declarations in recent years. The most important of these was the one secured by Lord Irwin, for which he undertook a journey to England during his Viceroyalty.

But the safeguards to a constitution must be only such as should guard the constitution against possible risks to its existence and true character and make it safe for democracy. The safeguards, instead of guarding the constitution, should not themselves assail it. And yet this is what has been done by the proposed communal award. It rests on three proposals, *viz.*, communal electorate, reserved representation, and weightage, each one of which singly is destructive of democracy, not to speak of their effects in combination. The Government have so devised the systems of franchise that they can never be compatible and consistent with any kind of national self-government. There is not a single parallel or

precedent for their communal proposals in any civilised constitution of the world.

The Government now expect that their communal award must take precedence over the constitution. The constitution must suit itself, must bend and twist itself to the communal award and to its steel frame, an inflexible framework, and not the award to the constitution. This shows which way the wind blows. We have in the award a sufficient foretaste of the coming constitution, which will be a novel creation, an original type of state in politics. It will be a complete negation of all that is meant by a democracy or a dominion. Realising the unsoundness of their plan the Government have been good enough to suggest a way out. They are prepared to scrap the scheme the moment it is replaced by an agreed Indian scheme. But there have been created serious obstacles to an agreement. A premium has been put on communalism and a heavy discount on nationalism, and there can be no agreement between communalism and nationalism as there cannot be between fire and water. A communal agreement is out of the question in a constitution to be constructed by the counting of heads, and on the basis of a new political arithmetic emphasising Quantity at the cost of Quality. The counting of seats for communities in the legislature will not solve the problem of Indian constitutional development. The path to an agreed solution lies only through a bold stand for principle, for democracy undefiled, pure and simple. The only agreed solution possible for India is to follow the world and declare with one voice for the international communal award which is one of the most enduring results of the last Great War. To that award both England and India are already parties and signatories and it is already binding on them as members of the League of Nations with which it is lodged as an instrument of international application.

V

The Hindu position on the Communal Issues may be stated in the convenient form of the following propositions :

(1) The Hindus as a people are prepared to follow the world-solution of communal problems as the best possible solution evolved by the collective statesmanship of the world to meet all possible and conceivable cases and complications of such problems all over the world as a step towards world-peace.

(2) India herself is as much a party to that solution as England whose representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain, played a noble and leading part in the formulation of that solution.

(3) That solution now ranks as International Law and constitutes one of the very successes of the League of Nations in its work for Peace.

(4) This International Scheme of Minority Protection recognises Minorities of only a certain minimum size (20°/o of the population) as eligible for protection and confines such protection exclusively and strictly to what are called Linguistic, Racial, and Religious Minorities ruling out all other kinds or classes of Minorities, political, social, or economic and also ruling out such methods of protection as Communal Electorate and Reserved or Weighted Representation in Legislature and Administration on the ground that these stand for the common and not the separate interests of communities. These separate interests are linguistic, racial and religious, and these are to be separately protected by special statutory safeguards imposed on the constitution.

(5) By accepting this scheme for India, all Minorities, Hindus or Moslems, must accept Joint Electorate, without any

reservation of seats in the Legislature, in a readiness to work a democracy with their brethren of the majority community.

(6) The Hindu Minorities of Bengal and the Punjab are prepared to do without reservation of seats, together with the Sikhs in the Punjab, to help India out of the slough of communalism and ensure her progress toward a genuine Democracy or Dominion Constitution.

(7) The British Government ought to accept this as the agreed solution of all communities in India, barring only a section of communally inclined Moslems, and as the only solution compatible and consistent with the Dominion Constitution promised to India.

(8) If, however, the British Government, against all precedent or parallel in modern history and politics, against all civilised or democratic theory and practice, force on India against the wishes of the vast majority of her population the discredited devices of Communal Electorate and Representation as methods of Minority Protection, the Hindus demand that such Protection must be given on the basis of a common scheme and standard applicable equally to all Minorities without permitting any differentiation as regards definition, franchise or weightage. To take an illustration, if the 14 per cent. Moslems of U. P. are to count as 32 per cent. the same weightage must be given to the Sikh Minority of the same size in the Punjab.

(9) The principle of protection of Minorities cannot be expanded to include protection of Majorities by securing by statute their natural dominance in numbers.

(10) In the Government's Communal Award the principle of protection of Minorities has not been admitted for the Hindu Minorities of Bengal and the Punjab whose representation, far from being given additional weight to which they were entitled on the same ground as the Europeans for their contributions to culture and revenue, has been reduced even below their strength in the population.

(11) The least that the Government should now do to remove this grossest injustice to a community like the Hindus of Bengal to whom Bengal and the rest of India owe so much since the days of British beginnings in India is to so alter the distribution of seats as between them and the Moslems as to reflect their respective proportions in population, not taking into account the seats for non-communal, special interests and for non-Hindus and non-Moslems.

"I see the people pass before my eyes in the livery of wretchedness and political subjection, ragged and hungry, painfully gathering the crumbs that wealth tosses insultingly to it, or lost and wandering in riot and the intoxication of brutish angry, savage joy; and I remember that those brutalised faces bear the finger-print of God, the mark of the same mission as our own. I lift myself to the vision of the future, and behold the people rising in its majesty, brothers in one faith, one bond of equality and love, one ideal of citizen virtue that ever grows in beauty and might; the people of the future, unspoilt by luxury, ungoaded by wretchedness, awed by the consciousness of its rights and duties."

—*Giussepe Mazzini*

THE LATE MR. J. M. SEN-GUPTA

——*By* RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.
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THE death of Mr. Jatindramohan Sen-Gupta, aptly designated as *deśa-priya*, 'beloved of the people,' removes from the public life of India and of Bengal in particular, one of its most conspicuous characters. A most melancholy and, indeed, tragic aspect of the event which is nothing short of a great national calamity is that it has come about like a bolt from the blue, swift, sudden, and stunning in its effects, and most ill-timed and inopportune. The country is now in a most critical period of its history, in the grip of a revolution affecting its foundations and every phase of national life, political, social, economic, cultural and religious, and can ill-spare the tried and mature leadership of a person of Mr. Sen-Gupta's calibre and character to help it towards stable conditions by his constructive and fruitful statesmanship.

But it is more of a national misfortune that his death has now for all practical purposes to be considerably antedated, that the physical removal of Mr. Sen-Gupta from the public life of Bengal by forces beyond the control of mortals must now be dated much earlier than the final event. It was preceded by a period of legal removal by processes of one of those laws which Sir Rashbehari Ghose has made famous by his description of 'lawless laws.' The Government encompassed his civil and political death by keeping him in confinement under Regulation III of 1818 since 20th January, 1932. Thus his death, deplorable as it is in every way, had

really cast its calamitous shadows over the country long before it could suspect the coming calamity, and it is this fact which makes it so very deplorable from both personal and national points of view.

Indeed, Mr. Sen-Gupta's life is one continuous tale of suffering and sacrifice for the country. It is a record of trials and tribulations undertaken and undergone cheerfully and heroically for his down-trodden people, and not a record of any triumphs of personal self-aggrandisement. He imbibed patriotism in the very atmosphere and traditions of his own house and family. He grew up under the inspiration of the example of his father, Jatramohan Sen-Gupta, the leader of the Bar at Chittagong, and, as usual in those days with leading lawyers, one of the leaders, too, of the Indian National Congress, enjoying the fullest confidence of such stalwarts as W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerji, Baikunthanath Sen, Ambicacharan Mazumdar, Anandamohan Bose, Rashbehari Ghose or Kalicharan Banerji. Towards the later days of Jatramohan Sen-Gupta, the country was already getting sick of Moderate Politics for which the Congress had stood so long. By the phillipics of Tilak, Bipinchandra Pal, and Sri Aurobindo Ghose, Moderate Politics came to be branded and banned as Mendicant Politics, until public opinion was finally fixed by the historic expression which by itself has more immortalised Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri than his latter-day Judgeship of the Calcutta High Court, the slogan that 'a subject nation has no politics.' Accordingly, when the present writer was touring several districts of Bengal with Bipinchandra Pal as leader to organise centres of national education independent of Government, he came to Chittagong in 1907 and found the revered Jatramohan Sen-Gupta ready to lend himself whole-heartedly to that movement and establish at once the Chittagong National School with the late Pulin Das as its Secretary. Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta was then having his education in England and on return felt the changed political atmosphere of the country in no time. At the early age of 26, in 1911, he joined the Faridpur Provincial

Conference and invited the Conference to meet at Chittagong next year under his father as Chairman of its Reception Committee. But the turning-point in his life came in 1921 with the first start of the Non-Co-operation Movement, of which he stood out as one of the staunchest apostle in Bengal. He suspended for a time his legal practice and organised Direct Action and Strike among the workers concerned with the B. O. C. of Chittagong. The District Magistrate of Chittagong served upon him a notice not to organise public meetings in the district. But he offered his first Civil Disobedience to that order and suffered the first imprisonment of his life.

Thenceforth his life became a series of activities in furtherance of Non-Co-operation and Direct Action and a resulting series of sufferings and incarcerations. This is not the place to give a complete account of these. But the most conspicuous incident of his life which brings out his characteristics, the stern stuff of which he was made, deserves mention, however meagre. It was his successful organisation of Direct Action on a large scale and over a wide area, a strike of 24,000 Railway men against the A. B. R.-administration. Single-handed did he conduct this strike as its sole leader and maintain it against tremendous odds in those days when the country itself was unused to such forms of constitutional agitation and direct action, though these were very usual and established phenomena in British politics. For a period of three months, he had to support the poor workless workers and meet all their needs, for which, besides sacrificing all his personal savings, and rich patrimony, he took a loan of Rs. 40,000 on his own liability. Thus did good shepherd serve his flock. It was thus fundamentally a most religious undertaking, a profoundly spiritual action in the troubled secular, and political sphere. There is no natural divorce between Religion and Politics. It was on 28th May, 1921, that he declared the Strike as the only means left to secure redress of grievances of helpless, mute and suffering workers, after the resources of persuasion and peaceful

settlement by consultation had failed. He had to take his full share of suffering attending these new forms of political work. From 4th June, he was detained in police custody for a few days and on 20th October he was given rigorous imprisonment for 3 months for leading a procession without licence. Thus did the country find a young boy from the easternmost corner of Bengal leap into leadership by this compelling power of all those qualities of head and heart of which leadership is composed. The organisation and successful conduct of this Railway strike marked him out as the coming man of the country, the spiritual successor of *Desabandhu* Chittaranjan Das, then at the height of his achievement as the founder and leader of the Swaraj Party. Accordingly, when *Desabandhu* passed away, his mantle naturally fell upon him. The people of Bengal, with one voice, and the acclamation of the rest of India as expressed by *Mahatma* Gandhi, decorated the young head of Jatindramohan with what was aptly called the triple crown, the Mayoralty of the Corporation of Calcutta, the Presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and the leadership of the Swaraj Party and of the opposition in the Bengal Legislative Council. No less than five times was he elected to the dignity of the position as Mayor, showing how he had won the confidence of different, and not always naturally agreeing, sections of a heterogenous body like the Corporation of Calcutta by his devotion to the interests of the city which he could always detach from his politics and extra-civic alliances and associations.

The later events of his life are too fresh in the memory of the public to need recital. We are still too near his life to be able to see it in its proper perspective. The height of his greatness cannot be seen properly except from a distance. The whole nation is now in mourning and lacks the detachment which alone can reveal in all their fulness and amplitude the beauty, the power, and the passion of the life that has so suddenly closed. It is now our melancholy duty to convey our respectful condolence to his bereaved family and his devoted wife who, by her

sleepless care and vigilance, did so much to enable her illustrious husband to endure the hardships of public life ; to pay tribute to his memory; and to express the hope that such tribute will be forthcoming in profusion and for ever in the lives of the young men of India inspired by his deathless services to our great mother-country.

"Where the mind is without fear and the head
is held high:
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragment
by narrow domestic walls:
Where words come out from the depth of truth:
Where tireless striving stretches its arms
towards perfection:
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost
its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit:
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into
ever-widening thought and action—
Into that heaven of Freedom, my Father, let my
Country awake!"

—*Rabindranath Tagore*

Miscellany

1. The Red Coal

Man is unceasing in quest for power—social, political, mechanical. In his search for sources of mechanical power which with a charming allegiance to the past, is still associated with the horse when it is measured, man has gone down the bowels of the earth to bring up the "Black Coal" to the surface., He then learned how to convert the energy of the past ages, in the coal into steam and electricity. Later, on the waterfalls of the world, "white coal" has been harnessed to the same end making it turn a wheel, a turbine and put areas containing only rivers on an equal footing with tract placed in close proximity to the coal fields. A new move has now been made in Italy to use the forces of the inner earth which manifests themselves as Volcanos or in milder forms as Fumaroles emitting steam. The steam coming out from these, are tamed and made to pass through turbines and generate electricity which may be regarded as produced from "Red Coal."

The story of the achievement of Prince Ginori Conti and his devoted band of helpers is a thrilling one.

For full fifty years the main supply of the world's boric acid was practically without a competitor as it was derived from one of the lagoni discovered in the last century. The steam issuing from the wells was going to waste and Italians who depended so long on with coal as their source of power now have turned their attention to utilise this live steam. For the *Soffioni* steam is found at a depth of 100 ft, and drilling a well under such steam pressure required the leadership of Prince Conti who developed a special technique for steam drilling. In the course of the drilling there comes a moment when the steam gains the upper hand and explosion takes place, a deafening noise goes on for weeks and can be heard from several miles. In 1931, the biggest well was drilled giving out steam at a pressure of 3·5 atmospheres and the temperature of 205° centigrade, with an output of 441,000 lbs. of steam per hour. These steams are now fed into different turbines and they are yielding continuously more than 12,000 h. p. at the present moment. The confidence in the trustworthiness of the supply has now been obtained and "Red Coal" stands now as a younger brother to the group of black and white coal in Italy at least.

2. The Teaching of Science in School

In connection with the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the Old Ashmolean, the President of the Royal Society, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins delivered a speech at Oxford in which he suggested that:

"The History of Science—the history of the gradual development of the fundamental ideas and conceptions, perhaps its effect on civilisation—might form the subject of school teaching and take the place of the purely routine teaching of science which the schools at present gave. That would turn out not only men who are going to take up science as a career but the right sort of teaching would give that sympathy with an understanding of science which we would fain have in our public men and our citizens generally."

It seems there are two ideas in Sir Frederick Hopkins' words—one, that the usual science teaching in English School is too specialised in its nature, for the equipment of the rank and file: the other, that the historical aspects of scientific achievement and progress afford a suitable means of creating interest in them without technical details. Both these propositions have been given much consideration in recent years. One can find modern text books dealing with general or every day science devoting more attention to these propositions than was formerly done. In the reports of several committees appointed to investigate the science teaching in School, one also finds statements supporting these ideas.

These developments represent a reaction against the type of school-science which seems to assume that every student is to become a Chemist or Physicist or Engineer. For the general run of pupils in secondary schools who will not proceed to scientific careers, something more is needed than pure laboratory training in scientific method. This training has to be supplemented by descriptive lessons and reading on every day application of scientific discovery such as are exemplified in Industrial History on the establishment of great principles and on many interesting aspects presented by broad natural fact and phenomena.

The proper aims of science teaching in school is not only required for its intrinsic value so far as the knowledge to a man or woman as an aid to help and as a factor in earning a livelihood are concerned, but one must also consider the psychological aspect of human mind in feeling a sense of intellectual joy that gives pleasure of a permanent and unequal quality even to a young mind. One should not ignore that if the world is to continue to exist, the wellbeing and the progress of science must be assured. It may be that it would require a complete remoulding of the present syllabus in science or insisting on a radically different method of examining upon them. It

has been urged in some quarters that the syllabuses are moderately satisfactory, but the questions set are far too academic. History shows us unmistakably that scientific Philosophy is late in flowering ; and if we may take the maxim as roughly true that the intellectual development of the child recapitulates that of the race, we shall see the folly of asking a normal boy or a girl of sixteen to answer questions on recondite theory. If an external uniform examination is to be inflicted upon young children then, so far as science is concerned, work should be much more largely observational and descriptive, wider choice of subject should be allowed and question should be far less technical.

It is easy to foresee that a course like this would result in a broader appreciation of science and would attract the minds of many children who are frankly bored and dazed by the purely academic courses at present offered to them. There are however, certain difficulties to be overcome if the step in advance is not to degenerate into a retrograde movement, namely, that the course may develop into a shallow smattering of more or less disconnected topics in which all the peculiar value and character of science is lost. Properly qualified teachers may not be always available but one should seriously pause and think for this orientation in the studies of our nation.

P. N. G.

3. Agricultural Indebtedness : A Secular Phenomenon

The problem of agricultural indebtedness, such as has assumed great proportions in numerous states, has its origin in the crisis of prices, which constitutes from the economic standpoint one of the salient phenomena of this the first part of the twentieth century. Instead of coming within the normal limits of the so-called *cyclical movement* (no econnmic cycle transcends, generally, in all its phases taken together, – namely, rise, prosperity, decline and depression,— the period of a decennium) the dynamics of prices current at the present moment ought aptly to be considered as a constituent factor of the *secular movement*, a movement of long duration, proper to the prices themselves. And this latter movement should appear to have an undulating or cyclical character, which, however, is to be sharply distingished from the cyclical movement in the strict sense, in so far as it comprises periods four or five times as long as the other. Observing, in fact, the movement of world prices since 1790 certain economists and statisticians have come to believe that it is possible to find a *trend* of undulating type in the general level of these prices, and that this trend is made up of extensive cycles, in succession, of half

a century each. One of these cycles lasted from 1790 to 1847 with peak at 1820, and a second from 1847 to 1896 with the vertex at 1873. The third grand cycle of this secular process began at 1896 and attained the zenith during 1920-25; and of this the period of decline has been manifesting itself since then. (G. Masci in *Rassegna Economica*, Naples.)

4. Imperial Preference in France

France and Indo-China are and should remain a solid block. But this solidarity ought to leave to each the freedom of negotiations indispensable in their respective milieus. Undoubtedly, the Act of April, 1928 which has defined the tariff relations between the Metropolis (France) and her colonies is particularly liberal, and the elasticity of its provisions is nothing but admirable. But while making these observations we did not have the intention to demand an impossible autonomy in favour of Indo-China. We could not afford to ignore, by such a claim, the importance of the sacrifices such as the Metropolis has imposed upon herself and which find their justified compensation in the privileged position reserved to French products in the Indo-Chinese market. The tariff autonomy would, besides, run counter to the essential interests of Indo-China, because she exports to France a growing proportion of her agricultural produce on account of the protection accorded to colonial goods. (P.-B. de La Brosse in *Journal du Commerce*, Paris.)

5. A Working Man as Professor in National Socialist Germany

Wilhelm Boerger, member of the Reichstag, has been offered a position on the teaching staff of the University of Cologne on the Rhine by the Prussian Minister of Education. He will have to introduce the students to the transformations and rejuvenation of German economics. This appointment is specially noteworthy on account of the fact that the University of Cologne has thereby furnished the scientific institutions of entire Germany with an example of its great spirit of revolutionary will such as might be imitated everywhere. For, Boerger is a working man who does not possess the traditional academic training and status. But as enjoying the confidence of the German working classes he is one of the most prominent. For years he has been untiringly active in the work of establishing friendly relations between the workers and the German people. And in this capacity he has also given ample evidence of his

qualifications as educator. (*Verein Deutscher Ingeniemre Nachrichten*, Berlin.)

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6. The Cycle of Racial Fertility

In the category of biological factor may be noted Professor Gini's theory of the cyclical rise and fall of racial reproductive vigour. Gini speaks of the youth, maturity, and old age of a race or people in terms strictly analogous to the youth, maturity and old age of an individual. He implies that the low fertility of the upper classes is due to their being farther along on "the parabola of their evolution;" they are viewed as old and biologically incapable of an adequate fertility. He traces the evolution of nations through four stages marked by a progressive weakening of the reproductive instinct. He holds that not only nations and races, but individual family strains pass through this evolutionary parabola, with a period of rapid rise in fertility, a period of moderate fertility, and then a rapid plunge into the oblivion of sterility. This parabola is conceived as a predestined course like the maturity and senescence of the individual. A population is thus conceived to become biologically senescent. He speaks of "the slow exhaustion of the reproductive powers of human populations and of animal species, that is to say, of their germinal cells."

This theory leads Gini to mention the Eskimos as a senile race and the Italians as a young one. Now it may be doubted whether such phraseology has any factual basis. The germ cells are renewed each generation; they are just as young in one generation as in another. If they had a tendency to senescence, it would seem that the whole human race must have perished long ago. Moreover, there are both mystical and fatalistic qualities about such a theory that render it unpalatable. If we designate as fecundity the capacity to produce mature gametes, this is an inherited trait and can change in numerical value in a population only in consequence of mutations or of those selective processes which favour the more or the less fertile strains to the detriment of their opposites. (F. Hankins in the *Eugenics Review*, London.)

B. K. S.

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7. New Light on Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan

Much new light on the lives and religious attitude of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan is expected to be thrown by the discovery of a number of hitherto unknown records long housed in the *Math* at Sringeri. In the possession of the *Jagadguru* at Sringeri, there are thirty-two records all of

which pertain to the reign of Hyder and Tipu. Most of these are letters written by Hyder and Tipu to the Swami of the *Math*. At the top of these letters a round-rayed seal is found and the paper used for these letters is invariably of red colour. In chronology, they range between 1781-1798 A.D. They are dated in the years of Mauludi Era which begin from the birth of Mahomed the Prophet. In most cases, the corresponding Hindu Cyclic years and months and *Thithi* or lunar dates are given. These letters are of special interest to us, for they are couched in the most respectful language, even while they attempt to speak of an alien faith. Whenever they are addressed to the *Swami*, they generally open thus:—

"To Sachchidananda Bharati Swami possessed of the usual titles, '*Srimat Paramahamsa*' and so forth the *Salam* of Tipu Sultan Badshah."

By these letters, it appears, that there was a regular correspondence between these Muslim Rulers and the *Jagadguru Swami* of Sringeri. Both father and son always regarded this Hindu Saint with great reverence and sincerely believed in his religious powers. In every one of their letters, it may be invariably seen, that they have requested the *Swami* to pray for the welfare of their subjects and for the destruction of their triple foes, *viz.*, the Mahrattas, the English and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The following translation of one of the letters of Hyder makes this aspect clearer—

"You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for every one to cherish a desire to respect you......I have herewith sent to you through Ramji 1 elephant, 5 horses, 1 palanquin and 5 camels; gold cloth for the Goddess *Sarada*, 5 pieces of silk cloth for the standard (Nisani), a pair of *shawls* for your use and 10½ thousand rupees have been sent. Please send us your blessings and pray for the welfare of our people and for the destruction of our triple foes."

Even Tipu Sultan seems to have preserved the same filial connections with the *Swami*. About more than half of the letters found in the *Math*, are written by him. He has shown unusual interest in the affairs of the Sringeri *Math* from the very beginning of the reign. In one of his letters, we find reference to the fact that in 1790, several Mahratta horse men led by Parasu Ram Bhahu raided the *Math* at Sringeri; killed and wounded many Brahmins and others alike, pulled out the Goddess *Sarada* and carried off everything found in the *Math*. As a consequence of this raid, the *Swami* left Sringeri and was living with four of his disciples in Karkala, a village near it. While in that hopeless plight, the *Swami* applied to Tipu Sultan for help in the form of men and money for the reconsecration of the Goddess *Sarada*. The way in which Tipu met the *Swami's*

request is very magnanimous as can be seen by his own letter which runs as follows—

"........people do evil deeds smiling, but will suffer the consequences weeping. Treachery to *Gurus* will undoubtedly result in the destruction of the line of descent. An order is enclosed to the *Asaf* of Nagar directing him to give you on behalf of the Government 200 '*Rahatis*' in cash and 200 '*Rahati*' worth of grain to the consecration of the Goddess *Sarada* and to supply other articles if desired. You may also get the necessary things from the villages. Having thus consecrated the Goddess and fed the Brahmins, please pray for the increase of our prosperity and for the destruction of our triple enemies." (*The Hindu Illustrated Weekly.*)

8. Discovery of Ancient Images

A number of ancient images have recently been discovered at the village of Pakkam about 12 miles east of Thiruvannamalai by Mr. T. C. Aravamuthan, Advocate and Numismatic Assistant of the Government Museum, Madras. The most important of the images is a Pallava one of about 650 A. D. and it was found on the top of the hill at Pakkam about 350 feet above the ground level. The image is of *Durga* and is popularly known as *Nilagiri Amman.* It is almost of full human height and stands facing the distant Thiruvannamalai temple and is an extraordinary good specimen of Pallava sculpture. Right at the foot of the same rock was found half buried a very fine image of *Mahishasuramardini* in the attitude of repose after having killed the buffalo demon. This also is about full height and may be assigned to the early tenth century. In the middle of the village was found a complete set of *Sapta Matrikas* of very fine workmanship. They may belong to the 9th century. In another part of the village was found a *Jyeshtha Devi* of much the same period lying in the midst of numerous broken lingas. Mr. Aravamuthan has also obtained information of other images in the vicinity attributable to about the same period. This discovery and the recent discoveries at Sathiamangalam open up a new area to the quest of the Archaeologists which seem to be full of promise.

9. Au Illustrated Persian MSS. on Hindu Music

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta announces that the precious illustrated Persian Manuscript on Hindu Music lately acquired by the Maharaja Tagore in London, where it found its way mysteriously from, it is believed, the "Hermitage," Russia, has now arrived from London. It was written by command of King Muhammad Shah and formed, together with the world-famous Peacock Throne, part of the plunder taken at the sack of

Delhi in 1793 and conveyed by Nadir Shah to Kabul and thence to Persia.

At the request of the Maharaja the Manuscript has been translated into English by Professor Wilkinson of the British Museum for the benefit of the Western musical world. It is understood that the Maharaja intends to exhibit this historic Manuscript in some of the public libraries of Calcutta before it is published, and finds a permanent home at the Victoria Memorial Hall where it will be preserved as a gift from the Maharaja.

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10. An Unpublished Minute of Warren Hastings

It will be a news to many that the idea of the transference of the Imperial seat of Government from Calcutta to some other central place in Northern India originated as early as 1782 with Warren Hastings, the great but much maligned pro-consul. He was firmly convinced, rightly or wrongly, that the permanency of the British dominion in India could never be ensured while Calcutta remained the capital city.

The following minute, hitherto unpublished, but now brought to light by Mr. C. Collin Davies in the pages of the *Asiatic Review*, April, 1933, is to be found amongst his private papers deposited in the British Museum. "For some unknown reason although addressed to the Board, it was never actually submitted." The minute speaks for itself and no comment is necessary. "That this was his opinion in those early days when the Company's northwest frontier marched with the territories of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh is sufficient proof that Hastings, had he foreseen the later expansion of the British dominions in India, would have been a staunch supporter of a more central political capital."

As the document is an important one from the historical point of view, we quote it below in full, except two passages which refer to the land round Colgong where it was Hastings' proposal to remove the capital from Calcutta. Colgong, it may be mentioned, was situated on the Ganges and was included in the modern province of Bihar.

Minute of the Hon'ble the Governor General for removing the seat of Government from Calcutta to Colgong, dated June 4, 1782. (British Museum, Add MSS. 29,2000, fol. 210-218.)

From the hour of my arrival in Calcutta in the year 1772 to the present time I have continually lamented, and have had continual cause to lament, the defects of its situation as the capital of a powerful dominion and the source of a vast political system. Instead of a central distance, or a position from which its authority could issue with the speediest communication to every part of its jurisdiction, it stands in a remote angle at the distance of

three or four hundred miles from its circumference, and within fifty of its southern boundary, and on the lower extremity of a rapid river at a distance which may be estimated at less than one month from its intersection with the frontier line in its descent, and its ascent three.

The clim te of Calcutta, though greatly improved by the care which has been occasionally bestowed on it, was within my memory very pernicious, and may be still accounted the most unfavourable to a European constitution of any in the provinces. Its remote situation furnished the grounds of the multiplied sovereignties which I found dispersed over the country on my accession to the government, and has been the principal cause which has even to this time frustrated all the endeavours of the present united administration to fix the collections of its revenues and the exercise of its power to the capital, exclusively of all the evils which have grown out of a licentiousness encouraged by impunity, and that impunity assured by the impossibility of exercising a penal control over those parts which are removed beyond the reach of inspection or information.

The unwholesomeness of the air is an essential objection. Every man who has resided in Calcutta must have experienced a debility in the powers both of the mind and body which he has not felt in other places; yet there is none where more business is conducted nor where subjects so frequently occur in the ordinary course of business which require an unremitted attention and the faculties of the mind in their fullest energy. We are all born to pursuits of pleasure, interest, and ambition; and the calls of official duty, though our only ostensible occupations, are but the secondary instruments to one or all of those ruling principles. I am forced to use this reflection, because it furnishes the only clue to another great evil derived from the situation of the present capital. The habits of society, are less prevalent, and the amusements of private life are fewer in Calcutta than perhaps in any other city its equal in wealth and population.

These defects may be ascribed to the humid and relaxed state of the air, and to the dead uniformity of the face and productions of the country. The impulse of pleasure is therefore precluded from all artificial aids, while its natural force is diminished by the tendency of the body to disease, or checked by the cautions which are necessary to avoid it: and the other incitements to action are only powerful in a great degree as they facilitate the means of deliverance from a state of irksome existence, and of restoration to a land to which the memory recurs as the scene of youthful enjoyment, and where the objects of ambition and interest are as permanent as the expected term of life itself.

To this source is to be ascribed that impatience which every sojourner in this country shows to leave it, and the consequent solicitude with which many have been reproached for the accumulation of wealth, which they must attain to attain that end, and in the pursuit of which their desires and means must cease with it. The rapid succession of men in authority is unaccountable on any other grounds to those who view their condition with all the advantages of power and fortune which are annexed to it. I am myself a single exception in a list of eight persons who have been placed at the head of this government since it began to acquire the consequence of a political state, and whose periods of service divided between them have scarcely exceeded two years for the portion of each. The fluctuations in the next degree of rank have bore the same proportion.

These frequent changes of men who by constitutional pre-eminence, or by the weight of personal influence, have possessed a superior share of rule in the government itself have naturally tended to impede the consistency of its acts, and afford one reason why the numerous and rich materials which fortune has thrown into the lap of the Company have never

been arranged into system, but remain even to this hour an unimproved and almost useless mass. A government to be prosperous must be permanent. Those who plan great measures should see and feel their own interest and reputation connected in their success, and should remain in power to aid and support them in their operations. In a series of successive authorities little is attempted out of the beaten track but by that in being to undo what had been done by that which preceded it.

It will be remembered that the town of Calcutta was first occupied by a few frugal adventurers who erected their huts without design or order where it suited their separate convenience or fancy. These as they multiplied served to direct the lines of the streets and lanes, which could not afterwards be corrected or modelled to any regular plan, because of the value and rights of private property which opposed it, however necessary to the health and safety of the inhabitants. Besides these, every other improvement which could be suggested for the police or for convenience of the town was, and is liable to the same, and as I am assured, insuperable difficulties, if the rigour of the law is allowed to operate against it.

* * * * * *

Hitherto I have considered the situation of Calcutta in relation to its own dependencies.

As the seat of a great political dominion its inconveniences are yet greater, since its communication with all the powers in alliance with it is restricted to correspondence by letters, and to the agency of local Residents. On every urgent emergency the occasion of action is past before a letter can be written and an answer return to it, even the distance between the Presidency and its nearest connection, which is Lucknow. As to personal interviews between the first members of the government and the chiefs with whom it is in alliance or negotiation the distance renders it almost impossible, yet if my assertion may be credited and allowed to stand in the place of a long train of reasoning upon a subject apparently self-demonstrative, but too delicate for liberal discussion, there may be occasions in which none but the principals in authority on both sides could effect a solid arrangement. By the effects of frequent intercourse friendships might be conciliated; attachments improved; the harshness and unpliancy of remote claims softened by personal converse; mutual confidence established; and the genuine wishes of the heart exchanged, which shame or distrust will restrain, where they can only be made known through intermediate channels, exposed to witnesses; the field of knowledge would be expanded; and the means of information facilitated.

Even a nearer approach without that advantage would be productive of many of the same effects in less though proportionate degree.

In confirmation of these specific conclusions, and as a general argument in favour of the proposed removal, it may be safely presumed that any place which on mature reflections, founded on local examination, and on its application to the actual state of our existence shall have been selected to form the seat of government, must exclusively of other considerations be preferable to one assigned by accident to our first adventurers and continued to their successors down to the present time through all the successive deviations which they have undergone from their commercial character.

The only objection of any weight which has occurred to me, and which I feel as such, is the loss which individuals may sustain by it in their private property, which is fixed to the soil and which must lose its value as its use will be less in demand. To this objection I must oppose the advantages which I suppose will be derived from a separation of the

government and its numerous dependencies from the commercial body of the people. The latter have certainly lost much of their professional character by too mixed an intercourse, and are most likely to regain it when they have no longer the examples of other modes of life presented to them : and with such advantages as Calcutta possesses as a port of trade, and such as it derives from the productions and manufactures with which these provinces abound, and their facility of transportation, it may be reasonably expected that whenever the pursuits of its inhabitants shall be wholly confined to trade, its wealth will increase and draw other occupants to it to repair the loss of those whom it is proposed to remove from it.

The expense which will be obviously suggested as an objection will be none : at least it ought not to be one. The immediate charge of the removal of the offices of government, and an allowance for temporary erections for the accommodation of the members and officers of government would be apparently considerable, but would vanish to a very small sum, if the same expense, as it is paid in Calcutta, were deducted from it. A house might be thought necessary for the governor because he would require one on a larger scale than such as could be had for hire, the general plan on which all houses of private property are constructed being adapted to the purposes of many, to ensure their being occupied. But this want equally subsists in the present residence of the government, and will not probably be corrected till an abundant treasury shall warrant the expense. The rest of the town will of course be laid out in lines which will serve as directions to the streets and squares of it, and let in shares to individuals under fixed and constitutional conditions and restrictions. This will be an accession of revenue, not an expense. Fortifications will not I hope be deemed necessary.

I shall add only one word in respect to myself as the author of this proposal. The term of my residence in this country cannot in the course of things be of much longer duration, and some years must yet pass before what I have proposed can be allowed to take place. It is therefore evident that I can have no personal interest in its accomplishment, and the credit of it, if any, will be wholly theirs to whom the charge of erecting the new foundation shall be assigned. I too shall bear my portion of the loss which will fall on the proprietors of landed property in Calcutta.

If the Board shall agree with me in their judgment of the measure which I have projected I recommend that it be referred with their opinion upon it, and the accompanying report and survey transmitted to the Court of Directors, by the approaching dispatch; that if they shall approve of it, they may apply for an act of Parliament to empower the Governor-General and Council for the time being to transfer the seat of government either to the situation which I have recommended (*i.e.*, Colgong), or to any other that shall be judged more eligible, or to declare more generally that in whatsoever part of the provinces the members of the government or the major part of them shall be, the powers of the government shall accompany them, or in other words that the government shall exist in the persons of those to whom the exercise of it is entrusted, and not in the place of their assigned residence.

I venture to close the subject with my decided opinion that the permanency of the British dominion in India can never be ensured while Calcutta continues to be the capital of it.

N. R.

Reviews and Notices

The Indian Tariff Problem—By Hirendralal Dey, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.), Lecturer in Economics, Lucknow University. pp. 304. Allen and Unwin, London.

The purpose of the book is to make a critical examination of the effect of the tariff on the development of Indian industries. The author shows an intimate acquaintance with the existing literature on tariff-making in its theoretical as well as administrative aspects. He has laid under contribution a large number of official and non-official publications bearing on the problem of the Indian tariff. The results of his investigations have been embodied in the book under review which is at once scholarly and stimulating.

The first chapter is devoted to an examination of the arguments advanced by the Indian Fiscal Commission in favour of a policy of discriminating protection, while the remaining portion of the book is a realistic study of the tariff in its relation to Indian cotton, steel and sugar industries. Dr. Dey is an ardent believer in the principles of free trade. He comes to the conclusion that the existing protective duties in India are based on imperfect and inadequate analysis, and are not in consonance with the policy of " discrimination " emphasised by the Indian Fiscal Commission. These duties have an injurious effect on the distribution of the national income and tend to handicap the export industries in the foreign market and the unprotected industries in the domestic market.

The theoretical and, what one may call, the academic arguments against a policy of protection have been skilfully marshalled in this volume. But there are one or two observations which may be made here regarding the effect of the tariff on the aggregate national savings. The author concedes that protective duties might convert potential capital into invested capital, but argues that such duties are likely to cause " a diminution of the aggregate amount of potential capital (*i.e.*, savings) " in a country. It is not clear whether the author has in mind the long period effect of protection or whether he contemplates merely the immediate short period effect. Even a staunch free trader will admit the possibility that protection might in certain exceptional circumstances increase the national dividend and national capital. But this special case cannot be pleaded in support of a

general policy of protection. If however, we envisage a comparatively short period it is necessary to remember that protective duties might set in motion a number of forces which, although harmful from the point of view of the aggregate national dividend and its distribution among different income groups, might on the whole prove helpful to the growth of national capital.

It will be readily admitted that the transfer of income from the poor to the rich brought about by a system of protective duties on the necessaries of life, is bad from the distributional aspect and harmful to physical efficiency. There can be no doubt that such duties adversely affect the purchasing power of the people with small incomes. But it is also relevant to argue that protective tariffs on the necessaries of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving. If these sums had been retained by the poor these would have been expended on consumption goods, whereas the sums diverted to the rich are likely to be reinvested. Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that in so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be reinvested.

It is also pertinent in this connection to enquire into the effect of protective duties on the growth of joint-stock companies. In a modern society saving has to a great extent become impersonal and automatic in its nature. For the world has come to rely increasingly on corporate savings and the savings of public authorities for its supply of capital. It has been estimated, for instance, that company reserves now supply as much as 40 per cent. of the total annual British savings. The stimulus given to company promoting might therefore result in a growth of national savings. The manner in which super-tax is levied on company dividends may also be regarded as a contributory cause of the growth of capital. For it is well-known that, generally speaking, undistributed profits of companies are exempt from such a tax. All these considerations are very important in any study of the effect of protection on national savings. It may very well be argued that even if protective duties have an injurious effect on national dividend, they might in certain conceivable circumstances stimulate the growth of capital.

But while it will be conceded in theory that this possibility exists, no one will construe this as a valid argument for the levy of protective duties. For the increase of capital, if any, is obtained at the expense of the con-

sumer. The injurious effect on distribution outweighs any possible benefit to national savings.

The ultra-protectionists in India will find some food for reflection in the very able and critical study of the development of cotton textiles and the iron and steel industries. The reviewer came across only one misprint in the whole of the book. On page 23 in the analysis of the customs and excise duties in Great Britain, section (*b*), " total tax revenues (£ m 271·85) " should read " total customs and excise revenue (£ m 271·85)."

J. P. Niyogi

A Theory of Laughter—By V. K. Krishna Menon, M.A. Allen and Union, London. *5s.* net.

Mr. Menon's exposition of the theory of laughter can hardly be described as a notable contribution to our knowledge of the subject, but his book will be read with interest. He refers at the outset to some of the most authoritative pronouncements on "the origin of laughter," and in so far as these pronouncements reveal the foundations on which theories of laughter have been built, Mr. Menon's way of approaching his subject is felt to be the right one. He writes very thoughtfully on such topics as sense of humour, satire, ridicule, sarcasm and irony, and his exposition is lucid and convincing. His mastery of the English language cannot be questioned.

Mr. Menon asserts in his preface to the book that the pronouncements made by philosophers like Hobbes, Bain, Baillie, Bergson and McDougall reveal more divergence of thought than agreement. These divergences are declared in one part of the preface to be fundamental ; but this does not deter Mr. Menon from advancing a theory of laughter of his own which "comprehends and reconciles the observations of those great writers."

It would appear that Mr. Menon is not altogether convinced that the divergences are fundamental. He confesses at the end of the preface that the theories of laughter to which he refers "are not after all so contradictory to one another, coming as they did from men who were not foolish or ignorant."

After this preface one would expect the author of the book to subject these theories of laughter to a careful examination. But he makes little endeavour to do this and is content to build up his theory on the foundations laid for him by others, notably by Spencer and McDougall.

While there is much in the arguments advanced by the author in dealing with certain aspects of the problem that would bear the closest examination, some of the statements and generalisations made in the book are not very convincing. Occasionally one is inclined to dispute the validity or the relevancy of an argument and to question the soundness of a conclusion.

In laying great writers under contribution Mr. Menon sometimes wrests unusual expressions out of their context and leaves his reader rather perplexed and helpless. The helplessness is all the greater because the reader is left without any guidance that would enable him to trace the extracts to their sources. Mr. Menon has also a tantalizing way of sometimes touching only the fringe of a question that arises naturally and pertinently out of the examination of his problem. Many readers of the book would perhaps feel that the author's exposition of particular aspects of the problem is inadequate because there is this tendency in him to minimise or ignore their importance.

While he sometimes leaves his reader unconvinced by his somewhat cursory remarks on relevant topics like the nature of tickling and its relation to laughter, or the relation of humour to intelligence, he devotes considerable space in the last three chapters of the book to subjects like the value of criticism, the matter of tragedy or the place of fate in tragedy. At the end of the book the reader rather unexpectedly comes across an elaborate dissertation on the greatness of tragedies of Shakespeare. It is not very easy to find a connecting link between literary excursions like these and the main theme of the book.

H. K. B.

Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha (Story of the Past from Newspapers), Vol. II, 1830-40.—By Brajendranath Bandyopadhyaya. Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, Calcutta. 1340 B.S. Price, Rs. 3-8-0. Special rates for members of the Parishad.

Mr. Banerji is to be congratulated upon having brought out so speedily a second volume to his valuable compilation of newspaper records, already reviewed in our journal. The present volume, spread over more than 500 pages, divided into several sections of education, literature, society and religious belief, and with its addenda and illustrations, contains substantial

information of a highly important character, which the Parishad has done wisely to publish. Mr. Banerji is already known, indeed too well-known to the reading public, to require any introduction. His painstaking and intelligent scrutiny of old newspapers has unearthed many facts about the past, and he has now made his sources available to the Bengali readers by compiling and editing these two volumes which bring down the story of Bengal from 1818 to 1840.

The period has marked in some respects an important stage in the history of progress of modern Bengal. It was the age when English was definitely accepted as the medium of instruction, when Derozio's logic and Richardson's literary taste told upon the young minds of Hindu College students, coming from respectable Hindu families of Calcutta, when various corrupt practices were vigorously attacked and put down under the definite lead of Lord Bentinck; in short, it was the age of an all-round social reconstruction. Young Bengal, however unbalanced, has managed to totter up to the present times, and the book contains sufficient materials by which we may recount the earlier steps.

The volume is, in addition, a sufficient testimony to the fact that in Bengali literature there is something worth study beside the novel and the poetry. The hi story of our literature has begun to occupy the attention of earnest men, and *Sambādpatre Sekāler Kathā* is one more evidence of the pre-eminence of Bengal in things literary.

A word is necessary to express our appreciation of the illustrations of Bengali life prefixed to the book; they will show that the Bengali physique had been much stronger "a hundred years from to-day." The index, moreover, to such a book of reference (and the book must be accepted as such) will be made welcome as a very useful help, and still more the benevolence of the publishers in fixing a very small sum as the price of the book.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

At Home and Abroad

[*A Monthly Record of News Relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities and other Academic and Cultural Institutions*]

London University Buildings

Those who had once been connected as students or otherwise with the University of London will be interested to know that the new permanent home of the University will occupy the Bloomsbury site, as it has come to be called. This consists in all of about 10½ acres. It is situated north of the British Museum, is bounded on the east by Russell Square and Woburn Square, on the west by Malet Street, and on the north by Byng Place and Gordon Square. The roads which formerly intersected it have been closed, so that it is now an island site, and when in the course of years the buildings are completed they will stand almost surrounded by trees and will themselves surround open green spaces. Centrally situated and easy of approach, the site is in every respect ideal for its purpose.

Proposed Palestine University

The following have agreed to serve on the All-India Committee in aid of the Palestine University, which the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem hopes to found as a centre of Islamic culture.

His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir Abdul Kerim Ghuznavi and Nawab Habibulla (Bengal); Sir Mahomed Iqbal, Sir Feroz Khan Noon and Khan Bahadur Haji Rahim Bux (Punjab); Sir Mahomed Yusuf and Khan Bahadur Nawab Hamid Hussain Khan (United Provinces) ; Maulana Shafee Daudi (Madras) ; Syed Murtaza Saheb ; Sir Abdul Quayum; Haji Abdulla Haroon and Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi (Sind).

Some of the promoters are now in India trying to raise funds for the proposed University.

Serampore College : Power of Conferring Degrees

The recent report of the Inter-University Board, India, for 1932-33 reveals an interesting fact with regard to the Serampore College, one of the earliest educational institutions on western lines, in Bengal. This fact is

contained in a letter received by the Board from the Principal of the College. The relevant extract is quoted below:

"I note that you desire to include Serampore in the next issue of the *Handbook of Indian Universities*. I trust, however, that when the time comes for the next issue to be prepared, you will place the Serampore section in the main body of the work, rather than in an appendix, inasmuch as Serampore has full University Powers conferred by Royal Charter. It is true that hitherto this power has been used for conferring degrees in Theology only; but its right extends to all branches of learning. Serampore was of course the first body In India to receive University Powers by Charter. In view of these facts its rightful place is among the Universities.

Separate University for Gujrat

At a meeting of persons interested in literature and education, held at Ahmedabad on July 5, last, under the auspices of the Gujrat Vernacular Society, Dewan Bahadur Keshavlal Dhruva presiding, it was resolved that a separate university for Gujrat based on the language standard and with national outlook is absolutely essential for the Gujrati-speaking people.

The resolution further urged the Government to give due consideration to the rights of Gujrat along with the rights of Maharastra for a separate University.

A copy of the resolution was telegraphed to the Education Minister of the Bombay Government.

Osmania University

The Report issued by the Registrar of the Osmania University for the year 1340 *Fasli* contains an interesting account of the progress made by the University in various branches of education. The imparting of higher education through the medium of an Indian Vernacular is certainly a very bold experiment the University has launched, and it has proved eminently successful.

In pursuance of the policy of providing an intermediate college for every revenue division, an intermediate college was opened during the year at Gulbarga. Steady progress is being made in the promotion of research in the various departments and during the year under review research scholarships tenable for two years were sanctioned for Theology, Urdu, Arabic, Persian, Philosophy, Physics and Chemistry.

According to the latest report issed by the Translation Bureau attached to the Osmania University there were 193 meetings of the Terms Committee, in which 4,846 Urdu equivalents of technical terms were coined.

Physical Training in Bombay Schools

The Bombay Municipality has decided to introduce compulsory physical training in Municipal schools.

At a meeting recently held the report of a committee recommending, after consultation with experts, a scheme including Indian exercises, in addition to a Western system, was adopted.

More Schools for Mysore

At a meeting recently held of the Mysore District Board at the Capital and presided over by the non-official President, Mr. B. S. Puttaswamy, the Board's finances for the year were reviewed and the Budget proposals for 1933-34 were approved.

The School Board's Budget for the coming year was presented separately. A sum of Rs. 2,78,000 is expected to be contributed by the Government as their share towards the maintenance of 1,200 schools and a sum of Rs. 1,15,000 is anticipated to be realised from the education cess. It is proposed during the coming year to open 250 more schools, towards which the Government's grant is provisionally expected to be Rs. 39,000. The Education Budget provides for an increased expenditure of Rs. 30,284 over that of the previous year on Kanarese and Urdu, and depressed class education. Rs. 53,477 is provided for depressed class schools during the coming year against Rs. 48,790 during the previous year.

Hyderabad Teachers

Colonel D. G. Sandeman, Chairman of the Secunderabad Cantonment Board, presided over a meeting held at the Y. M. C. A. hall on July 6 last, to celebrate the first anniversary of the Primary School Teachers' Association. The Association was formed with the object of promoting the social, physical and intellectual welfare of the 80 teachers employed in primary schools.

The Honorary Secretary, presenting the annual report, said that as a result of this effort for improving the methods of teaching and encouraging teachers to take more interest in their pupils, not only had the standard of teaching been raised, but members have been enriched with new ideas, and ideals, and the discipline and methods of teaching improved.

Mr. S. M. Hussain, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, in the course of his address stressed the need of proper training for teachers and made a number of suggestions for the improvement of the profession.

Retirement of Assam Educationist

With the retirement on July 4 last of Dr. David Thomson, Principal of Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam lost one of its beloved educationists.

Dr. Thomson arrived in India in February, 1911, and was posted to Cotton College as Professor of Chemistry. He acted for some time as Inspector of Schools, Surma Valley and Assam Valley Divisions, during which he initiated many beneficial reforms.

Dr. Thomson also acted as Principal of Murarichand College, Sylhet, and as Director of Public Instruction, Assam, for some months in 1925.

Poona Public Workers' Training Institute

With a view to providing our country with trained Public Workers in all fields of work and service the Public Workers' Training Institute was started in Poona on July 16, last. It aims at enabling Public Workers to serve their cause in a more authoritative and effective way. The Institute will, therefore, attempt to equip students with up-to-date knowledge of their particular subject or subjects along with necessary information of the present world problems, and provide practical instructions in public speaking and writing. The Institute expects and invites students of the graduate rank and desirous of social service. Five scholarships of Rs. 15 each will be awarded according to intellectual calibre and experience of social work. Instructions will be offered in the following subjects: Social Welfare, Economics, Politics, Law, Administration and International Problems. Among the members of the Board of Study are such names as Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Prof. V. G. Kale, Prof. D. G. Karve and Dr. N. B. Parulekar. Mr. D. N. Shikhare is the Secretary and Pandit Dinakar Shastri Kanade, M.A., the Tutor. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Laxmivilas, Cimanbag, Poona.

Post-Graduate Studies in Bombay University

The presence in Poona of a large number of educationists from all parts of the Presidency in connection with the last University Conference was utilised by Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, to call a meeting at the new Poona College, on July 9, last, of all Post-Graduate professors and lecturers in the Presidency. Discussion centred on post-graduate studies in relation to the Bombay University and particularly in Poona.

Professor Saldanha of Gujrat pointed out that the three colleges at Bhavnagar, Junagadha and Rajkot found it difficult to co-ordinate their work being far apart from one another. It was, therefore, suggested that each of the three colleges might specialise in one line, and students might go from college to college for instruction as in European and American universities. Prof. D. V. Potdar of Poona told how sometimes professors found that occasions for their contact with students were extremely few. Principal Dr. Gadgil suggested a local board of studies to be set up for the purpose of arranging lectures.

Speaking about library facilities Prof. Potdar suggested that catalogues of all local and Bombay libraries should be made available at one place, thus helping students easily in locating books they needed. Prof. S. V. Damdekar asked whether the Deccan College Library could not be made a nucleus of Post-Graduate studies.

Winding up the discussion, the Vice-Chancellor promised that all the points raised at the meeting would be tabulated and put forth before the Syndicate meetlng in August next.

Assam Educational Service

Following is an extract from the Proceedings of the Government of Assam in the Education Department:—

With the approval of the Government of India, the Government of Assam have been pleased to sanction, with effect from the 1st. January, 1932, the scheme detailed below for the organisation of the new Provincial Educational Service of the province. With effect from the 1st January, 1932, the new Provincial Educational Service will take the place of the hitherto existing higher Educational Services and will be comprised of two classes—Class I and II. Class I will be on a scale of pay of Rs. 250—25—300 (on confirmation)—40-2—500 (Efficiency bar)—50-2—650 (Efficiency bar)—52-2—800 and Class II on Rs. 175—185—195 (on confirmation)—10—225—(Efficiency bar)—10—355 (Efficiency bar)—10—425. All the existing posts in the Indian Educational Service and the Assam Educational Service (including the Lecturers' Grade) will be merged in the new service. Provision has been made in the new service for the three special posts in the Indian Educational Service, which were in existence on the 9th March, 1926, and for any other post which the Government of Assam may declare as special. The teaching posts in Colleges allotted to Class I shall be those in which the teacher is required to be capable of teaching honours classes. Posts on special pay may be created when necessary to provide for those required to teach up to the M.A. or M.Sc. affiliation.

The scheme will not affect any person who was a member of the Indian Educational Service on the 9th March, 1926.

Co-education in Schools and Colleges

Under the auspices of the United Provinces Hindu Association an interesting debate was held in the Kalibari Hall, Simla, on July 3, with Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt., M.L.C., Minister for Agriculture, Punjab Government, in the chair. The proposition for debate was "That in the opinion of this House immediate introduction of co-education in schools and colleges is in the best interest of India."

The debate was opened by Dr. Parmanand, who supported the proposition on economic, social and educational grounds and laid great emphasis on the utility of co-education in various spheres of life with special reference to India. Mr. K. S. Sauhta, Bar.-at-Law, in seconding the motion stressed the fact that for the economical and educational advancement of India the introduction of co-education was essential. He observed that co-education afforded better opportunity for exchange of ideas between the members or the two sexes, which was the crux of the right type of education.

In according a whole-hearted support to the proposition Mr. Gopalan, Librarian of the Imperial Secretariat Library, defined that education existed for life, of life, by life. Co-education, in his opinion, had a very high place in preparing men and women to lead lives of ideal citizens. Mr Gopalan mentioned that co-education in the sense of co-instruction, already existed in many Elementary Schools and Colleges, and it would be quite uneconomic to open separate institutions for girls and boys. The evils of co-education such as premature love obsessions in schools and colleges were exaggerated in the country, which, he opined, were not due to any inherent defect of the system. Much of the roughness of boys and the sentimental habits of girls would disapppear if a well designed scheme of co-education were propounded.

Mr. B. S. Raizada who led the opposition made an interesting speech emphasising the differences between the two sexes and pointing out that development of life in India up to now did not permit of co-education at this stage.

Miss Yamuna Lele who followed Mr. Raizada related her school and college experience and made out a case for co-education. She pointed out that during the first year of her college life the boys were a bit mischievous. But she did not mind it as she thought that the boys were not

used to association with the other sex. Their behaviour however improved during the second year, until it became ultimately quite normal. This, she said, was practical proof of co-education. She said that a strong-minded girl became stronger in her mind by being educated with the boys.

The two sisters Misses Kalavati Varma and Leelavati Varma both spoke against the motion. They emphasised the differences of the two sexes and they made their argument with reference to the greatness of India and said that they produced great women in the past without co-education.

Prof. Mathews who also spoke against the motion related his experience in America, England and India and pointed out that co-education was proving a failure over there and they were not encouraging it. So he advised India not to risk the danger which Europe and America had done. He also pointed out that the experiments of co-education in Oxford and Cambridge was not very much successful. The professors were all against co-education.

The motion being put to vote was lost by a large majority of votes.

New Home for Delhi University

Recommendations for the allocation of the Old Viceregal Estate in Delhi to the Delhi University and its colleges have been made by a committee appointed by the Government of India and consisting of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the officiating Educational Commissioner with the Government of India and the Chief Engineer (Mr. F. T. Jones.)

The committee is understood to propose that the Old Viceregal Lodge and the existing buildings associated with it should be reserved for the university as such—that is, for its central administrative offices, etc. The whole Estate consists of roughly 150 acres and these, it is suggested, should be allocated among the constituent colleges for college buildings, hostels and playing grounds.

It is hoped that the whole Estate will be made over to the University in course of this month and the task of moving the University offices and library to their new quarters will begin soon after the present term ends. St. Stephen's College intends to start work on its building programme as soon as it has acquired its portion of the new land.

It is hoped that when the new hostels are completed, Delhi will have a cent. per cent. residential university forming a compact academic colony in excellent surroundings, where there will be slightly more unitary or "federal" control and supervision than there is now.

Higher Education in Andhra

The report of the General Inspection Commission appointed by the Andhra University and presided over by Sir S. Radhakrishnan has recently been issued. One of the Commission's principal recommendations is that every College should have a Governing Body representing the management as well as the teachers in addition to the Principal.

It is pointed out that in certain departments of study there is too much of lecturing and that the lecturers lack enthusiasm for their subject. The Commission thinks that only those who have obtained a first or second class in the Honours or an equivalent examination and possess an aptitude for research should be employed as teachers.

To make physical training more effective, the Commission suggests that the training be made compulsory in the first two years of the University course.

In many ways another important part of the report is that dealing with the teaching of English, which justifies the apprehensions of those who feared that when English became a second language, though a compulsory subject, its teaching would decline in quality and efficiency. "An important and compulsory subject is thus reduced to an accommodating convenience," says the report.

Below we quote a few extracts from the Report:—

"The inspection of the Physics and Chemistry Departments of the Colleges of the Andhra area indicates that more interest should be evinced by members of the teaching staff in current scientific progress than is the case at present. If the sciences are to be taught effectively, it is necessary that the teachers should keep themselves in contact with the more significant advance of knowledge by reading regularly the principal treatises and periodicals and endeavouring to keep their teaching abreast of the realities of their subjects and of its practical applications. We feel that in the interests of education in the Andhra area the colleges should endeavour to fill vacancies on their staff with men who have received a research training and that they should, when the services of such men are obtained encourage them to continue active participation in research."

"To the extent that biology is a regional study the development of this science must depend upon the investigation of the local flora and fauna ; and this University, being on the coast, can provide exceptional facilities for the study of marine plants and animals."

"The creation of a small marine biological station at Vizagapatam with a museum and aquarium attached to it will do much towards this end, and will also stimulate popular interest in a subject which is rapidly growing in importance."

Poona University Proposal

His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay, addressed a conference convened in Poona by the local Government to consider the question whether the time has arrived for the establishment of an additional university in the Bombay Presidency. As Chancellor of the Bombay University, His Excellency said that he was aware of the magnitude of the burden that it was carrying and wondered whether it was necessary that it should be relieved of some portion of its responsibilities.

The Committee on University Reform reported in 1925 that only in the Matriculation Examination could the number of candidates appearing be considered unwieldy. The Committee considered that local and linguistic universities would be provincial in the worst sense of the term, narrow in outlook, and would be governed by racial, commercial or linguistic prejudice to an extent not possible in a cosmopolitan university like that in Bombay. His Excellency, therefore, warned the conference against centres of disruptive forces and not strongholds of national culture and unity. After reminding the conference that little assistance could be expected from the Government, His Excellency quoted the figures which the University Reform Committee had considered necessary, if a Maharashtra University was started at Poona, a capital of Rs 10 lakhs with an annual expenditure of Rs. 2½ lakhs.

Dewan Bahadur, S. T. Kambli, Education Minister, who took the chair after the departure of the Governor, said that he was against the establishment of regional universities on grounds of expense, as also the difficulty of affiliating two professional colleges at Poona to a university restricted to a single linguistic area. Mr. N. C. Kelkar suggested that the conference should first discuss the desirability of accepting the policy of gradual establishment of regional universities for specified areas, as recommended by the Bombay University Reform Committee of 1924-25. Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, after repudiating the charge that the promoters of the scheme were actuated by political motives observed that the idea of a regional university was repugnant to him, as it would be stopping the march of progress. He asked that the Bombay University be given a chance to improve its administrative machinery. He, however, would welcome a residential university for Poona instead of a regional one. Principal Khadye, Wadia College, Poona, supported the idea of a residential university. At this stage the Minister gave a ruling that a regional university as understood by the University Reforms Committee was not a residential one but a territorial one on a linguistic basis. Principal Balkrishna, Kolhapur College, said that there

was no demand for regional universities from Sind, Gujrat and Karnatak. He stood for a residential and unitary type of university. Professor P. A. Wadia, a member of the Syndicate of the Bombay University, opposed the present scheme as it would, he said, be crippling the financial resources of the Bombay University. He added that the experience in respect of the experiment of starting the Andhra University in Madras on merely political considerations or as a concession to linguistic considerations was sad.

Referring to the question of the burden on the parent university of Bombay owing to the large number of students at the Matriculation examination, the speaker observed that Calcutta which had thrice the number of Matriculation students was conducting its university efficiently, and he could not see any reason why they could not do so. In European countries there were no regional universities.

Compulsory Education for Girls in U. P.

A communique issued by the U. P. Government, dated Naini Tal, July 12, says:—

At its meeting held on Feb. 17, the United Provinces Legislative Council adopted the following resolution moved by Mrs. Kailas Srivastava, M.L.C.:

That this Council recommends to the Government to take necessary steps to make primary education compulsory for girls in areas where there is already compulsory education for boys.

Government have accordingly invited from such municipal and district boards as have introduced compulsory primary education for boys, opinion on certain points regarding financial and administrative arrangements of the proposed scheme.

The sanction of Government to the introduction of the boards' scheme will depend on funds being available and voted by the Legislative Council.

Dacca Teachers' Conference

The annual session of the Dacca District Teachers' Conference will be held at Munshiganj on 12th and 13th August next. Sj. Charuchandra Banerjee, Professor of the Dacca University, has consented to preside. A strong Reception Committee, with Sj. Surendralal Sen, Head Master of the Ichhapura High School as Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Sj. Sasankakumar Adhikary, Teacher, Munshiganj High School, as its Secretary, has been formed.

New Buildings for Andhra University

The new buildings of Andhra University which are now under construction at Waltair, consist of the College of Science and Technology, at an estimated cost of Rs. 2,90,000, the College of Arts, at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,56,000 and three blocks of hostels. The hostels, according to the original plans, were to be each two stories high, costing Rs. 47,000 each, but the revised plans provide for three stories in each block, which will bring up the cost to approximately Rs. 60,000. The three blocks of hostels will accommodate 150 students.

The Universities building programme includes provision of quarters for the Officers, a Convocation Hall, Library building, etc., to be taken in hand as funds permit.

The buildings now under construction were begun a year ago, and it is hoped will be completed in the course of the next two months. The ground floor of the College of Science and Technology is now ready for occupation, and when the University College re-opened after the summer vacation, on July 3, classes were held in this building, and "Bobbili Hall," so magnanimously placed at the disposal of the University authorities two years ago by the Rajah Saheb of Bobbili, has now been vacated.

Nagpur University Amending Bill

The Select Committee, to which the Nagpur University Amending Bill of 1932 was referred has submitted its report.

It is a bill on the lines of the Punjab University Act, and seeks to confer the privilege on librarians and library clerks to appear privately in any University examinations.

The Select Committee has practically maintained the form of the bill as it was introduced in the Council. The Hon. Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, Minister for Education and Mr. C. E. W. Jones, Director of Public Instruction, have signed the report subject to a minute of dissent. Their principal objections are that acceptance of the Bill would mean acceptance of the principle that the University should admit external students which is a radical change in the constitution of the University; secondly, that the number of persons who are likely to benefit from the passing of the bill is so insignificant that the non-passing of it would not cause much hardship and thirdly, that the University is opposed to it on grounds both of principle and detail.

Dacca University Convocation

His Excellency, Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Dacca University, presided over the annual Convocation of the University on 22nd July last, at the Curzon Hall before a distinguished gathering of educationists and public men.

The Dean of the Faculty of Arts presented to His Excellency Dr. Radhagobinda Basak and Dr. Binoyendranath Ray, on whom degrees of Doctor of Philosophy was awarded by the Dacca University. Diplomas were then given to 29 graduates of the University. The Chancellor's medal and prize was awarded to Kalyankumar Sengupta.

The Vice-Chancellor in his speech referred to the achievements during the session of the teachers and students of the University in different branches of research and investigation, specially in the departments of Philosophy, Economics, Bengali and Sanskrit, History, Chemistry and Physics. He also referred to the expansion scheme which the University has in contemplation for the establishment of a Department of Botany and Bacteriology with a view to co-operating with the Department of Agriculture in providing scientific and practical training in Agriculture.

In course of his Convocation address as Chancellor of the University His Excellency the Governor observed:—

"A University can never retain its freshness and vigour unless it is able to cater for and to attract at all times some whose circumstances enable them to pursue knowledge for its own sake. On the other hand, success must be measured for the majority by a practical test and for this purpose degrees and diplomas must be won in circumstances which make them a real test of scholarship and they must not be cheapened from a quite intelligible, but utterly mistaken, desire to popularise a particular institution."

With reference to the proposed establishment of a Department of Botany and Bacteriology, the Chancellor dwelt on the financial position of the University and said: "I cannot go all the way with the Vice-Chancellor and promise that the provision of teaching in Botany and Bacteriology will be financed by the Government whenever funds are available. I cannot at this stage promise and I should not like the University to nourish the hope that this or any other particular scheme of the University can at the present stage be given a first claim on any surplus that may become available."

"Government have in any case" he continued "a peculiar interest in the University of Dacca in its development and in its efficient working if only because Government was the custodians of the provincial revenues

are responsible for seeing that the province obtains the highest possible return for the money invested in the University. As you know, two-thirds of our revenue in the University of Dacca is derived directly from Government. If the interest on balances is included, two-thirds becomes three quarters. Even if, therefore, no other than financial considerations entered into the matter, the fate of the University could never be a matter of indifference to Government."

His Excellency, in conclusion, indicated his views as to "the great need for taking stock of our educational position and for endeavouring to settle by means of a conference of all concerned the lines upon which our course for the more immediate future should be marked out. I feel that there is ground that could most usefully be covered at such a conference. I would, for example, suggest that one of the principal objects that a conference should aim at securing is econony of effort and expenditure by the avoidance of unnecessary overlapping and wasteful competition."

Gift of Books to Dacca University

In his Convocation speech the Vice-Chancellor acknowledged with thanks gifts of books made to the University by Mrs. P. K. Ray, Fellow, Calcutta University, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Mrs. Roy has presented to the University "the very valuable collection of philosophical books made by her late husband Dr. P. K. Ray. Dr. Ray was a former Principal of Dacca College and by the influence of a great and gifted personality, most vitally influenced the development of higher education in Bengal. The gift of his books has therefore a peculiar value because of its association with Dr. Ray and the University accepted it from Mrs. Ray with the deepest gratitude." Sir Jadunath Sarkar has presented the University with a collection of rare books in Portuguese bearing upon the history of Portuguese voyages to India in the 15th and 16th centuries and the colonies which they then established.

Dacca's Next Vice-Chancellor

A resolution was adopted at an extraordinary meeting of the Dacca University Executive Council recommending the appointment as Vice-Chancellor of Mr. A. F. Rahaman, formerly Provost of the Muslim Hall and Reader in History of Dacca University for five years or Mr. G. H. Langley, the present Vice-Chancellor, for three years with preference to the former.

Mr. Langley, who was Professor of Philosophy of Dacca University, was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University in January, 1926, for five years in place of Sir Philip Hartog, first Vice-Chancellor of the University. Mr. Langley was re-appointed Vice-Chancellor for a further three years in 1931 and his term of office will expire in December.

Deccan College, Poona

Strong efforts are afoot to retain the Deccan College which Government are contemplating to abolish.

A deputation waited on the Governor of Bombay with a view to press on him the advisability of handing it over to a body of men who would undertake to finance it.

The leader of the deputation was the Chief Saheb of Aundh. Among other deputies were Mr. G. R. Gadgil, Profs. Sathe and Kale, Dr. Belvalker, Mr. Kamat, Prof. Kapadia and Miss Wadia.

The Deputation urged that they were confident of financing the college, but they experienced difficuties, because of Government's declared intention to do away with the college properties.

His Excellency assured the Deputation that Government was not bent on selling the properties and make money. The Deputation were free to present a more assuring financial situation to that Government could reasonably and sympathetically consider their offer.

Ourselves

THE LATE MR. J. M. SEN-GUPTA.

The sudden and untimely death of Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta has plunged the whole country into grief. It has created a void in our public life which it will be difficult to fill. The University of Calcutta claims Mr. Sen-Gupta as one of its *alumni*. He left for England while an undergraduate and joined the University of Cambridge for higher studies. He obtained the Law Tripos at Cambridge and was called to the Bar in 1909. On his return to India he was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court in 1910. For several years he practised at Chittagong where his father, the late Jatramohan Sen-Gupta was the acknowledged leader of the local Bar, a man of great influence in his days, respected by all for his services to his country. Mr. Sen-Gupta later on joined the High Court and practised here for several years. He specialised in criminal cases and his services were requisitioned in connection with several celebrated trials in and outside Bengal. He possessed great forensic ability ; well-versed in legal principles and a master of facts, he was looked upon as a fearless advocate who fought the case of his clients hard and well.

Mr. Sen-Gupta was a man with a vivid personality and was equipped with all the qualities of a leader. He loved his country truly and well and made ungrudging sacrifices for a cause which he considered right and noble. His charm of manners was proverbial and attracted everyone to him. Indeed there was something in his character which inspired the respect and admiration of even those who did not see eye

to eye with his politics. The place which he occupied in the hearts of his countrymen, was amply demonstrated on the day his mortal remains were brought down to Calcutta from Ranchi. On that day Calcutta paid his memory a homage which may well be the envy of princes and kings. Not hundreds, not thousands, but *lakhs* of men, women and children assembled, irrespective of caste, creed and nationality and followed the bier in mournful silence through the streets of Calcutta.

We offer our respectful condolences to Mrs. Sen-Gupta and her sons in their terrible loss, which is indeed the loss of the entire nation.

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The Late Dr. Abhaykumar Guha

We have heard with deep regret of the sudden death of Dr. Abhaykumar Guha, M.A., Ph. D., at the age of 60, on 12th July last. Dr. Guha was appointed University Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy in 1919, and served in that capacity till 31st May, 1933. It is true Dr. Guha had not been in the best of health for some time past but none of us anticipated that his end was so near. He was a man of scholarly habits and was a keen student of Indian Philosophy. He was one of those Nature's good men who never made any enemies. Dr. Guha was a dauntless champion of the interests of the Post-graduate Department. About twelve years ago when the activities of the Department were being severely criticised in a certain section of the press, Dr. Guha spared neither himself nor his pen in advocating the cause of Post-graduate studies in Calcutta, and we cannot but recall with gratitude the services he then rendered to the University. We convey our sincerest condolences to his widow in the loss she has suffered.

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THE LATE MR. BAIKUNTHACHANDRA ROY

It is our melancholy duty to record also the death of Mr. Baikunthachandra Roy, M.A., who was Principal of Krishnath College, Berhampur. Mr. Roy was only 57 years of age at the time of his death. He was a brilliant graduate of the University and after passing his M.A. Examination in Mathematics in 1900 he acted for some time as a Professor at Patna and Delhi. In 1908, he joined the Krishnath College, Berhampur, as Professor of Mathematics and after serving the Institution for 19 years with great ability and distinction he was called upon to fill the post of Principal in 1928. He was regarded as a successful teacher and administrator, who earned the spontaneous respect of his colleagues and students. We offer our sympathies to the members of the bereaved family.

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OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, our Vice-Chancellor, is now in England. He attended several important meetings and Conferences on behalf of the University. He was appointed the chief delegate of the University in connection with the celebrations held in London at the time of the laying of the foundation-stone of the new London University Buildings by His Majesty the King-Emperor. We have learnt with pleasure that the University of London have awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Sir Hassan Suhrawardy on that occasion. We offer our hearty congratulations to him.

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New Tagore Professor

The Senate at their meeting on 22nd July last appointed Dr. James Mackintosh, K.C., LL.D., Tagore Professor of Law for 1933 in accordance with the unanimous recommendation made by the Faculty of Law. Dr. Mackintosh is Professor of Civil (Roman) Law at the University of Edinburgh and is a scholar of international reputation. The subject of his lectures is "Some Principles of Roman Law in Modern Practice."

* * *

New University Readers

Mr. G. Montague Harris, O.B.E., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, author of 'Local Government in many lands' and other books, has been appointed by the Senate a special Reader to deliver a course of three lectures on 'Comparative Study of Local Self-Government and Regional Planning.' Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A., has also been invited to deliver a course of lectures on 'Indian Cameralısm.'

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Some New University Appiontments

On the recommendation of the respective Selection Committees the Senate have recently appointed some new lecturers and assistant lecturers in the Post-graduate Department. They include several brilliant graduates of this University, who after obtaining their Master's degree have made advanced study in their own subjects which has brought credit to themselves and their University. Special mention may be made of five of them who have been appointed whole-time teachers of the University. They are (1) Dr. Abanibhushan Dutt, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), who was Professor of Mathematics in Ripon College, (2) Mr. Humayun

Z. A. Kabir, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Oxon.), who, since his return from Oxford, has been serving as a Lecturer in the Department of Philosophy at Andhra University, (3) Dr. Syed Hidayatullah, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), who worked for some time as a temporary Lecturer in the Department of Botany, (4) Dr. Bratisankar Ray, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Gottingen) who also acted as a temporary Lecturer in the Department of Applied Mathematics for more than a year, and (5) Dr. Subodhgobinda Chaudhuri, D.Sc. (Cal.), who was serving as a Physical Chemist at the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine. We offer a cordial welcome to all the new teachers.

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BENGAL PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE.

Professor Jnanendranath Mukherjee, D. Sc., Khaira Professor of Chemistry, has been appointed representative of this University on the Bengal Provincial Agricultural Research Committee for three years.

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A NEW DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Mr. Asutosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Brajamohan College, Barisal, has recently been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of our University. He submitted his thesis on 'Studies in Post-Sankara Dialectics,' which was examined by a Board consisting of Professor F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford, Professor Adityanath Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., and Rai Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, Bahadur, M.A. Dr Bhattacharyya deserves our special congratulations, for we fully appreciate the difficulties under which he had to carry on his

advanced study and research in a college situated outside Calcutta, where adequate facilities were not always available to him.

* * * *

ASUTOSH TRAINING COLLEGE

It will be recalled that attempts were being recently made to start a new college in Calcutta affiliated up to the B.T. Standard. An application to this effect was made on behalf of the Governing Body of the proposed college which had elected the Hon. Sir Bepinbehari Ghosh as its President. The College was inspected by Principal J.R. Banerjea, Principal Cameron and the Inspector of colleges on behalf of the University. Their report was carefully considered by the Syndicate and certain conditions were laid down which the authorities of the college were called upon to fulfil. One of the conditions was that a sum of Rs. 10,000 at least should be deposited in a Bank to form part of a Reserve Fund. The Senate after full discussion decided to recommend the grant of affiliation. There can be no question about the urgent necessity of a second training college for teachers under the Calcutta University. The David Hare Training College is admittedly inadequate to cope with the large number of applications that are received every year for admission to its classes. The Government of Bengal, however, while realising this necessity have refused to grant affiliation to the new college. We very much regret this decision. It appears that the main reason for this refusal is that Government have not been satisfied that the proposed college will not lower the standard of the B. T. Degree. In the first place Government express a 'doubt whether the whole-time staff suggested will be capable of conducting satisfactorily the technical teaching of the students.' We find that the authorities of the college proposed to appoint 4 whole-time teachers,

in addition to several part-time teachers whose services would be available for dealing with any special topics. We may refer to the number of whole-time teachers now employed at the David Hare Training College. It consists of the Principal and 4 teachers. Apparently this is sufficient for maintaining a proper standard of teaching in this institution. We fail to understand why the same criterion should not be applied to the proposed non-Government college which arranged to have on its staff 4 whole-time professors and a number of part-time men. As regards the qualifications of the members of the staff, out of 5 teachers in the Government college, 4 are holders of the B. T. degree. The description of the members of the staff of the proposed college also shows that all the whole-time teachers were to possess the same qualification.

Government are not also satisfied whether the schools selected for practice teaching would be quite suitable. We confess we are unable to appreciate the force of this observation. On a matter like this Government must depend on the advice given by the University as contained in the report of the experts. If the schools mentioned in the report were not altogether satisfactory, surely that could be remedied without much difficulty. Government might easily have granted affiliation and made a suggestion that the University should examine the desirability of having the practical classes held in another set of schools. This is obviously a question of detail which could easily have been settled satisfactorily, once the college was allowed to start its work.

We find that at the end of the Government letter a suggestion has been made that representatives of the University should discuss with Government the most satisfactory means of increasing the supply of trained teachers, and if the immediate establishment of the college is considered necessary, the basis upon which it should be established. The Syndicate have passed a resolution thanking Government for their offer

of co-operation in a matter which is of such vital importance to the educational interests of the province. The Syndicate have, however, rightly pointed out that before such a discussion takes place the University should have definite information as to the lines on which Government would be prepared to render help. The Syndicate are particularly anxious to know what additional grants Government would be in a position to make for this purpose, for, after all, there can hardly be any improvement of quality unless adequate financial assistance is forthcoming. The promoters of the proposed College duly carried into effect the condition laid down by the University regarding the deposit of Rs. 10,000 ; this fact was communicated to Government before their orders were passed. Apparently a private benefaction like this did not prompt Government to alter their decision. Let us, however, wait and see what financial assistance Government are themselves prepared to make for the provision of an increased supply of trained teachers for the schools in Bengal, the urgency of which is so readily recognised by Government.

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FEMALE EDUCATION

We referred in our last issue to the princely bequest made to the University by the late Rai Viharilal Mitra, Bahadur, for the promotion of education amongst Hindu females in Bengal. The Committee appointed by the Syndicate to draw up a scheme in this connection held their first meeting about a fortnight ago and decided to invite suggestions from persons interested in the problem. The Registrar has issued letters to certain bodies and individuals. It is, however, not possible for the University to approach all individually and we therefore gladly repeat the suggestion we made last month and cordially invite draft schemes from any of our readers who may feel interested in this matter.

Indeed, the time has come when definite steps should be taken for re-organising the educational system so as to suit the special needs of girls. A larger number of girls is taking advantage of the provisions of the Regulations which permit them to appear at University examinations without studying in any school or college. The number of girl students is rapidly increasing. In 1920, 116 girls appeared at the Matriculation examination ; in 1926 the number was 183; in 1932 it increased to 970. The number of girls reading in colleges has also gone up, though not in the same proportion. We need not enter into a general discussion of the defects of the present system of education ; there is, however, unanimity of opinion on the question that the present system, generally unsuited as it is to boys, is of still less practical use to girls. The fact that such a large number of girls appear at the Matriculation Examination and the majority stop their educational career at that stage is significant. It displays a growing anxiety on the part of Bengali parents and guardians to see that their daughters receive a University education before they attain an age when they are usually married and thus enter upon a new chapter of their lives. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the University to devise some scheme of studies by which Bengali girls could receive by the time they reach their 16th or 17th year an education, complete by itself and fully answering to their special requirements. The scheme of studies may be drawn up in such a way as to make it possible for some of these girls, who may so desire, to pursue higher studies at the University. The special provisions for girls in the new Matriculation Regulations might be scrutinised in the light of these observations.

Another important need is the provision for the supply of an adequate number of women teachers. We believe that their services would be specially helpful if any scheme of primary education is ever to succeed in practice. The Bethune College, for reasons into which we need not enter here to-day, has ceased to occupy the position which it once

did in the past. It has been suggested that the activities of the college may be turned in the direction of providing necessary instruction for training women teachers. At any rate this may usefully be made one of the principal features of the college.

The University have now a great opportunity for taking the lead with regard to the future of female education in this province, an opportunity, we are glad to repeat, which has mainly been created by the munificence of a patriotic son of Bengal. The University, however, can never act single-handed in this matter. The co-operation of all is essential for the successful disposal of a problem which is as vast as it is complex. We have every reason to expect that such co-operation will be forthcoming from all quarters.

* * *

M.A. Classes at Gauhati.

As a measure of retrenchment the Government of Assam have decided to abolish the Post-graduate classes in English at Cotton College, Gauhati. The result of this decision has been that the post of the Senior Professor of English at the College has been abolished and Assam has lost the services of a brilliant Oxford graduate, Mr. P. G. Abraham, who had already established his reputation as a teacher of great distinction.

It may be noted in this connection that the Cotton College was the only institution outside Calcutta which was affiliated up to the M.A. standard. The Director of Public Instruction, Assam, approached the University with the request that the students who were in the Fifth-year class in 1932-33 might be allowed to appear at the M.A. Examination in 1934 as non-collegiate students. Unfortunately this is not permissible under the Regulations. It is indeed a matter for regret that the classes should have been discontinued

without making any arrangement for the completion of studies of those students who had already been admitted into the college. The Assam Government should have continued the sixth-year class for another year so that the interests of the students already admitted might not have suffered in any way. We would draw the attention of the Hon. Minister of Education, Assam, to this aspect of the matter and request him to reconsider the decision of Government.

* * *

NEW MATRICULATION REGULATIONS.

The new Matriculation Regulations were considered by the Senate about a year ago and were forwarded to Government for sanction on 30th September, 1932. The principles underlying the draft regulations have been under consideration of the University and Government for more than ten years. We are anxious that no further time should be lost in giving effect to the Regulations. We know that there is room for difference of opinion in respect of some questions of detail, but sanction should not be delayed on this ground. The regulations deal with various complex problems and it is hardly to be expected that there will be unanimity of opinion on all points. In our opinion the new regulations are, on the whole, based on sound principles and they should be allowed to work. It is possible, however, that some of the detailed provisions may have to be amended in future in the light of actual experience. We trust Government will be in a position to accord early sanction to the regulations.

* * *

RECENT CHANGES IN THE B.COM. REGULATIONS.

Among the recent changes in the Regulations sanctioned by Government, we may refer to those affecting the B.Com. Examination. Certain important alterations have been made with

regard to the courses of study to which we need not draw special attention in these columns. They will appear from the *Calcutta Gazette* where the Regulations are being published. There are two points, however, to which we may make special reference. Under the present Regulations for the B. Com. Examination, a candidate is examined in an Indian Vernacular *other than his own* or in French, German, Chinese, Japanese or Italian. This provision has often led to practical difficulties, particularly in respect of the maintenance of a proper standard of examination in the different Indian Vernaculars. The Regulations have now been altered and a candidate is in future to take *any one* language out of the following :—

Bengali, Hindi, Assamese, Urdu, Japanese, French, German and Italian.

The other point to which we desire to refer is about the conditions which an unsuccessful candidate must fulfil before he may be allowed to appear at a subsequent examination. The Regulations at present provide that such a failed candidate may appear at a subsequent examination provided he produces a certificate of good conduct and diligent study for six months before the examination from the Head of an affiliated college or a University professor or lecturer in his subject or any other authority approved by the Syndicate. But it was not clear whether it was intended that the candidate was expected to actually read either in an affiliated college or in the University B. Com. classes during this period. With regard to several other examinations, it may be noted that an unsuccessful candidate has to read for one full year before he is permitted to appear at a subsequent examination. The Regulations for the B. Com. Examination have now been altered, so as to make it incumbent upon such a candidate to study in a recognised institution for six months before he may appear at a subsequent examination.

* * *

A New Endowment

Mr. Khondakar Gholam Ahmed has offered to the University 3½% G.P. Notes to the face value of Rs. 600/ for creating an endowment, for the annual award of a prize of books to the successful candidate who obtains the highest number of marks in Arabic at the Matriculation Examination amongst the candidates from schools situated in the district of Burdwan. The prize, states the donor in his letter, is to be awarded to the candidate "irrespective of caste, creed and religion."

The Syndicate have accepted the offer with thanks.

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Subjects for the Jubilee Research Prizes for 1935.

At the meeting of the Syndicate held on June 23, 1933, the following subjects were selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in Arts and Science for the year 1935 :—

Arts :

"Cultural Aims and Ideals of the People in Ancient India."

Science :

"A Comparative study of the Indian and European Food-stuffs both by Chemical and Biological methods with special reference to Vitamin A and D contents of Indian fishes."

* * *

M. A. & M. Sc. Examinations

The M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations commenced on 17th July and are about to be over. The number of candidates for the M.A. Examination this year is 515 against 389 in 1932. 179 candidates appeared at the M.Sc. examination this year against 163 last year.

* * *

Among Our Latest Publications

Among our publications of the last month *Manusher Dharma* (Religion of Man) which consists of a series of three lectures in Bengali delivered by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore as the Kamala Lecturer for the year 1932, is certainly the most important, and is bound to interest the widest circle of readers. *Indian Writers of English Verse* by Mrs. Lotika Basu, B. Litt (Oxon.), which is another important publication of the month, is, as remarked by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in a Foreword, "an arresting record of the first reaction of the Indian mind to the spirit of modern literatures reaching us through the great English writers of the 19th century." The subject has been treated in an interesting manner, and presented with a synthetic vision of its historical and literary significance. *Science of the Sulba* by Dr. Bibhutibhushan Datta, D. Sc., is based upon the Readership Lectures of the author delivered in 1931. The whole purpose of the book has been to get as much insight as possible into the knowledge and achievements of the Hindus in the science of Mathematics, more particularly in the Vedic science of Geometry, technically called the *Sulba*. *The Linguistic Speculation of the Hindus* by Dr. Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, M.A., Ph. D., has grown out of the author's researches in the field of linguistics extending now over a decade and is a distinct contribution towards our knowledge of the subject.

The latest volume of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Vol. XXIII) consists of ten papers on a variety of subjects *viz.*, Currency, Iconography, old Bengali Literature and Linguistics. The volume of the *Journal of the Department of Science* (Vol. X) consists in all of nineteen papers on all branches of science including, Botany, Geology, Zoology and Mathematics.

SCHOLARSHIP RESULTS OF I.A. AND I.SC. EXAMINATIONS, 1933

The Scottish Church College of Calcutta has won this year the distinction of claiming three of the ten senior scholarships (of Rs. 25 each) on the combined results of the Intermediate Examinations in Arts and Science. The first place is, however, scored by a student of the Serampore College which has the privilege of claiming the eighth place as well. The Cooch-Bihar Victoria College has also two of its scholars among this band of chosen ten. The St. Paul's College and the Ripon College of Calcutta and the Brajamohan College of Barisal have each a scholar securing the rest of the three scholarships. Among the thirteen special scholarships of Rs. 20 a month for girls, we are glad to find, two have been carried off by two Mahomedan girls, both from the Diocesan College. Four of these scholarships have been claimed by girls of the Loreto House, three by those of the Bethune College, two by those of the Scottish Church College, two of the Diocesan College and one each by two girls of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Krishnath College, Berhampore.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1933



AN ADDRESS ON HINDU CULTURE *

——*By* D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.), F.A.S.B.

Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture
Calcutta University

IT is indeed a piece of good luck that members of different Boards of Higher Study of our University have met together this afternoon. What is most curious is that we have never met before now, although the object of our activities is practically identical. It is as if brothers not knowing their blood relationship, should look upon one another as strangers and not join hands for the common good of their family. Whether we belong to the Sanskrit, Pali, Anthropology, Comparative Philology or the Ancient Indian History and Culture Board, we are striving for the same end, *viz.*, the exposition of Hindu Culture. It is true that the Board to which I have the honour to belong has a high-sounding name, *viz.*, Ancient Indian History and Culture, yet, believe me, we cannot do without your help and co-operation. The sources of our knowledge of Hindu Culture are as varied as

* Delivered before the Calcutta University Cultural Association on Wednesday, 8th March, 1933.

numerous. One of them is surely Archaeology. It is this source of history that is principally studied by my Board, but there are other sources of our knowledge which are equally, if not more, important, namely, Sanskrit literature and Philosophy, Pali literature and Buddhism, Linguistics and Phonetics and, last but not least, Ethnology and Anthropometry. The ancient culture of India has manifold aspects and a historian can do but little with Archaeology if it is not re-inforced by all other sources of knowledge, such as are made accessible by your Boards. Let us therefore bear in mind the most basic and important fact that we are all members of the same fraternity with precisely the same end in view, namely, the interpretation of Ancient Hindu Culture and Civilisation, not only to our country but to the whole world.

In fact, it was the outside world that first tasted Hindu culture and found it nectar. For a long time we did not know what a rich heritage had come down to us from the hoary antiquity. Like the musk deer we were roaming on and on in search of cultural fragrance, not knowing that the cyst which was diffusing odour to the world now as ever before was with us and of us. It was the European scholars and philosophers who pointed it out to us about three quarters of a century ago. Thus one European writer, Prof. Heeren, calls the Hindus "a poetical people;" another, Max Müller, styles them "a nation of philosophers;" and a third, a lady musician, Anne C. Wilson, describes them as "essentially a musical race." According to another scholar, Brown, "Hindu is the parent of the literature and the theology of the world." Various are the aspects of the ancient Hindu culture and civilisation which have feasted the European mind and made it dumb with awe. It is not possible to do justice to them all. We will therefore select just a few points connected with Ancient Indian History and Culture to indicate how important is the study of that history. We first take up the epic poetry of the Hindus. No less a statesman and historian than Mountstuart Elphinstone says:

"All who have read the heroic poems in the original are enthusiastic in their praise, and their beauties have been most felt by those whose own productions entitled their judgement to most respect. Nor is this admiration confined to critics who have peculiarly devoted themselves to oriental literature. Milman and Schlegal vie with Wilson and Jones in their applause..." But why go to Milman and Schlegal who were after all literary men? Even an eminent scientist, Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, who simultaneously with Darwin announced the Theory of Selection, says: "I have now finished reading the Mahabharata which is, on the whole, very fine, finer, I think, than the Iliad." The English philosopher, Herbert Spencer, condemns the Iliad *inter alia* for the reason that 'the subject matter appeals continually to brutal passions and the instinct of the savage." But says Monier Williams: "There are not wanting indications in the Indian epics of a higher degree of cultivation than that represented in the Homeric poems. The battle fields of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are not made barbarous by wanton cruelties and the description of Ayodhya and Lanka imply far greater luxury and refinement than those of Sparta and Troy."

So much for the epic poetry of Ancient India. As regards Sanskrit drama, it is scarcely necessary to mention how the German poet, Goethe, began to cut capers when he first read Sakuntala, the masterpiece of Kalidas, though in mere translation, and composed a small *prasasti* in honour of the heroine. Nay, the prelude of this drama is known to have suggested to him the plan of the prologue on the stage in Faust. As regards Lyric Poetry in Sanskrit, the following passage from the late Prof. Macdonell's book on Sanskrit Literature deserves notice: "But those who are properly equipped can see many beauties in classical Sanskrit literature which are entirely lost to others. Thus a distinguished scholar known to the present writer has entered so fully into the spirit of that poetry that he is unable to derive pleasure from any other."

Speaking of Hindu philosophy Prof. Weber says: "It is in this field and that of grammar that the Indian mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility." Now, the fountain source of the Hindu philosophy is two-fold, namely, the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. The Upanishads have been called by Schoupenhauer, as "the noblest products of the religious consciousness of mankind." "Oh, how thoroughly," says the German philosopher, "is the mind here washed clean of all early grafted Jewish superstitions and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions. In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beautiful and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, and it will be the solace of my death." It is scarcely necessary to add that Schopenhauer was one of the greatest philosophers of modern times. And when he says in regard to the study of the Upanishads "it has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death," you can easily imagine that he placed these Hindu scriptures far above even the Christian Revelations. The other source of Hindu philosophy, as you will know, is the Bhagavadgita which was first translated into English by Charles Wilkins as early as 1785. Since then it has been translated into a number of European languages and has been held in the highest estimation. In fact, it has become a part of what we may call world-literature. When the translation of Charles Wilkins first appeared, it comprised a letter to Nathaniel Smith by no less a personage than Warren Hastings, who, though he, along with Lord Clive, laid the foundations of British empire in India, says in that letter that works like the Bhagavadgita "will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance." Hindu philosophy is derived from the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita and reached its highest perfection when it culminated into Vedantism. And see what view another European scholar has expressed about Vedantism. "If

philosophy," says Max Müller, "is meant to be a preparation for a happy death, or Euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedanta Philosophy."

It is not merely the epic or lyric poetry or the philosophy of the Hindus that has cast a spell upon the European mind. It is almost every aspect of the ancient Hindu culture that is impressing the modern European world and casting its mentality in a different mould. Prof. Macdonell is thus perfectly right in saying: "The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has been undeniably great. It may perhaps be greater still in the years that are to come. As early as 1882 when the great Max Müller delivered lectures on India before the University of Cambridge, he uttered the following words in his impartial fearless style: "Whatever sphere of the human mind you may select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion, or mythology, or philosophy, whether it be laws or customs.........everywhere, you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India, and in India only." This is by no means an exaggerated statement. Take the sacred language of India, namely, Sanskrit, from which most of the vernaculars are derived. In regard to it, Prof. Bopp, father of modern philosophy, says: "Sanskrit is more perfect and copious than Greek and Latin and more exquisite and eloquent than either." "In grammar," says Max Müller, "I challenge any scholar to produce from any language a more comprehensive collection and classification of all the facts of a language than what we find in Panini's Sutras. It is therefore no wonder if the study of Sanskrit and Panini has rendered invaluable help in the development of the Science of Language. "It has been truly said," says Max Müller, "that Sanskrit is to the Science of Language what Mathematics is to Astronomy." In another place the same German savant says emphatically: "I believe I shall not be contradicted by Helmholtz,

or Ellis, or other representatives of phonetic science, if I say that, to the present day, the phoneticians of India of the 5th century B. C. are unsurpassed in their analysis of the elements of language." Precisely the same thing may be noticed about the Science of Mythology and the Science of Religion. Thus "the poetry of Homer," says the same scholar, "is founded on the mythology of the Vedas," and without the Veda, he remarks "the science of mythology would have remained a mere guess-work and without a safe basis." Similarly in respect of the science of religion he says : "I do not think therefore that I am exaggerating when I say that the sacred books of India offer for a study of religion in general and particularly for the study of the origin and growth of religion, the same peculiar and unexpected advantages which the language of India, Sanskrit, has offered for the study of the origin and growth of human speech."

It is not a matter of surprise if Hindu culture and civilization has not only excited the wonder and admiration of the European world but has also been found serviceable to them. In fact, the Hindus have been known to be the teachers and civilizers of mankind, at any rate of all the countries and peoples that came in contact with it. It is scarcely necessary for me here to repeat what we already know that up till the advent of the Muhammadans every foreign tribe that entered into India has been completely hinduised. It is not simply the Sakas, Pallavas, Hunas and other barbarian hoards but also the civilized Yavanas or Greeks who succumbed to the charm of Hindu culture and religion. They not only adopted one Hindu faith or another but in most cases assumed Hindu names also. What however causes wonder and delight is that this Hindu culture made myriads of converts outside India also. It was on the mind of Asoka that the idea was first dawned of subjugating the whole world, not by terrestrial but by spiritual conquest, not by brute force but by soul force. He claims to have achieved much success in this career of world

conquest through *dhamma*. And we have reason to suppose that he has not exaggerated the results of his missionary propaganda. For, we know that not only on Christianity but also on other religious sects such as the Essenes and the Therapeutae the incontrovertible influence of Buddhism has been traced. It was however in Asia that Indian culture produced its maximum effect. How India colonised and civilised Eastern Asia, Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan cannot but make a most ravishing history ; but if any justice is to be done to this field of Indian activity, it will require no less than three lectures for its elucidation. Everywhere in these regions we light upon unmistakable signs of the prevalence of either Buddhism or Brahmanism or both. To take only one instance, Burma was so long thought to be completely given up to Buddhism only. But thanks to the unflagging zeal of Mr. Niharranjan Ray, formerly a Research Scholar, now a teacher of this University, he has been able to trace images of Brahma, Siva, Vishnu, Surya and also Mahishasuramardini in that country, showing that Brahmanism was once flourishing there side by side with Buddhism. The names of places and countries also are of Sanskrit origin. Burma is Brahma-desa; Cambobia, Kamboja; and Java, Yava. The old capital of Siam was Ayodhya, and that of Annam Champa. Nay, Sanskrit and Pali inscriptions have been found in numbers and these countries are studded with the vestiges of temples and edifices which are in style and mythology either Buddhistic or Brahmanical, that is, of course Hindu. Even to this day Hindu influence is stamped upon the language and manners of the people of South-eastern Asia. Thus Dr. Skeat, a well-known philologist, has found that the oldest loan-words in the language of the Malaya-Polynesian world are " words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas coming from India." The Polynesian singers to this day sing religious songs, which according to Mr. A. H. Keane are "echoes as it were of the Vedic hymns." Nay, the Muhammadans of these islands "to this day are the bearers of Sanskrit and Sanskritised names." Sir

Devaprasad Sarvadhikary met one such Muhammadan in 1912 in Leyden, the capital of Holland, and he spoke good Sanskrit. Of course, there were political conquests and military occupations in these regions, but they were few and far between; but all these parts of Asia comprising Tibet, China, Japan, the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula, the Isles of the Indian Archipelago, Cambodia, Annam and Serindia were subjugated, not by violent military aggression but by non-violent cultural penetration. In fact, such has been the irresistible charm of Hindu culture and civilization that it has conquered practically the whole of Asia, and this Hinduism of the East surpasses the Hellenism of the West in its far-reaching and far-enduring effects. The most harrowing feature of this Hinduism, however, is that this spirit of adventure, this zeal for conquest, which the Hindus evinced in their cultural expansion suddenly evaporated just before the Muhammadan occupation of India. Let us see how far the Greater India Society of Calcutta are able to revive it.

I am afraid this address of mine is becoming an infliction, especially the quotations with which it is surcharged. But if I were to eulogize the glory and charm of Hindu culture in my own words, the outsiders would shrug their shoulders and a whisper would go round that like a *Goala* I was praising my own *Dai* or curds. There was therefore no recourse left for me but to quote the views of European scholars which, however, clearly show that many are the lessons which are taught by the History of Ancient India. To show that this History can have a practical object in view, I shall at the present juncture refer to two or three of them only. The first is the indubitable fact that Hinduism was a highly proselytising religion. It will not only reclaim many of the Hindu converts to Muhammadanism and Christianity but will also take many foreigners into the Hindu fold. This is a work for the Hindu Mahasabha to carry out and they can never be induced to do so unless the results of a critical and detailed study by us are before them. The second point to which I may draw your attention is that wherever

Hindu culture has spread, whether in India or outside in East or West Asia, the vehicle of it has all along been Sanskrit or Sanskritic language. Soon after Asoka monumental Prakrit was the *lingua franca* of India. From the third century onwards it was Sanskrit which was replaced by Hindi or Hindustani in Muhammadan times. What is the state of things now? They say that when Sir Vijayaraghavachariar was in charge of the Indian Section of the Wembley Exhibition, he found to his dismay that one illiterate Indian could not talk with another in any common Indian language and that the intelligentsia had only English as the medium of intercourse. Is this a desirable state of things, if we are to develop a healthy nationalism and also remain true to our noble tradition? It is by no means contended that we are to ignore western civilization of which English is the vehicle. That is impossible. What is wanted is that we should play the rôle of a *hamsa* or swan and separate milk from water. The good part of European civilization should be clearly differentiated from what is bad by makers of future India and should be treated as a graft upon the old stock of Indian culture and civilisation which alone is to support and nourish it, so that the graft and stock may unite and become one tree and bring forth a much better and sweeter fruit. This is the goal pointed to by a critical study of the culture of Ancient India. As it is, we are fast becoming a mere pocket edition of the Western people, imbibing again more of their vices than their virtues.

RICHARD II AND BOLINGBROKE

SOME CRITICAL ESTIMATE CHALLENGED

——*By* JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.
Madanapalle, Madras.

I

In my childhood I was taught that the theater was a camouflaged entrance to Hell, and that dramatists and actors were either apprenticed or escaped demons. Since then I have learned to sit quite comfortably in theaters from San Francisco eastward to Tokyo. Worse still, I have been numbered in the demoniacal throng as both playwright and player. Sulphuric emanations from my pen were given embodiment by Dudley Digges* a generation ago in the beginnings of the Irish dramatic movement; and I, a puny peaceable person, was, by the Devil's theatrical magic, transmogrified into a ferocious warrior in the first performances of A.E.'s "Deirdre," with Padraic Colum † as a brother demon.

My way to the perdition assigned to me by my upbringing in Ulster was paved with surreptitious editions of Shakespeare. The first step was over the bodies of Romeo and Juliet. The second step was over that of Richard of the same digit.

In later years, when I became conscious of that curious phenomenon of analytical civilization called literature, and particularly of the stalking shadow called criticism, which will not let you enjoy yourself, but must tell you all about it, I became the victim of an uneasy distrust in my intelligence, for I found

* One of the early actors of the Irish Literary and "Dramatic Revival," now a famous American actor.

† The Irish poet and essayist.

my recollections of my second juvenile step flamewards at variance with criticism. For some reason which I was not then capable of recognizing, I had conceived a respectful pity for the deposed Richard; pity for an individual placed in tragically inevitable circumstances, respect for his comportment in face of them. Criticism, with terrible unanimity in all its voices, whether its accent was that of Oxford or Cambridge or the Dublin brogue, instead of respect gave Richard contempt, and instead of pity gave him derision. I felt that something was wrong with somebody, but the circumstances of my life carried me for some years away from the possibility of putting the matter to a test.

Later, however, in the atmosphere of intellectual speculation which is native to India, as a teacher of literature I was called upon to make a study of the drama of *Richard II*, and found myself in a position at once personally pleasing and professionally awkward; pleasing in its ratification of my youthful intuition as to the character of the king, and awkward in its setting of my judgment in direct opposition to the whole body of literary criticism. Shakespeare and I appeared to have views quite different from those of the pundits; and these views are here set down.

From a comparison of the drama of *Richard II* and history we find that Shakespeare kept close to accepted facts as regards the action of the drama and the relationships of the chief characters. He was therefore familiar with certain elements in the temperamental make-up of the boy-king as displayed in acts before the opening of the drama, and these elements he must have absorbed into his psychological conception of the mature monarch. Let us recall them.

At the age of fifteen, in front of threatened revolution, Richard met the revolting peasantry face to face, while, as the historian Green tells us, "the nobles were paralyzed with fear." When the men of Kent had captured the Tower of London, the royal stripling faced the men of Essex, asked them what they wanted, and promised them their liberties. When Wat Tyler,

the leader of the revolting peasantry, was killed in Richard's presence in a street scuffle, and his followers were filled with fury at the death of their captain, the royal boy rode to the front crying, "I am your captain! Follow me!"

These were all acts of great courage. They were also acts of impulse; and experience shows that impulse may move courageously in one direction today, and equally courageously in another direction tomorrow—as Richard's impulse did when, in face of the continued turbulence of the peasantry, he withdrew his promise of liberty, and dragooned them ruthlessly into submission.

Impulsiveness was, as the life of Richard shows, his predominant temperamental characteristic. But below it, in the dim regions of the will of man, there was planted the determination to make himself a ruler of his fellows. His achievement of this determination through astute diplomacy reflects all the more on this fixed element in a character that criticism has labelled 'shifty,' when we remember that, prior to this, he had been reduced during his minority by a Commission of Regency to the position of a mere courageous puppet. "For eight years"—after attaining absolute power—says Green, "the king wielded the power which thus passed quietly into his hands with singular wisdom and good fortune......But," he adds, "the brilliant abilities which Richard shared with the rest of the Plantagenets were marred by a fitful inconsistency, an insane pride, and a craving for absolute power." We shall, I think, set the character of Richard in a truer perspective than that of the above three charges in their order and tone, if we reverse their order and speak them in a tone that recognizes the fact that Richard could be none other than himself—a man born to impose his will on others; not, however, his will as an individual (which is a desire not limited to kings or past history) but the will of the office which he held by birth.

Let us state the matter thus. Richard, believing in the divine right and power of kings, and taking pride in the office to

which he was born, determined to assert that right and power in absolute rule, and in carrying out this fixed determination he adjusted himself to changing circumstances as they arose. Put thus, we have the rough outline of a character-study in fixity of purpose and mobility of action. Add to these the courage and impulsiveness already noted, and a certain philosophical aloofness which men of impulse are given to assuming in their colder moments towards what they were immersed in before, and would be immersed in again,—and we have the Richard II of history and drama, not the Richard of historical or dramatic criticism.

So much for history and a guiding psychological generalization. Now to Shakespeare and particulars.

When Bolingbroke and Mowbray desire to fight a duel (Act 1, scene 1) Richard at first permits them to do so, as he sees no other course open in view of the temper of the rivals. But at the place of tourney he stops them (sc. 3), and gives what is in my opinion a very good reason for doing so: the probability of civil war resulting between the relatives of the earls. He therefore chooses to banish them in order to get rid of them and their menace. If we examine this action in the light of Richard's central desire to maintain his autocracy, we shall see that if one or other or both of the rivals died in the duel, Richard would have enough internal strife to cope with to put a fairly large barrier in his way to absolute rule, as it would add to the already strong enmity against him from both nobles and peasantry if he suppressed the inevitable turbulence of the rival partizans. On the other hand, while the banishment of the two earls reduced this menace, it left him faced with the possibility of future conspiracy, since the personalities, while still alive, were not likely to stay quiet for long. But it would appear that Richard had confidence that he could meet such a danger if and when it appeared—a confidence that is hardly to be interpreted as the outcome of weakness or procrastination, such as he is charged with by critics; but is more reasonably to be interpreted as the outcome of belief in his divine

rank and in the certainty of power to maintain it, even as he had achieved it.

We see the self-confidence of Richard in full action in his financial arrangements (Act 1, sc. 4, 11, 42-52) for carrying on the war in Ireland, in which, as his servant Bagot remarked (2, 2, 129-131), he struck at the wavering Commons, whose love

> "Lies in their purses, and whoso empties them
> By so much fills their hearts with deadly hate."

We see the same confidence in his seizure of Bolingbroke's inheritance on the death of his father, John of Gaunt (2, 1, 155-162), which, as York said, would "pluck a thousand dangers on his head;" and in his starting for Ireland with the effects of these actions in his wake. These would not only stir up rival enmities, but bring them to a focus against himself. This was not the action of a weak man, but of an over-confident and impulsive man, strong in assurance of his divine mission and support, courageous but unwise.

In the scene depicting Richard's return from Ireland (3, 2) Shakespeare presents us with a masterly disclosure of the character of Richard in his reaction to the several stages of realization of the state of affairs in England that had come about during his absence. Against the news of Bolingbroke's rebellious return he places reliance in divine support of his own kingly office (54-62). When he learns that the Welshmen, on whom he had counted, had gone over to Bolingbroke, he blenches for a moment; but the pale cheek of Richard the man is quickly reddened again by the confidence of Richard the divinely appointed king (76-90). When he is told of the turning of the people against him (144-177), he rails on his leaders who have allowed matters to get to such a pass; but on learning that they had died for their loyalty to him, he falls into the gloomy introspection natural to an impulsive temperament in the realization that external power has left him. And when he learns that the forces of York, to whom he had entrusted the rule of the country

in his absence, had gone over to Bolingbroke, he decides to abdicate (209-214)—an act of characteristic impulse, and, in my opinion, of not less characteristic personal courage, for his abdication would put him in the power of one whom he knew to be ambitious for rule, and who would hardly spare his life. Anyone can face death in a passion, but it takes a strong man to face it in cold blood. Richard did so, and in his action we see that touch of philosophical aloofness to which we have referred. Out of much play on words, which are more Shakespeare and his time than Richard and his time (3, 3), comes Richard's readiness to yield to necessity.

> " What must the king do now? Must he submit?
> The king shall do it; must he be deposed?
> The king shall be contented; must he lose
> The name of king? O' God's name let it go."

This adaptation to circumstances is a stable element in his character, the inevitable hollow between the crests of the waves of courageous impulse. He voices it again as he passes the queen on his way to the Tower: "I am sworn brother to grim Necessity" (5, 11, 20).

Yet hardly had Richard the king decided to do what he needs must do, than Richard the man cuts across the decision with a question to his supporter Aumerle as to whether he should not recall his acceptance of Bolingbroke's terms and die defying him. This action of Richard's has been critically construed as Shakespeare's indication of the king's vacillation and weakness. In reality it is Shakespeare's way of giving dramatic emphasis to the alternatives facing him. We cannot assume that between the courage of the boy Richard and the courage of the king in his last moments there was an uncourageous sag. Richard the man is quite ready to face death. It is not cowardice that confirms him ultimately in his decision to yield to necessity in answer to Aumerle's advice (3, 3, 131) to "fight with gentle words till time lend friends, and friends their helpful swords." The decid-

ing factor is the possibility of a chance arising of preserving the kingly office in his legitimate person, not merely of preserving his person.

In the scene of public deposition of Richard by Parliament (4, 1) it is still the kingly office that he laments ; and in lines 295-298 we have his own analysis of his life, an analysis which comes close to our division of the main features of his character into fixity of purpose and mobility of action; pride of kingly power reacting to circumstances :

> " ... My grief lies all within;
> And these external manners of laments
> Are merely shadows to the unseen grief
> That swells with silence in the tortured soul."

The inner grief is the overthrow of his fundamental assumption of absolute power as legitimately vested in him by divine right. But he has shown his ability to bend to necessity, if it be real necessity. His grief lies in his having to temporise with Bolingbroke whom he had banished, since such temporising is a virtual dethronement (3, 3, 133) :

> " O God, O God! that ere this tongue of mine,
> That laid the sentence of dread banishment
> On yon proud man, should take it off again
> With words of sooth! "

To this is added the humiliation of dethronement by usurpation (3, 3, 77) :

> " ...We thought ourself thy lawful king.
> If we be not, show us the hand of God
> That hath dismissed us from our stewardship;
> For well we know, no hand of blood and bone
> Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre,
> Unless he do profane, steal or usurp."

The last scene in Richard's life, as depicted by Shakespeare, has been regarded by critics as an exhibition of a weak and proud man playing with trivialities and phantoms. Such estimates

of the dramatic situation do not appear to take in the full significance of the circumstances. They seem to assume that Richard in his cell in Pomfret Castle is making a public show of his introspective analysis. But it must be remembered that he is in solitary confinement, and that the soliloquy, while in dramatic convention it is spoken, is in reality but the admission of the hearer or reader to the mind of the prisoner. That mind was not a sluggish or petty one. It was accustomed to high impulses to action and to corresponding action in life. Mind and body are now in captivity, away from the field of activity. It is impossible for thought to be suppressed; "for no thought is contented," he says. Our estimate of the thinker must rest on the quality of his thought. An examination of Richard's thought (5, 5) away from the influence of cheap critical, or rather uncritical, assumptions of "vacillation, of dissolving courage, of wordy lamentation, graceful trivialities and posturing on the road to extinction," shows it to be that of a mind endeavouring to find relief in adjusting memory of its former large world to its new world of prison. The two are so different that the task of adjustment seems impossible; yet, with the persistence that gained him his power in the past, he sets about peopling his "little world" with thoughts, since he has nothing else to people it with (11, 1-10).

These thoughts (in his own analysis, 11-41) are of three kinds: reflections on religious truths, with a critical glance at seeming scriptural inconsistencies; thoughts of escape; thoughts of resignation. Playing thus in his imagination, he can be king or unkinged as his thought moves. But he realizes (38-40) that neither he nor any man can be satisfied while life endures. In this there is no lamentation; and when he does lament, it is now less against his uncrowning than against enforced inactivity (60).

Richard's end, though premeditated by Exton, was precipitated by his chafing against stale patience (103) and assaulting the cell-keeper. When Exton and his men enter armed, the

impulsive courage that put the boy Richard at the head of the revolting peasantry flames out at the "rude assault" of Exton, and the dethroned king dies in battle—though in a prison cell.

Exton's tribute, "As full of valour as of royal blood," (114) is the best denial of the false psychology that an uncritical criticism has put on the character of Richard the Second.

II

Now, since the critical degradation of Richard II is complementary to the exaltation of his rival, the usurping Bolingbroke, the question arises whether the misinterpretation of the character of the first has not as complement an equal misinterpretation of the character of the second. Let us see.

It is customary in Shakespearean criticism to regard Bolingbroke as an example of patient strength and straightforwardness. This estimate of his character being accepted, it is necessary that facts be compelled to fit into the theory. If Richard postpones action or changes his mind, it is taken as a sign of his weakness or vacillation. When Bolingbroke does the same, as in changing Richard's prison from the Tower of London to the Castle of Pomfret (5, 1, 51), it is taken as indicating his foresight and patience. Richard, notwithstanding his obvious courage, is regarded with contempt as an effeminate. Bolingbroke is lauded in dramatic criticism as strong, "self-contained and assured,"—terms which sound curiously unfitting to the fact that he dethroned Richard by the exercise of the power of others whom Richard's impulsive courage had turned into traitors; which power became Bolingbroke's own master and made him the slave of Parliament. Richard, the alleged effeminate, unarmed and against long odds, died in a burst of self-forgetful impulsive courage. Bolingbroke, the alleged strong man, died at the early age of forty-seven "worn out with the troubles of his reign" (Green). This last fact is outside the drama. Let us gather up Shakespeare's exposition of Bolingbroke's character unintimidated by critical eminences.

Bolingbroke (1, 1) accuses Mowbray of dishonesty, treason, and complicity in Gloucester's death. The latter charge is a thrust at Richard, whose responsibility for the murder of Gloucester is believed in by Bolingbroke, as well as by his father, John of Gaunt, and others. What were the reasons for bringing this charge forward? Hardly merely the punishment of Mowbray the instrument, and the leaving untouched of the supposed responsible party, Richard. Bolingbroke had sided with Richard against Gloucester, and now makes much of the latter's supposed murder,—though Bolingbroke himself did not have any qualms (3, 1) in sending Bushy and Green to execution simply because they had done their duty in obeying the orders of their master—Richard.

This evident hypocrisy of Bolingbroke hints at ulterior motive; and this hint is reinforced by Richard's observation of Bolingbroke's "courtship to the common people" (1, 4, 24). It may be argued that this is a mere suspicion on Richard's part; but we find an indication of Shakespeare's intention to verify it in the fact that when Bolingbroke had ultimately obtained the "reversion" of England (which Richard suspected was Bolingbroke's intent in his "thanks, my countrymen"), Shakespeare puts into his mouth (5, 2, 20) the phrase, "I thank you, countrymen." There is a subterranean passage between the two phrases in the imagination of the dramatist.

Further, Bolingbroke's father links up the two circumstances of Gloucester's death and Richard's possible abdication in his dying speech when discrimination had left him. He accuses Richard of various errors. But he offers no advice as to their cure; he only hints at deposition (2, 1, 104):

"O, had thy grandsire with a prophet's eye
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons,
From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,
Deposing thee before thou wert possessed,
Which art possessed now to depose thyself."

This may be regarded as only dramatic prophecy. But it is based on circumstances, desires, and thoughts in which Gaunt's son Bolingbroke shared. This is fully disclosed as a certainty in Bolingbroke's mind in his question to Bagot before Parliament

> "......Now Bagot, freely speak thy mind;
> What dost thou know of noble Gloucester's death,
> Who wrought it with the king?"
>
> (4, 1, 1.)

The subtlety which we infer in Bolingbroke is seen in full play in the embassage from Bolingbroke to Richard at Flint Castle (3, 3). The assertion of allegiance backed by force is somewhat hollow, for the mere hearing of his suit by Richard is a humiliation of the king, while the granting of it in face of a threat was tantamount to dethronement. There is something hollow also in Bolingbroke's protestation that war was far from his mind, when in the same breath he declares his determination to cause the slaughter of hundreds of his fellow-countrymen, not for any general good, but merely for the purpose of getting back his estates. Life is less valuable than property to him.

Richard was quite alive to this subtlety of Bolingbroke's.

> "Well you deserve; they well deserve to have,
> That know the strong'st and surest way to get."
>
> (3, 3, 200.)

This was his testimony to Bolingbroke's character and method. It is also by implication, his recognition, not of weakness or want of confidence on his own part, but of the passing of external strength and assurance from him to Bolingbroke.

Bolingbroke practised his double-dealing until Richard was definitely disposed of. He called him before Parliament in order that Richard might resign publicly, and Bolingbroke be

cleared of suspicion. He pretends (4, 1, 190) that he thought Richard was willing to resign; yet on observing what he takes to be unwillingness in Richard, he does not show any sign of leaving Richard on the throne (which he had already signified his intention of ascending—112); and he has in reserve a written statement of Richard's crimes to be confessed—though to his credit he did not ultimately insist on this.

There is a certain generosity shown by Bolingbroke. He pardons Aumerle "to win his after-love." He pardons the Bishop of Carlyle because he has seen "high sparks of honour" in him. A close criticism, however, a criticism as intent on downing Bolingbroke as ordinary criticism is intent on downing Richard, might suggest that this generosity was not so much the spontaneous act of a newly-acquired virtue as a concession to circumstances; for Bolingbroke, being raised to the throne by the consent of Parliament, cannot afford to play Richard's part of absolute monarch.

The last act of Bolingbroke in the drama, the murder of Richard at his suggestion, leaves an ugly taste in the mouth. He admits the instigation of the murder—but spurns the murderer. He professes love for the murdered Richard—though he confesses to having wished him dead. He announces his intention of going to the Holy Land as a penance for his blood-guilt. He asks his friends to follow him after Richard's bier:

> "......March sadly after; grace my mournings;
> In weeping after this untimely bier."
> (5, 6, 51.)

But the text does not tell us whether he means that he or they are to weep. If he, then obviously his tears are of the crocodile order; and the last glimpse of Bolingbroke that Shakespeare gives us in the drama is Bolingbroke the hypocrite, even as he was disclosed in the first glimpse.

IMPOSITION AND COLLECTION OF *JIZYA* UNDER AURANGZEB

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MUCH has been written on the principles underlying the imposition of the *Jizya* by a Muslim king on non-Muslim subjects. Its origin has been traced, its nature analysed, and its relation with the general religious policy of the Muslim kings investigated. But historical origin and theological justification need not tally with the actual practice of a particular king in India or elsewhere. In what follows an attempt is made at studying from the official papers the practice and policy followed by Aurangzeb, when he reimposed the *Jizya* on the Hindus in April, 1679.

To go back a little, the *Jizya* had been exacted by the Muslim kings of India from their Hindu subjects ever since the Arab conquest of Sind. At first the Brahmans had been exempted but Firoz Shah Tughlaq failed to find any justification for this exception. As a part of his general policy to make the kingdom of Delhi conform as much as possible with his conception of the ideal Muslim state, he imposed this tax on the Brahmans as well. Thenceforth the tax was collected from Hindus of all classes till Akbar thought it fit to relieve his non-Muslim subjects of this humiliating burden. His successors pursued the same policy and continued this departure from Muslim practice.

But when Aurangzeb came to the throne things took a different turn. Aurangzeb was a puritan and was as anxious to establish the kingdom of God on earth. He was a Muslim

king and it seemed to him unreasonable not to govern according to injunctions of the Quran. If his predecessors had sanctioned non-Muslim practices that was not his concern. He was determined, like all contemporary kings of Asia and Europe, to rule his kingdom as a servant of God. His reign, he seemed to say in fact, should reflect glory on his religion and he decided to follow in the footsteps of orthodox rulers of Islam and mould his government according to what he conceived to be Islamic ideals. To him Akbar's policy of toleration looked like an aberration just as, about the same time, Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence seemed obnoxious to his Christian subjects even though it granted toleration to their fellow Christians. His attitude was typical and he shared its prejudices and ideals. Religious toleration was as yet a thing of the future and even Muslims of other schools could expect little indulgence. Let us remember that seventeenth century England formed no exception in this respect and civic disabilities of the Roman Catholics in Ireland were not removed till the third decade of the nineteenth.

Akbar was an exception to his age. Aurangzeb was content to be the norm. Further, Akbar's policy of toleration had not been willingly accepted by many of his officers and they had no enthusiasm for it.[1] Thus there was no apprehension of opposition from the Mughal officialdom if a pious king chose to revert to the normal policy of the Muslim rulers of India. Muslim theologians who constituted the only effective check on the despotic powers of the Muslim kings in India could not naturally be expected to oppose the designs of a king who looked up to them for advice and guidance.[2] Thus everything favoured a change in policy.

1 Akbar Nama and Muntkhibut-Tawarikh of Badayuni record many an incident which throws light on the attitude of the orthodox towards Akbar's religious policy. Badayuni's history is in fact a permanent record of the feelings of Muslims in general towards Akbar's innovations.

2 Mirat-i-Ahmadi suggests that the theologians took the initiative in the matter and represented to Aurangzeb the anomaly of the non-believers being exempted from the payment of the *Jizya* under a king of Aurangzeb's piety.

Of course there remained the vast majority of his Indian subjects, the Hindus. Aurangzeb fell into the error common to his century of[*] disregarding their wishes and interests. How he came to hold this view requires a study of original documents and constitutes a problem which yet remains untackled. When the War of Succession began we find almost all the Hindu chiefs fighting on his behalf with the exception of Jaswant Singh who also gave in after some time. The diplomacy of the War of Succession again has not yet received much careful attention and till this is done it would remain an interesting problem to trace the gradual awakening of a puritanical temper in Aurangzeb.

But by 1679 Aurangzeb had advanced far on the path of puritanism to make it possible for him to order the levy of the *Jizya* on non-Muslims.[3] It was to be paid by all and sundry, in Muslim India and Rajput States, by officials and non-officials, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, clerks and fighters. It has sometimes been asserted that it was a substitute for military service which was obligatory on all Muslims. None has, however, explained what steps were taken by Muslim emperors in India, particularly the Mughal emperors, to enforce this conscription on the Muslim section of their subjects. Theory apart, there is not a single case on record, as far as Indian history is concerned, to show that any Muslim ruler of India ever called all the faithful to his standards for the defence of their possessions either against internal rebellion or foreign danger. But even if it was a substitute for military service at any time in its history it ceased to be so when it was levied upon the Rajput Rajas of Central India and Rajputana. When the Rana of Mewar paid 100,000 gold *mohars* to the Mughal officers it was discovered that the amount fell short of the demand for the *Jizya* by Rs. 3,000. On August 3, 1687, the emperor very graciously excused Jai Singh this

* This is not quite accurate, Ed. C. R.

3 Maaisir-A'lamgiri, 174, Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 296.

sum as a treaty of peace had just then been concluded between the two bringing the long drawn-out hostilities to a close.[4] How else are we to account for the appointment of an *Amin* for the *Jizya* accompanying the Emperor? [5] The appointment of the *Amin* of the *Jizya* for the Army, mentioned in the Daily Bulletin of the imperial camp, dated July 12, 1702 can be explained only on the assumption that the Hindus in the Imperial army paid the *Jizya*. In fact there is nothing to show that the *Jizya* was not levied upon the Hindus forming the fighting force of the Mughal rulers.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar asserted that the officials did not pay this odious tax. In fact he considered the exclusion unreasonable.[6] But the actual practices of Aurangzeb's reign show that no exemption was made in favour of any class of Hindus as far as the payment of the *Jizya* was concerned. As I pointed out to him, while studying the large mass of original materials which he has collected in his library and which he had so kindly put at my disposal, the practice of Aurangzeb's reign differed from his theory. The Court Bulletin of the provincial governor's court at Agra, dated May 8, 1694, contains an interesting news item which sheds a flood of light on the question. Some Hindu officials including a personal assistant to the provincial *Bakshi*, a *Diwan*, and an *Amin* of the court had among others delayed in the payment of this tax. One of them pleaded that his Muslim superior was dangerously ill and that on account of his being busy with his affairs he could not pay the *Jizya* personally

4 The Court Bulletin of Aurangzeb's court of the same date. These news letters are preserved partly in the Record Office at Jaipur and partly in the library of the R.A.S., London. I have used the transcripts of these records made for Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar who very kindly allowed me access to them. These news letters were compiled by the official diarists from day to day and constitute the most reliable source of history of the period. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is the only scholar who has used them so far in his monumental history of Aurangzeb. His attention however was mainly confined to the political history as contained in these records. This is the first attempt to study the administrative practices of the reign of Aurangzeb as revealed in these papers, and is the first fruit of that study. The transcript in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's library covers more than a dozen volumes.

5 Court Bulletin, dated July, 14, 1702.

6 History of Aurangzeb. Vol. III, page 270. He has cited no authority for this statement and I have failed to find any record of Aurangzeb's reign bearing out his contention. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, usually followed by him, has nothing to say about this remission.

and would like to send it by a deputy. His request was turned down. He was reminded that paying the *Jizya* was a privilege and payment must therefore be made in person and as humbly as possible. There was no escaping this order. These officials came and paid the *Jizya* in person as ordered. It was levied in the states as well. The Jaipur Records mention on May 2, 1683, that postal messengers of Raja Ram Singh were asked to pay the tax when they reached Burhanpur. They refused to pay as they had already made the payment in Jaipur. Their correspondence was forcibly taken possession of, they were imprisoned and were released only when the matter was brought to the notice of the Emperor. It was ordered that all messengers, private and imperial, should be taxed only in the place of their residence and no demand should be made on them while carrying post.[7] In the *Jagirs*, the *Jagirdar* was not left to his own devices for the collection of this tax. Imperial officers were sent to collect the tax. Of course their task was none too pleasant. Collection of a tax is always an unpleasant task and the levy of this widely hated tax always created trouble. On January 28, 1703, for example, it was reported that the *Amir-i-Jizya* for the province of Malwa had sent a soldier in order to collect the *Jizya* in the *Jagir* of Debi Singh, son of Biram Dev Sissodia. When he reached the place, Debi Singh's men fell upon him, pulled his beard and hair and sent him back empty-handed. The emperor thereupon ordered a reduction in the *Jagir* of Debi

7 Jaipur Records, Vol. X, pp. 18 to 20, of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's transcripts of the papers preserved in the Record Office, Jaipur. Nineteen volumes of these records covering in all more than 6,000 pages were copied for Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. They include official correspondence of the agents maintained by the Rajas of Jaipur at the imperial court besides many documents of importance. These papers belong to the different years between 1606 to 1717. There are papers for 1606, 1622 to 1627, 1630 to 1643, 1646 to 1661, 1664, 1665, 1669 to 1671, 1674, 1676 to 1686, 1688 to 1717 A.D. They include imperial farmans and letters from the princes, letters received by the Maharajas, accounts, private letters and drafts of letters and heads of memoranda. When Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar last visited the Record Office, Jaipur, in 1929, 26,806 items had been catalogued by the Jaipur Record Office. It is to be hoped that the state authorities would in the interest of historical scholarship, throw open the Record Office to the students of history. Their collection is unique in India and is of very great importance. So far Sir Jadu Nath is the only scholar who has been able to utilise these records. I am grateful to him for giving me an opportunity of studying these records from copies made for him.

Singh.[8] Earlier, however, an *Amin* had fared much worse. Not content with sending his men to the *Jagir* of a *Mansibdar*, he himself proceeded to his *Jagir*. In the scuffle that followed his attempt at levying the tax, the *Mansibdar* killed the *Amin*. The case was brought up before the Emperor on July 18, 1694, and he degraded the *Mansibdar* concerned.[9]

The incidence of the *Jizya* on the people was not inconsiderable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has calculated that in the province of Gujrat it formed 4·42% of the provincial revenues.[10] Further we learn from Akhbarat that from Mander in Berar Rs. 30,000 had already been collected and the collections were still going on.[11] If Mander of our text is Manbah of the Ain-i-Akbari,[12] its revenue under Akbar was Rs. 20,000 only. Under Aurangzeb, according to Sujan Rai, the total revenues of the whole of the province of Berar amounted to Rs. 1,51,81,750 only,[13] which is very nearly the same as under Akbar.[14] Under Akbar it contained 142 *parganahs*. The richest *parganah* contributed Rs. 6,27,868 [1] as revenue and the collection of Rs. 30,000 from this unidentified *parganah* would come to 4·76% of the total revenues of the richest *parganah* in Berar. If we account for the collections that were still due, we would not be far from truth in asserting that Sarkar's estimate from Gujrat underestimates the percentage that the *Jizya* bore to the total revenues, at least in the province of Berar.

An elaborate arrangement had to be made for the assessment and the collection of this tax. A register of demand was prepared showing the amount due from every assessee.[16] When the collections began the *Amin* for the *parganah* was authorised

8 Court Bulletin for 28. 1. 1703.
9 Court Bulletin for 18. 7. 1694.
10 Aurangzeb. Vol. III, p. 274.
11 Court Bulletin for 24. 5. 95.
12 Jarrett's translation, Vol. II, p. 233, and note.
13 *Op. cit.*, p. 231.
14 Khulasatu-I-Tawarikh, p. 52.
15 Ain, *op. cit.*, p. 236; the suburban district of Pathri in the Sarkar of the same name is the *parganah* referred to.
16 Jaipur Records, Vol. IX, pp. 148-149.

to call for help from the local officials, *Kotwals, Qanungos* and *Thanadars*. He reported the collections to the provincial *Amin*. As we have already seen there was an *Amin* accompanying the royal court on march and separate officers were told off to accompany the armies sent on expeditions and collect the dues from soldiers. These officers usually did not occupy very high rank in the Mughal hierarchy of officials. At least one of the Amins accompanyiug the emperor in 1702 was a *Mansibdar* of three hundred horse.[17] *Amins* of 200 horse are also mentioned while the highest place occupied comes up to the commander of six hundred horse only.[18] Maasir-i-Alamgiri, as noted by Sarkar, mentions the appointment of an *Amin* supervising the work of all the provinces in the Deccan.[19] As we have already seen the work of these officers involved considerable risk including danger of life.

As Sarkar has pointed out there were three grades of assessments.[20] Those possessing property worth 200 *dirhams, i.e.*, silver weighing 51 tolas, 10 *mashas* and 7⅓ grains paid 12 *dirhams* as the *Jizya*.[21] This works out at 6% of the property and not of the yearly income as Sarkar has erroneously stated.[22] It was a capital levy capable of wiping out the whole capital in about 20 years. The lowest rate of discount on bills of exchange according to Tavernier was 6%.[23] A money transaction dated February 10, 1704, states the rate of interest to be 4%.[24] This would mean that in the case of the poor, *i.e.*, the owners of real property yielding only Rs. 52 per annum, the entire income from that property was taken away as the *Jizya*.[25] The second class consisted of people whose income ranged from Rs. 52 to

17 Court Bulletin for 1407, 1703.
18 *Ibid* for 1.7.94.
19 Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 273; *cf.* Maasir, 290.
20 Sarkar, Vol. III, p. 270.
21 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 296.
22 *Op. cit.*, III, p. 270.
23 Tavernier's Travels quoted by Moveland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 248.
24 Jaipur Records, Vol. XVI, p. 33.
25 Sarkar's discussion of this topic is vitiated by the confusion between the *Jizya* levied on the property and not on the income. He has grossly underestimated the burden of taxation.

Rs. 2,500 roughly. They were to pay 24 *dirhams, i.e.*, Rs. 6-4 as the Jizya.[26] Rs. 2,500 at the rate of 4% would yield Rs. 10,000 hence the *Jizya* works out at .6% of the income. Here the *Jizya* is at a much lower rate though it still stands at a much higher figure than the present rates for income tax. Those whose property was worth more than 10,000 *dirhams* were very easily let off paying 48 *dirham* irrespective of their income. They had to pay Rs. 12-7 a year in all.[26] Thus this tax took away the yearly income and more of the poorer classes, represented an imposition of 6% of the income on the middle classes and for the rich it represented a yearly demand which bore no ratio to their income. The rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum, the middle classes had the option to pay the whole at once or in two instalments and the poor could pay it in four instalments.[27]

Of course certain classes of people were exempted. Minors, women, slaves of all kinds, the blind, the mentally deficient, the unemployed, cripples and beggars were not to pay the *Jizya*.[28] Those who remained ill for more than six months were also excused from this imposition.[29]

The tax-payer was to make the payments personally. He was to approach the platform on which the collector sat, stand opposite the collector, place the money in his own hands and spread them before the collector. 'Oh, Zimmi,' the collector would say, 'pay the *Jizya*.' So saying the collector was to take the money from the stretched hands of the citizen. The collector was further warned never to think of remitting the dues.[30] Individual remissions, Aurangzeb held, would upset the very principles on which the tax was based and he would hear of no latitude to local officials therein.[31]

26 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Part I, 296.
27 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, *op. cit.*
28 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Part I, p. 196.
29 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
30 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p. 27; Court Bulletin (Provincial, Agra), for May 8, 1694.
31 Khafi Khan, II, 377, 378.

Remissions to localities were however sometimes granted. Sir Jadunath has cited two cases wherein Aurangzeb refused to grant remission of the tax even when recommended by the local officials.[32] As against that we have the records of five cases wherein Aurangzeb granted or was prepared to grant remission of the taxation to harassed localities. On December 12, 1681, a petition from the inhabitants of Bahadur(?)pura was presented requesting for the remission of the tax. Aurangzeb thereupon called for a detailed report on the subject the same day.[33] Unfortunately we do not possess any record of any further orders on the subject among the extant papers. The collections from Dahad (?) again were remitted for a year or two on the representation of its inhabitants and local officers.[34] On February 19, 1704, the collection of *Jizya* was stopped throughout the Mughal provinces of the Deccan on account of the difficulties caused by Mahratta raids.[35] On November 12, 1704, again collection of the tax was forbidden in Deval Ghat for three years.[36] After the conquest of Hyderabad its *Jizya* along with certain other charges was remitted.[37] How long the remission continued it is difficult to say. It could only have been of a temporary nature. We are told, however, by another contemporary writer that after its conquest by Aurangzeb, the *Jizya* was levied and collected by force in the Deccan.[38] Thus it is clear that Aurangzeb was not always 'deaf to the pleadings of pity and political expediency alike' in levying the *Jizya* as Sir Jadunath would have us believe. Cases of remissions were decided as occasion arose and it is difficult to come to the conclusion that Aurangzeb was unduly harsh or obstinate in this respect.

32 Aurangzeb, III, 272, 273. He bases his statements on Khafi Khan in one case and Ihkam-i-Alamgiri in the second.
33 Court Bulletin of the same date.
34 Ihkam-i-Alamgiri, MS. 13 (*b*).
35 Court Bulletin of 19.2.1704.
36 *Ibid*, for 12.11.1704.
37 Ishwar Dass's Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri, MS, 111 *b*.
38 Bhim Sen, Nuskha-i-Dilkusha, MS. 139 *b*.

Thus the *Jizya* formed a part of the avowed policy of Aurangzeb to govern according to the Islamic law. He did not stop to consider how it would affect his non-Muslim subjects. If they resented its imposition, he could not help it, he would not be false to his ideals. If the poorer among them discovered that it took away the bulk of their income and thus rendered it impossible for them to maintain themselves, that was one of his business. If they wanted to evade its payment, the way was open to them. They could accept the *true faith* and escape this burden if they found it too irksome to bear. The Court Bulletins of the period record frequent cases of conversion to Islam and the presentation of converts at the imperial court. But it is difficult to decide how many of such conversions were due solely or mainly to the burden of the *Jizya* which was pressing so heavily on the poorer classes. Aurangzeb adopted many other means of making life burdensome to his non-Muslim subjects and held forth many temptations to convert them to Islam. The *Jizya* was only one of these and it is difficult to isolate the part it played in bringing about these conversions.

It is well to remember however that the *Jizya* was levied by Aurangzeb at a time when toleration was an exception rather than the rule in the state-craft of the world. It was not the outcome of any feeling of dislike that Aurangzeb entertained towards the Hindus or their faith. It was imposed because the conception of the Islamic state with which Aurangzeb was familiar made it obligatory for him to do so. He was usually not more strict in realisation of this particular tax and although it formed a heavy burden on the poorer classes the wealthier section did not find it exceptionally irksome. To Aurangzeb it was nothing less than the price of toleration that a non-believer was naturally expected to pay in a Muslim State.

GENERALITIES AND THEIR APPLICATION

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IT is very often said that so and so is or is not a man of principle. If however we analyse this statement a little carefully we seem to get some very interesting conclusions. I propose to undertake this analysis partially, not merely because of the interest the conclusions have in themselves, but because of the influence such an analysis is likely to have upon our modes of belief and action.

At the very outset it is clear that in calling somebody a man of principle, we do not mean that he is merely aware of such principles. I may happen to have come across all the maxims that one finds embodied in copy books and be none the better for them. Yet on the other hand, though more awareness of the principle is not enough, we cannot entirely do away with the cognitive element at the basis of all our actions. We must know in order to act, but it must be admitted that this knowledge is very often of so extremely rudimentary a character that one is tempted to give to it the rather paradoxical name of "unconscious or implicit awareness." Examples of this are met with every day. There are simple people who seem to have an unerring sense of right and wrong in the particular situations in which they find themselves, and yet if they are asked to state the general law governing their action in such cases, they are at a loss to find any such laws. "They act as the spirit moveth them."

We are nevertheless constrained to suppose that there is some such law, for there is a unity and regularity in their actions which cannot be explained otherwise. They may act without the consciousness of any principle forgiving their acts, but the acts exhibit a uniformity of feature which distinguish

them from the other possible alternatives in the situation. Again we may not at the outset know how they are going to act in a particular situation, but after the choice has once been made, we almost always feel that for that man in that situation no other course of action was possible. We may, if we like, say that for them the spirit is the law.

Here therefore we see the justification of the phrase; a man of principles. For the principle of action is there, even though it is often not explicitly recognised. Further reflection upon his conduct soon leads others as well as the man himself to see that he has throughout been acting on a principle and with some rudimentary apprehension of this principle. The infinite multiplicity and novelty of situations in the world would have otherwise rendered impossible the unity of character which we have attributed to such a life.

A further note might be added here. While recognising that moral action does not always depend upon an explicit recognition of the moral principle involved, we must at the same time add that such recognition is necessary for the fully moral life. In saying this we are not necessarily committed to admitting Kant's dictum that no action is moral until we make our motive the recognition of its morality. It is unnecessary here to enter into any discussion on that point, but on purely heuristic grounds, it is necessary for us to make clear to ourselves the principles that guide our action. A sensitive perception of the situation no doubt often evoke the right response, but so long as this response is blind and unreasoned, we are apt to be misled by some chance and unessential aspect of the situation before us. If, on the other hand, we are conscious of the principle of activity which we have adopted as our own, the details of any situation are evaluated with reference to its scheme, and organised so as to fit in with our general plan of life. Similar situations recur again and again, but always with a difference and, not unoften, it is the difference which is the most significant element for our consideration. This combination

of repetition and novelty makes the necessity for explicit recognition of principles of action all the more insistent. Without such recognition, we may have as a matter of fact acted according to some unenunciated' principles whose value we would be prepared to acknowledge on it being made explicit, but there is little or no guarantee that we shall always conform to it amidst the complexities of recurrent and yet novel situations.

This is why, it seems to me, we cannot leave our actions to be governed entirely by the inspiration of the moment. Conscious recognition of the principle on which we act carries with it some awareness also of the results which are likely to follow from our acts. We can of course never foresee the total set of consequences implicit in any step we may take, but nevertheless, it is this foresight, imperfect though it be, which distinguishes deliberate actions from impulsive acts. We may perhaps even say that some foreknowledge of consequences is a characteristic of all voluntary activity. From this it would follow that if we depended entirely on the intuition of the moment, without any conscious principle uniting our manifold activity, such acts would often be indistinguishable from purely instinctive or impulsive acts. We all see the function and value of impulses in moral action, culminating in what may after Kant be called the Holy Will, but at the level which we are discussing now, such submission to intuitions of the moment would mark a retrogade rather than a forward step.

There is the second difficulty that for us it is impossible to maintain the intensity of inspiration constant at the same level. The conditions appertaining to the Holy Will do not apply to our limited human wills, and the result is that even the best among us are swayed, perhaps often unconscious to themselves, by considerations which cloud the dictates of the untrammelled moral consciousness. The condition of the physical organism itself has, not unoften, an important bearing in this connection.

The fluctuation of the moral intuition in us is further complicated by the fact that we live in a society, in which not

only are we affected by the influence of its other members, but in turn affect them by the decisions that we adopt. An element of uniformity and assurance is essential for human intercourse, for without some such cementing bond the members would fall apart through their individual idiosyncracies. Principles of action supply such rules of uniform conduct, for inspite of the differences with which different men will adopt these rules, there remains the general similarity of form which the principles impose upon our acts. If we like, we may expound it in logical term by saying that the principles are the universals of which the individual acts are the particular exemplifications.

This insistence on the importance of principle should not however blind us to the fact that the principles by themselves are no more adequate to determine right conduct than particular intuitions of particular situations taken in themselves. We are not referring here to the fact that sometimes we may intellectually recognise the principle of action demanded by a certain situation and yet not carry it out. For, this type of dishonesty might occur with regard to our intuitions as well and is not peculiar to the conscious adoption of principles. The inadequacy to which we are referring here arises out of the very fact which constitutes the superiority of the conscious adoption of principles over the utter surrender to the intuition of the moment.

So far then we have seen that dependence on the intuition of the moment without the consciousness of any underlying principle, though it may and often does lead to right action, carries in itself no assurance of right decisions amidst the complexities of our manifold life. Further, it is essentially atomic in its character, and throws into relief the uniqueness and isolation rather than the common humanity of individual men. This tends to hamper the moral progress of society ; for there is no generalisation of the experience of the community in order to warrant the projection of individual minds into unexplored regions from some permanent and consolidated basis. The emergence of principles into consciousness supplies, through

such generalisation, a common standard of comparison, and at the same time ensures the possibility of progress through the enrichment of the individual by the accumulated experience of the community.

Herein however lies the danger of such general principles ; for they may be taken to be stereotyped rules which are to be applied unconditionally whenever situations with similar features recur. There is in most of us an unconscious procrustean tendency to make facts fit into our principles, and make the world a trim and well-ordered mechanism where everything occurs according to a neat and regular plan. In fact almost nothing is further from the truth, for the world is a vast and complex conglomeration in which the uniformities observed are at best only partial, and in strictness, no two things are exactly alike. "History repeats itself" is a false adage unless we add to it the significant qualification that it always does so with a difference, and if we overlook this difference, our picture is essentially falsified.

The emergence of the principles and recognition of them as such are therefore by themselves not enough, for the most difficult question is that about their applicability. We may take any principle we like, and most probably we shall agree that in the abstract such principles ought to govern our activity. But placed in any concrete situation, we are faced with the double difficulty of first recognising the principle which can apply to the case, and secondly of determining the form in which that principle is applicable. Principles we have recognised to be the generalisations of the past experience of the community, and as such there is no guarantee that they can be applied to present and future occasions without modification. If on the other hand, we abstract from them all reference to concrete situations, whether past or present, they may or may not exhibit the form of a general ethical truth, but in that alternated form, they have no application whatsoever to the concrete situations in which human beings are placed. Before they can

serve as principles governing human activity, we must make them concrete by reintroducing the element of particularity in the situation before us.

Here then we see the resurrection of intuition on what we may regard as a higher level. The recognition of principles enriches our moral life by the education of the individual through the generalised experience of the community, but without the element of intuitive apprehension of the situation in which the individual finds himself, this education is of little or no value. Moral principles in the abstract may, like other general laws, be taught, but whether the present is an occasion for the principle or the law can only be intuitively grasped. The king's son was taught all the astronomical laws and found that a hollow circular thing lay in the palm of the king, but his astronomy could not tell him whether it was a cart-wheel or a ring. That had to be intuitively grasped by his own intelligence.

We nevertheless hope that the broadening and generous influence of the recognition of principles will also heighten the individual's intuitive perception of the moral implications of any situation. From his derivative experience of the past, he will the more readily recognise the significant features of the occasion and perceive the principle which is adapted to it. Necessary modifications in application will also suggest themselves the more befittingly the wider and deeper his experience in the past has been. Room is also left for innovation and progress, for the recognition that each situation presents novel and significant features carries with it the implication that the principle itself must be applied, not blindly and by rule of thumb, but by an act of creative intuition which in each application shapes the principle anew to suit the exigencies of the manifold occasions. Application is, therefore, not something mechanical in character, and external to the principle which is applied, but its very life-breath, enriching it, and shaping and reshaping it till it is often altered beyond recognition in man's unceasing urgency after a higher and yet higher life.

THE NORTHERN GATE OF INDIA

——*By* FAIRLIE SMITH
Allahabad

PESHAWAR, the newly-made capital of the N. W. F. Province is a fort-girt city and pre-eminently military ; indeed it is not possible for it to be otherwise situated as it is on the Frontier, so near India's northern gateway, and surrounded by treacherous tribesmen who are always at war with one another and have always harassed Britain by their raids with no pretext but love of plunder and aggression. Here one is wakened by the droning of aeroplanes, four of which do their aerial manœuvres every day until 11 A.M. and on moonlit nights too it is a most fascinating sight to watch these four aeroplanes practising ; their flight can be easily followed owing to their coloured lights, red on the left wing, green on the right and white on the track. A few years ago the North Western Railway terminated at Peshawar, but to-day it goes about 35 miles further north to Landi Khana which is on the borders of Afghanistan. Before the railway was constructed there was a ropeway, the masonry abutments of which still stand as silent reminders of the old mode of transport. Besides the railway there are two very excellent motor roads ; all these have been made for railway purposes and since they run through tribal territory, the roads alone are British : it is because of these roads that the visitor is able to see these remote places in this otherwise inaccessible part of the world. A drive of 9½ miles on a perfectly straight road, over level land brings one to the southern end of the Khyber Pass, the range of mountains to the left is what one sees running all the way from 'Pindi, but at this point a twin range rises



THE NORTHERN GATE OF INDIA

[The ruins on the hill to the left is Alexander's Fort just below the hill are two Railway carriages to the right of the Fort: the buildings beyond is Landi Khana, and the solitary building in the distance where the road takes many windings the Afghan Custom House, the semicircular dark pitch are trees, the only ones that are in this desolate region which have been planted as part of the boundary. Beyond to the right what looks like a small white patch on a hill, is the very last British out post. In the distance are the snow covered Hindu Kush range. Where British Territory ends, the two roads and Railway also end.]

abruptly, I call it "twin" advisedly because although it only begins here, yet it is equally as high as the other range and like it too in all its physical features, barren to a degree, without even a blade of grass. And apart from springs or streams there is rock so much that even a damp spot cannot be seen throughout. The whole length of these black, barren, sun-baked inhospitable mountains—indeed no desert can be more barren—is waterless and devoid of life. The British have laid water pipes all the way to Landi Khana, but the only outward and visible sign of this is the covered stone reservoirs that are seen at regular intervals throughout the journey. As a result of this waterless barren condition the absence of all animal and insect-life is most conspicuous, no sound of any insect breaks the dead stillness, nor does one see even a bee or butterfly or a rock-lizard which is so common in all hilly tracts, nor yet the ever present kites and crows which in every other place in India, it seems impossible to get away from.

At the southern entrance of the Khyber Pass is the British fort of Jamrud which, owing to its lovely situation and being without a single human habitation within a radius of several miles, looks like a lonely ship on the boundless ocean. From Jamrud right up to Landi Khana, a distance of about 25 miles, one travels parallel with the Khyber Pass; it has the look of a dry river bed, but the entire absence of round stones disproves that, and perhaps it would be more appropriate to liken it to a untrodden tunnel. It has an uneven and often boulder-strewn surface, and in spite of the fact that the two ranges run so close together—often scarcely more than 100 yards apart—never once does a single spur jut across forming an obstacle and breaking the continuity of this wonderful Pass which, as a consequence, remains throughout its entire length one unbroken Pass. The British forts come at short distances of 5 or 6 miles: Jamrud, Shagar, Ali Masjid, Landi Kotal and finally Landi Khana. They are all strongly fortified, but here and there one also sees the tribesmen's forts which have their watch towers at the four corners, each one

extensively loop-holed ; at one end only of these forts is a small corrugated iron door, never high enough to permit a man to enter erect and only wide enough to admit of his shoulders passing through : these forts enclose their villages, which unlike the villages in India show absolutely no sign of life, not even the ubiquitous pariah dog which gives warning of a stranger's approach when still some distance away, much less the sight of cattle grazing or children playing. Only once throughout this journey and back did we see a few children walking along the road and on two or three occasions we saw women, always in twos or threes, always dressed in black and each time too their business was to obtain faggots, though where they got them from seemed a mystery. Only in one place throughout our long journey did we see a small patch of cultivation, not really large enough to be called a field, but looking like a lovely emerald, which looked all the more beautiful in its scorched, brown, sunbaked surroundings. The absence of wells too is striking and doubtless like the cast of the villages these too must be enclosed within the fort walls. Besides the village forts these lovely mountains are dotted all over with watch towers which crown every vantage point no matter how lovely the spot, for the law of vendetta still exists among the tribesmen which compels the nearest relation to avenge the death of a murdered person, it matters not how many years after, and often the victim is an innocent child or an aged person, it matters not so long as he or she is a relation of the murderer. For this reason too on these lonely desolate heights one meets an even more lonely tribesman doing sentry fully armed with his rifle and belt of cartridges and doubtless too his clasp knife hidden among the folds of his voluminous clothes, in places which to all appearances are neither within sight or sound of any human habitation. It is a sight which evokes very disquieting feeling within one and makes us realise that in that part of the world no man can trust his neighbours and that treachery and revenge are ever present among these wild, lawless, restless tribesmen. The tablets

all along the hillside with the names and crests of various British and Indian regiments tell their own grim tale of desperate battles that have been fought and won in these awful desolate regions, battles which have been fought under most difficult conditions not only from exposure to the full burning rays of the sun, with not even the smallest bush to afford a little shade or cover from the enemy's bullet, but every single requirement for man's needs and comfort having of necessity to be carried, even to fire-wood and every drop of water (in those days) from the nearest town, *viz.*, Peshawar, and that by the slow progress of pack animals.

Here too one sees the homes of the cave-dwellers, always in groups of threes or fours dotted along the lonely mountain sides which like the villages are conspicuous for their absence of all life; they were never close to the road and the openings looked scarcely higher than three feet which but for the piece of corrugated iron that stood to one side and served as a door at night would easily be mistaken for the dens of wild animals.

Our journey is brought to a sudden end by reading "Stop" (in letters nearly a foot long)—this is the limit of British territory—on a large signboard half way up a hill, which is crowned by a watch tower strongly garrisoned and fortified by British soldiers. Standing here one looks down on Landi Khana barracks and railway station ; although the lines exist the train only runs up to Landi Kotal every morning and returns to Peshawar every evening and the barracks are unoccupied owing to their having lost their strategic value as a result of the Afghans having taken up a strong position on the height above, a circumstance which has compelled Britain to do the same, with a protecting mountain forming a barrier between. In the forefront of Landi Khana is a group of three red brick buildings, one is roofless. The central one is long like a tunnel and sets the imagination working, the third one is also partially in ruins, but these are the remains of Alexander's Fort and make one realize how from the earliest times this Pass was what it is to

the present day, the Northern Gateway to India. About half a mile beyond this is the Afghan Custom House and almost in a line with it on a lonely hill is another group of barracks, the very last outpost of Britain's far-flung Empire, and as we stood watching the fruit-laiden lorries coming from Afghanistan and those going carrying passengers and tins of petrol, we noticed among them a large military 'bus conveying British soldiers to this distant lonely outpost which is on the borders of Afghanistan and forms as it were Britain's pillar of India's Northern Gateway. A permit has to be obtained to enter the Khyber Pass, and one of the party must have fire arms; ladies are not allowed here by themselves, but must be accompanied by at least one man. At Jamrud the Permit is examined as well as the chauffeur's license ; all out-going cars must pass up by 11 A.M. and return by 4-30 P.M. for all must be within the gates of Peshawar by 8-30 P.M. as they are closed after that hour.

" Without National Education, from which alone a national conscience can issue, a Nation has no moral existence.

Without National Education common to all the citizens, equality of duties and of rights is a formula devoid of meaning; one single spark of faith achieved what all the sophism of the philosophic schools had never caught a glimpse of: a forward step in the Education of the Human Race."

—*Giuseppe Mazzini*

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY

WHAT THE RAILWAYS CAN DO

——*By* HARIDAS GHOSH, M.A.

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ON account of the intimate connection between transport and industry, the problem of sugar transport in this country cannot be studied without a reference to the sugar industry itself. The transport problem of Indian sugar industry divides itself into that of transport of raw products to different manufacturing countries, as well as of manufactured goods to various markets, and of different rates charged by our railways on goods booked from different sources of supply. These factors have definite effects on the industry.

Regarding Indian sugar industry it should be remembered that the position of sugar is next only to that of cotton, jute, tea or matches, and Indian industries of sugar and matches are nearly similarly situated because in both the cases the indigenous industries have to face foreign competition. Briefly told, the history of this industry is that at one time half the world's supply of sugar was produced in India, but she does not produce more than 20 per cent. now, inspite of the fact that the average area under cane is still about half the world's average which means that the yield of sugar from Indian cane is very low.

The miserable condition of Indian sugar industry has been mainly due to the competition from foreign sugar, as Indian sugar industry had long lost its foreign markets, and with further development of beet sugar industry in Europe, when Mauritius sugar also lost its European markets, India was made a convenient dumping ground for the latter. Java sugar too gradually entered into Indian markets, and, as years rolled on, it succeeded to a great extent in ousting Mauritius sugar on account of superior sugar canes, and improved

manufacturing processes and organisations of marketing. India began to be flooded with imported sugar inspite of the vast agricultural and industrial possibilities of this country, and its transport systems being under direct control of the Government.

The trade statistics of our imported sugar during the last 20 or 25 years will illustrate the position of Java and Mauritius sugar in Indian sugar markets.

	Imports of Java sugar in India.	Imports of Mauritius sugar in India
1. Pre-war average	463,000	128,800
2. War average	367.200	56,700
3. Post-war average	382,800	25,900
1930-31	809 700	
1931-32	326,800	

	Imports of Java sugar in 1,000 tons	Percentage of Java sugar to total imported sugar
1913-14	583	72
1923-24	368	89
1924-25	480	71
1925-26	657	90
1926-27	612	94
1927-28	692	95
1928-29	852	98
1929-30	981	83

The following figures will illustrate how the imported sugar has been gradually extending its grip over the Indian sugar market :—

	Sugar raw produced in India in lbs. (millions)	Imported sugar to India in lbs. (millions)
1920-21	2·52	·34
1921-22	2·61	18
1922-23	3·04	·50
1923-24	3·31	·47
1924-25	2·51	·72
1925-26	2·97	·80
1926-27	3·26	·92
1927-28	3·21	·82
1928-29	2·70	·92
1929-30	2·75	1·01

Imports of Java sugar into different maritime provinces of this country during the years 1930-31 and 1931-32 are shown below :—

	1930-31	1931-32
1. Bengal	149,000	324,000
2. Bombay	67,000	177,000
3. Sindh	55,000	184,300
4. Madras	69,000	77,400
5. Burma	27,000	38,000

It will be noticed from the above that the bulk of foreign sugar is being imported into India through the Calcutta port, though the imports of the Bombay or the Karachi port cannot be neglected. The statistics of imports at the Calcutta port for the last 5 years ending 1930-31 shows that in respect of value, its imports of sugar rank only next to those of cotton piece-goods and machinery. In dealing with the transport of imported sugar in India, in relation to those of indigenous sugar, the question of railway freight rates on sugar *ex* Calcutta where the largest bulk of the foreign sugar finds entry, is very important. The transport rates on sugar *ex* Bombay or Karachi should also be taken into consideration.

Though the sugar factories of Java are situated at a very great position of advantage in respect of sugarcane supply, Indian sugar factories also are not in a bad position as most of our factories have grown up in cities that are not very far off from our sugarcane areas. The principal sugarcane area of India is distributed as follows :—

			1929-30 Acres	*Yield*
1.	Madras	...	98,107	2,75,009
2.	Bombay	...	66.278	1,75,000
3.	Bengal	...	1,97,600	2,20,000
4.	United Provinces	...	13,48,928	13,02,000
5.	Punjab	...	3,00,698	2,01,000
6.	Bihar and Orissa	...	2,78,800	3,04,000
7.	C. P. and Berar	...	29,286	36,000

The United Provinces is by far the greatest sugarcane yielding province in India, and the Government statistical returns for the year 1929 in the "Large Industrial Establishments in India" (latest edition) shows that in this province there were 21 big sugar factories in the districts of Pillbhit (2), Shajahanpur (3), Cawnpore (3), Gorakhpur (7), Allahabad (2), Kheri (1), Lucknow (1), and Dehra-Dun (1). In Bihar which is the next sugarcane-growing province, there were in the same year 13 sugar factories in the districts of Champaran (3), Saran (5),

Muzaffarpur (1), and Darbhanga (3). Besides the sugar manufactured in sugar factories and sugar refineries large quantities of *jagree* or *gur* produced in these provinces are locally consumed, and transported into Central India and Rajputana to be consumed by the people of those places. In the Madras Presidency there were 6 factories distributed principally in the districts of Ganjam, Godavari, South Arcot, Tinnevelly and Coimbatore.

The Punjab showed an account of 2 large sugar factories situated at Amritsar, while the records of Bengal show *nil*, inspite of the fact that the province shows a large average under sugarcane. In the various evidences before the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1927-28) it was explained how there is a very fair possibility of increasing sugarcane area in Bengal improving the quality of the cane specially on the northern side of this province in the districts of Rangpur and Dinajpur where large areas of land were already under sugarcane cultivation. The cities of Northern Bengal are closely connected to the sugarcane area of Northern Behar, by rail *viâ* Katihar Junction by way of the B. and N. W. Ry. or from the districts of Gaya, Patna, Shahabad and Bhagalpur on the E. I. Ry. *viâ* Dighaghat, Mokamahghat and Maniharighat. It should be possible to build more sugar factories in Northern Bengal provided the railways also assist the sugar industry of Bengal by favourable rates for sugarcane *ex* Bihar and the United Provinces, and if specially low rates are also allowed by the E. B. Ry. on the transport to Calcutta of sugar manufactured in these areas. Under the provision of the new import duty on foreign sugar, and a system of special rates on sugar from Northern Bengal by the E. B. Ry. on their local stations, as well as by discriminative through rates in conjunction with the A. B. Ry. and the river steamer services *viâ* Pandu and *viâ* Dhubrighat it will be quite possible for the future sugar factories of Northern Bengal to oust the imported sugar totally from Bengal and Assam, and perhaps also capture the sugar markets in Burma in near future.

The soils of Backergunge and Dacca are also said to be

favourable for sugarcane cultivation. A system of favourable railway rates or steamer rates here may give impetus to the local people to pay more attention to their sugarcane-yielding lands, grow better classes of sugarcanes, and build indigenous sugar industries as well in this part of Bengal. In making such suggestions for the practicability of growing sugar factories in Bengal with the assistance of the railways, it is not overlooked that unless the industry makes some move in the right direction, the transport cannot come forward. But there is no doubt that the North Bengal area stands in a much better position both in respect of the supply of raw products, and sale of finished goods, and that it is quite possible by a judicious manipulation of railway rates to develop an indigenous sugar industry in the province. If new sugar factories can thus be grown in Bengal, our agricultural people, the landholders of North Bengal as well as our unemployed youngmen will get a good deal of the much-needed economic relief. This system therefore appears to be worth trying.

Regarding the existing sugarcane area, the average under sugarcane in the United Provinces represents more than half the total acreage under cane in India, and of the cane area in the United Provinces, Meerut and Rohilkhund divisions in the west, and the Gorakhpur division in the extreme east contribute two-thirds the total area of sugarcane acreage of this province. In Bihar the cane-growing tracts are concentrated in the Patna and the Tirhut divisions. The district of Saran on the north of the Ganges, and the Gaya and the Sahabad districts on the south of the river produce large quantities of sugarcane. The sugarcane districts of the Punjab are Umballa, Karnal, Rohtak, Gurudaspur, Hosiarpur and Jullunder. Large quantities of the yields are consumed as *jagree* or *gur*, and in this connection it may be remembered that in comparison with one ton of white sugar consumed in India, three tons of *gur* are required.

With the spread of modern influence the consumption of white sugar is bound to increase. The principal weakness of

the Indian sugar industry is the high cost of production chiefly due to poor yield of crops, inefficient system of manufacture, comparatively inefficient labour and management, as well as lack of proper organisation and marketing. Labouring under these difficulties indigenous sugar is being gradually ousted by the Java sugar even from Indian markets. Discriminative rail freights on the indigenous and imported sugar and the callousness of the Indian railways have added further to the difficulties of Indian sugar industry.

The policy of discriminative rates pursued by the Indian railways under the slogan of efficiency of transport, or commercial working of the railways was severely criticised by the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18). These rates have helped the heavy exports of our raw materials that could have been locally utilised to the advantage of our country. They have facilitated the imports of foreign manufactured products, to the great detriment of Indian industry. The criticism of the Industrial Commissioners will open the eyes of the Indian public to the manner in which the Indian railways have been helping the economic drain of this country. The Industrial Commissioners admitted that "before the war the major portion of the Indian railway traffic flowed in two streams, raw products moving towards the port for export, and the imported manufactured articles moving from the ports." The Commissioners further observed that in many cases under pressure of competition, the Indian railways resorted to a system of rates cutting that was really injurious to the economic development of this country, and referred to sugar freights on the Indian railways in which the increased imports of foreign sugar coincided with the reduction of railway rates on sugar, booked from the port towns of India to different sugar-consuming centres of this country.

To remedy this state of affairs, the Commissioners suggested a thorough examination of the Indian railway rates structure and the desirability of raising the low transport

charges on raw products going out and the manufactured products coming in. They made a particular reference to the freights chargeable on "SUGAR" over the Indian railways and observed that the increase in our imports of foreign sugar coincided with the reduction of railway rates on sugar from the port towns. These heavy reductions in sugar rates from the port towns like Calcutta (Howrah) where the great bulk of the imported sugar is received, were granted by the E. I. Ry., either on account of competition with the other railways, or water services, or with a view to push the sale of the imported sugar in which European elements are more interested. These specially favourable rates have placed Java sugar in a position of great advantage in Indian sugar markets. That Indian sugar has its own weakness no one will deny, but this is no justification for the rates policy which the Indian railways have hitherto pursued.

The import duty on foreign sugar was raised in September, 1931, to Rs. 9-1 per cwt. In view of this heavy import duty on foreign sugar, the prospects of the indigenous industry are now brighter than before. In fact the effects of the new import duty are already visible, for between 1930-31 and 1931-32, the imports of Java sugar have declined from 715,000 tons to 336,000 tons. This heavy reduction in the imports has been ascribed to the shifting of the demand of the Indian consumer from foreign sugar to raw *gur* (*vide* The Review of the Trade of India 1931-32). Notwithstanding the heavy consumption of raw *gur* by the people of India there is considerable scope for the expansion of the indigenous sugar industry.

The raising of the import duty on foreign sugar has raised very high expectations in the country, and it is hoped that with improvements in the quality of our sugarcane, as well as in the manufacture and marketing of Indian sugar, coupled with favourable railway rates it will be possible for indigenous sugar to oust the foreign sugar from Indian markets in the near future.

Expectations have already run so high, that in the year 1933 alone about thirty big new sugar factories have been placed under construction and Bihar is starting six new factories. More sugar factories will also grow in this area within a short time, and there will be new sugar factories in other sugar-cane areas of India, for instance in Madras, the Punjab and Bombay. In the matter of the development of Indian sugar industry, the United Provinces and Bihar are taking the lead, but in order that the sugar produced here as well as as in other manufacturing centres may find ready markets, in preference to foreign sugar, the indigenous sugar must be helped with favourable railway rates. Indian sugar industry has received substantial assistance in the matter of Tariff duties. It is necessary that help should also come from the railways in regard to transports.

That the Indian sugar industry was very unfavourably treated by the railways will be evidenced from the following remarks in the monograph on Indian railway rates, by the late Mr. S. C. Ghosh, sometime Special Officer, Railway Board :—

"The sugar industry of India has been receiving a great deal of attention on the part of the Government and the heavy imports of Java sugar are not in the interest of this country. The rates for sugar from the ports to the interior were first reduced during 1904, just a year before the Calcutta and Bombay competition started. They were further lowered during the competition in 1905. It is during the last ten years that Java sugar has found an extensive sale in this country. Java sugar is produced very cheap. The prime cost of sugar in Java was given at Rs. 4-2-0 per maund, the cost of producing superior white sugar including all expenses was said to be Rs. 4-9-2 per maund and even taking the interest on capital the total would come to Rs. 5 or Rs. 5-8. It compared very favourably with the minimum price of Java sugar in Calcutta which was Rs. 11-4-0 per maund before the war, so that Java made handsome profits out of the sugar exported to India. The steamer freight was

then but a fraction of the latter figure (*viz.* Rs. 11-4-0) the price of the sugar in Calcutta. It is questionable therefore whether this Traffic even needed further subsidy in the way of cheap railway freights that were granted from the ports to the interior. Even if the rates for Java sugar were full minimum rates the railways would not have lost the traffic but the profits of Java sugar would have been less."

The local industries of India were in this way affected by imports that had been receiving indirect subsidies from the Indian railways. The imported traffic did not require the lower rates, and such reduced rates were not called for by the Trade.

Fortunately for our sugar industry some of its previous grievances have since been remedied, and the East Indian Railway have lately cancelled a number of special rates on sugar *ex* Howrah to many important stations in the United Provinces that should ordinarily come within the zone of the sugar factories of the United Provinces, *e. g.* Aligarh, Bijnor, Bulandshar, Firozabad, Garhmukteswar, Hapur, Hardwar, Jaleswar Road, Khurja City, Meerut City, Moradabad, Nazibabad Roorkee, Saharanpur and others. The Bengal North-Western Railway, on which the principal Indian sugar factories are situated, have also lately introduced special rates for sugar to their own local stations such as between Chakia, Muzaffurpur, Tahsildoria, Waltergunge, Sasamusa, Majholi and Allahabad, Sitapur, Barabanki, Cawnpur as well as in through booking *viâ* Mokameh Ghat, or *viâ* Sitapur or *viâ* Katihar Junction with other railways. There is now a definite indication that our railways are beginning to give assistance to the indigenous sugar industry. But more concessions in this direction are still necessary.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON A RESERVE BANK FOR INDIA

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THE proposal of a Reserve Bank has been before the country for more than six years, and the various aspects of the proposal have been fully discussed and hotly debated. It is not necessary, therefore, at this stage to discuss in detail the question of the necessity, desirability or functions of the Reserve Bank for India. Moreover, the discussions that have taken place on the subject of the Reserve Bank show a virtual unanimity on the question of the necessity and desirability of such a Bank in India. The Hilton-Young Commission, which gave us the first concrete proposal of a Reserve Bank for India in its Report published in 1926, very clearly pointed out " the inherent weakness of a system in which the control of currency and of credit is in the hands of two distinct authorities " and emphasised the need for the establishment of a Central Bank. And although Sir Basil Blackett's Reserve Bank Bill of 1927 was subjected to very severe criticism, the criticisms were mainly on political grounds ; there was considerable agreement between the Government and its critics on most of the economic issues, and especially on the need and desirability of a Central Bank in India. Both the majority and minority of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, laid great emphasis on the need of the early establishment of a Central Bank in India. And although by a curious and unfortunate ruling of the Chairman some of the most important questions relating to the Reserve Bank were excluded from

the scope of the Committee,[1] the Committee very clearly demonstrated how the economic and industrial progress of India hinges upon the establishment of a central banking organisation. The Financial Safeguards Committee of the Third Round Table Conference did indeed give only a conditional assent to the establishment of a Central Bank in India, but it did not question the necessity or desirability of such an institution in India. The Committee only doubted the possibility of the successful working of a Reserve Bank in India, unless some conditions, which it lays down, were at first fulfilled.

It is not necessary to examine the conditions here. But it may just be pointed out that the conditions are exceptionally hard and unnecessarily stringent. They, in fact, require that India should be financially extremely strong and secure before she thinks of establishing a Central Bank. But as the history of a number of countries has shown, financial strength and stability depend very largely on the existence or establishment of a Central Bank. In fact, some countries have, in recent times, established their Central Banks to avoid a financial collapse. Austria, for example, started her Central Bank with loans from foreign countries, when after the war she was on the brink of a great financial disaster. The reason is not far to seek. By virtue of its peculiar position, because of its national outlook and point of view and because of the absence of the motive of profit, the Central Bank is the institution which can give the greatest aid in building a strong banking structure for a country on sound scientific principles. A distinct change, however, seems now to have occurred in the attitude of authorities at home (*i.e.* in England) and we are told that the Bill embodying the proposals of the Reserve Bank Committee, whose report has just been published in London, is to be placed before the present Indian legislature very soon. But the present moment does not seem to

1 *Cf.* Majority Report, Central Banking Enquiry Committee, p. 380, and Minority Report, pp. 295-6.

be at all opportune—from the national point of view—for taking any decisions on such an important subject. However, that is a different matter.

However, the importance of a Central Bank in the economic life of a nation can hardly be exaggerated. Unlike a commercial bank, it is not, and it must not be, run for profit. It must not, moreover, be sectional in its outlook, and must not identify itself with the interests of any group or section inside or outside the country. This is, in fact, one of the greatest difficulties in converting the Imperial Bank into the Reserve Bank for India. Indians feel that a Bank which is predominantly non-national in its management and share-holding cannot be a Reserve Bank of the right sort, even if it ceases to be run on commercial lines. The Reserve Bank must place the interests of the nation in the forefront. When, therefore, a Reserve Bank with these features has been established what will it seek to do? The main broad functions of a Central or Reserve Bank, as is well known, are to maintain the stability of the currency, to prevent too great a fluctuation in its international value, to form the foundation, and be the regulator, of the credit organisation of the country. Our currency has not been very well managed by the Government and the Imperial Bank is in many respects very unsatisfactory as a bankers' bank and regulator of credit. If the currency is to be "managed," it is best to have an independent Reserve Bank, which, like Caesar's wife, could be above suspicion, to do this work. State "management" in our case is bound to give rise to all sorts of suspicions regarding influence from India Office apart from the usual fears of undesirable political influence from the Government or the legislature in India. As regards the credit organisation, since the Imperial Bank is largely a commercial bank although performing some of the functions of a Central Bank, it cannot inspire sufficient confidence In fact, because of its hybrid character and the special privileges it enjoys, it has been a hindrance to the growth of Indian joint-stock banks And as Mr. Manu Subedar points out,

"those who look up to the Central Bank for assistance, either in normal times, or when a crisis is feared, cannot do so with confidence, when the institution, whom they have to approach, is an institution, which at some point and in some manner, is a competitor in their normal legitimate activities"[1] The establishment of the Reserve Bank is also expected to expand the Indian bill market which is now extremely undeveloped. This is a very important consideration, because it means that the Reserve Bank will stimulate acceptance business by indigenous banks and bankers, and that "the needs of agriculture, of the co-operative movement, and of a greater amount of land mortgage credit could also be attended to by the Reserve Bank better than now."[2] The early establishment of the Reserve Bank is all the more desirable as it would end the present dual control of currency and credit and would make it possible to co-ordinate properly the currency and the credit policies.

With these general remarks about the need and functions of the Reserve Bank, and in the light of the above considerations, let us briefly examine schemes for a Reserve Bank for India. The latest scheme, as everybody knows, is that submitted by the Reserve Bank Committee in London. Some general comments alone are possible here on the proposals as outlined in newspaper cables. The Committee has decided in favour of a shareholders' bank. The denomination of individual shares has been fixed at Rs. 500, the minimum voting qualification being two shares, but there is an important limitation that no individual share-holder shall exercise more than ten votes, and in view of this limitation the Committee propose to place no restriction on the free marketing of shares. Now, the limitation proposed is good so far as it goes. It would tend to prevent the acquiring of large powers by an individual or by any group or section. But this restriction alone cannot guarantee that there will be a preponderance of

[1] Minority Report, Central Banking Enquiry Committee, p. 289.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

nationals in the share-holding : and such a preponderance is essential in a Reserve Bank, which must have a national point of view. Deciding and controlling, as a Reserve Bank does, the currency and credit policy of a nation, we must be particularly careful to see that the composition of its share-holding is such as to give it a broad national outlook. Its policies or actions have far-reaching effects on the whole banking system and banking development of a country. Some restriction on the free marketing of shares would, therefore, appear to be necessary. The qualifications of domicile and residence in India, of registration under the Indian Companies Act, 1913, or the Co-operative Societies Act, 1912 (in the case of a corporate body), which were included in Sir Basil Blackett's Bill [1] should, at least, be insisted upon for registration as a share-holder. And if the majority of the share-holders are of the right sort, it could be expected that the eight directors who are to represent the share-holders in the Central Board will also be of the right sort. But about the four directors to be nominated by the Government some restrictions appear to be necessary to ensure that they will not be "government men," but will take a detached view in everything and make the banking and economic needs of the country, as a whole, their main consideration in all matters.

Sir Basil Blackett's plan of a regional directorate, that is, the allocation of directors to different areas (Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon) as also the allocation of share capital to the areas, and his scheme of local boards are retained by the Committee with certain modifications. A few remarks about this regional plan seem to be called for. The future form of government of India is going to be federal and with the change from the unitary to the federal form the importance of provinces and local areas is likely to increase ; a too centralised central banking organisation will therefore not be in keeping with the federal principle. When the Bill embodying the

[1] Reserve Bank Bill, 1928, Ch. 2, clause 4, section (4).

recommendations of the Reserve Bank Committee is discussed in the Assembly and outside, this point should not be lost sight of, and efforts should be made both to prevent one or two areas, especially Bombay and Calcutta, from obtaining the real control and to secure to the local areas a certain degree of real autonomy; because, for all we can see, it might be profitable for us to incorporate in our central banking organisation many features of the Federal Reserve System of the U. S. A. rather than those of the British system.

Regarding the relation with the Imperial Bank of India, the Committee is reported to have suggested that the Reserve Bank should enter into an agreement with the Imperial Bank on the lines proposed in Sir Basil Blackett's Bill of 1928, except that the agreement is to be for a period shorter than 25 years as proposed in that Bill. The Imperial Bank will, therefore, by an agreement be made the sole agent of the Reserve Bank at all places where there is a branch of the Imperial Bank and no branch of the Reserve Bank. A legal contract in this matter seems to be unnecessary and undesirable. Even without such an agreement, the Imperial Bank would have to be entrusted with the largest part of the agency work of the Reserve Bank, as there is no other suitable bank, nor is any such bank likely to be created soon, that could do this work. So in one sense such a contract is superfluous, while the absence of any such agreement means that there will always be present an incentive or encouragement for a new Indian bank to grow or an old one to develop in such a manner that it can be trusted with the responsibilities of the agency work of the Reserve Bank.

The Committee, further, are not unfavourably disposed towards compensating the Imperial Bank "on moral, if not on legal grounds." On this point we must join issue with the Committee. The Imperial Bank has to-day no claims to any moral or legal compensation. It was not very unnatural for Sir Basil Blackett to be anxious about safeguarding the interests, prestige and status of the Imperial Bank for a 'contract which was to

run out in 1931, was being sought to be broken without notice and the Imperial Bank of India was entitled to some consideration.'[1] In fact, in his Reserve Bank Bill of 1927 Sir Basil made an attempt to effect what he called a 'profitable partnership'[2] between the proposed Reserve Bank and the Imperial Bank of India. But the situation is entirely different now. The Imperial Bank has had a long notice that it was not at all likely to be converted into the Reserve Bank, and no question of breaking a contract without notice can really arise. And if in spite of the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission, the discussions on the Reserve Bank Bills of Sir Basil Blackett and the observations of the Banking Enquiry Committee, the Imperial Bank has been hoping to continue as Government bankers, the Government need not have any compunction in killing such a hope without ceremony, not to speak of making any compensations. The Bank has none but itself to thank for any such "disappointed expectations." But the Bank really would be no loser. The granting of sole agency would, in itself, be a great concession, though there may be an attempt to minimise its significance since the Reserve Bank will have practically no alternative but to entrust the Imperial Bank with its agency business.

A word must be said in conclusion about the question of the ratio. For the time being at least, it seems, the exchange obligations of the Reserve Bank will be reckoned on the basis of a sterling exchange standard with the rupee linked to the sterling at the ratio operative at the time the Bill is introduced in the Assembly, that is, the existing ratio almost to a certainty. Now, for the present the 1*s*. 6*d*. ratio may raise no difficulties; but unless the Reserve Bank has power to change the ratio, when necessary, it may in future find it extremely difficult, or even impossible, to maintain this or any particular ratio. The

[1] Central Banking Enquiry Committee, Minority Report, p. 279.
[2] *Ibid.*

Government of India itself has often experienced serious difficulties of this nature. The hands of the Reserve Bank should not, therefore, be altogether tied in this matter. In this connection it is relevant to consider one of the proposals of the White Paper in which it is mentioned, among other things, that the consent of the Governor-General will be required to the introduction of any federal legislation repealing or amending "the powers and duties of the Federal Reserve Bank in relation to the management of currency and exchange."[1] Now, where the Governor-general is not very responsive either to the wishes of the people or the opinions of the legislature, it is not unlikely that this power may be arbitrarily used; and an arbitrary use of this power will seriously affect the independence of the Reserve Bank and its usefulness. With such arbitrary powers vested in the Governor-General and, moreover, with the consideration and decision on questions of a suitable exchange ratio and the monetary standard best suited to India postponed (indefinitely) to a time when the general stabilisation of monetary systems of the world has taken place, the prospects for the Reserve Bank are gloomy to a degree.

[1] Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, p. 58, Section 119.

"Life is a mission ; duty, therefore, its highest law......Each of us is bound to purify his own soul as a temple; to free it from egotism; to set before himself, with a religious sense of the importance of the study, the problem of his own life; to search out what is the most striking, the most urgent need of the men by whom he is surrounded, then to interrogate his own faculties and capacity, and resolutely apply them to the satisfaction of that need."

—*Giuseppe Mazzini*

IMPRESSIONS OF SPAIN

——*By* PROF. RAPHAEL PHILIPSON

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In the United States of America we are inclined to think of Spain as a nation sunk into a torpor of idleness and backwardness since the glories of its explorations and conquests in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a nation whose wealth has been slowly absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church and its venal aristocrats.

With surprise and delight my opinion was greatly amended during my first week in Barcelona, most progressive city in Spain and capital of Catalunia, the province in the North East corner of Spain whose eastern boundary is the Mediterranean Sea and northern the snowcapped Pyrrenees Mountains, on whose side lies Southern France.

Historical Note.

The history of Spain, like many another country, has been influenced by its geography. It is a peninsular country linking up Europe with Africa. With some regions of great fertility and others of rich mineral subsoil, it attracted different races to it. Here first settled Iberians, Celts, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans. At the beginning of the Christian era the Teutonic barbarians arrived from the north and set up two main kingdoms. Then the Moors burst upon Spain from Africa and subdued the whole country—and not by war alone For in two centuries they arrived at a degree of culture never again attained by their race. The Christian Reconquest, lasting over eight centuries, saw national centres being formed in Spain. Portugal separated herself, Leon united with Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalunia formed separate kingdoms. As the broad streams of culture from Europe and Africa flowed over this land peopled by a vigorous race, they gave birth to a robust vegetation, varied, untamed, original which required only constant cultivation to ensure the perfect blooming of those marvellous flowers of architecture, sculpture, music, and laws, which made Mediaval Spain the mistress of the West.

In the early sixteenth century vigrous Queen Isabella succeeded in uniting most of Spain. After her death overseas enterprise and European adventure left Spain bloodless and materially impoverished, but with her spirit enriched. With political and military decline came a period of splendour in arts and letters during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century Spain lay fallow, its aristocracy supine, its peasantry awaiting the call to awake to a new life in a new world.

During the present century increasing dissatisfaction with the dishonest misrule of the nobility gradually brought forth leaders and culminated in the bloodless revolution of two years ago, when the king threw up his hands at the inevitable, permitted an election in which the vast

majority voted for a republic. The next day the king fled (and was permitted to flee) to France. The country is now anxiously awaiting the next election, for their is great dissatisfaction with the Provisional Government. A German acquaintance, met in a train, resident here for a quarter of a century, tells me that the present government, a coalition of the various parties, is just as dishonest as the monarchical ones. The present politicians are busy, said he, throwing out of office their predecessors and gobbling up jobs for themselves and their relatives. That of course is only an opinion of one perhaps prejudiced or ignorant. One of Spain's big problems to-day is to deflate the number of government office holders. Dictator Prima de Rivera, about six years ago, found many men drawing 6 or 7 salaries from the government and doing little more than cashing their checks.

The visitor's first impression in Spain is that of over-policing. In Barcelona, one sees a great variety of military uniforms. The city government police parade the streets in their distinctive uniforms. The national government at Madrid sends its guards to maintain order. Then comes a variegated stream of provincial soldiers, national soldiers, volunteer soldiers, etc. Obviously this tremendous unproductive force draws heavily on the public treasuries.

"Vigor, dynamic force, lack of restraint, exaggeration, originality, incongruities, passion, want of continuity of effort, the victory of emotional force over technical elements, perpetual diversity," says F. J. Sanchez Canton about Spanish architecture. The same can be said of the national character. And that is why many writers state that the Revolution did not end Spain's troubles but merely began them. Like the great Spanish artists of the Seventeenth century, the Spaniard is a terrific individualist. Will he now be able to co-operate in remaking the country? He works furiously in spurts, says Miguel de Madariaga, and just as quickly turns away from his task. Will he now be able to maintain sustained effort in meeting the many problems which will henceforth call for perpetual attention?

If Barcelona is an example of the new Spain, then I think the future very bright. The city is built on a plain starting from the harbor and climbing up to the feet of the embracing mountain range. Very modern buildings, tree-lined wide avenues, up-to-date shops, well-dressed people, beautiful churches, theatres, museums, parks, two underground railways, surface and motor cars, strikingly clean streets, and myriad electric lights at night give Barcelona the air of a second Paris, a newer and cleaner Paris.

The Plaza de Catalunia is the center square. From it emanate avenues symbolizing the twin heritage of Spain,—that of Europe and of Africa; for palm trees from the tropics are neighbours to pines from the north. Aided by a mild equable climate, Barcelona can grow a great variety vegetation. Catalunia has ever been the thorn in the side of Spanish rulers. It has kept up an unceasing battle for independence through the centuries. Will it now cease being the *enfant terrible* of Spain's provinces?

One night at the Lyceo Theatre—the opera house,—I observed that only about one third of the seats were occupied. Why? I wondered.

" The Flame " was a very powerful song drama, the cast was good, the orchestra played superbly, the building was very beautiful. I learnt later that the intellectual and moneyed classes of Barcelona were absenting themselves as a sign of displeasure with the Republic, for the opera is State controlled. Did they want the monarchy re-established? I asked. " Not at all," was the reply. " That is done with. But the people are dissatisfied." "What do they want? " I persisted. " No one knows," and that is the answer to all my questions. The governmental machinery is being laid down. everyone is uncertain of what to-morrow will bring, everyone has some reason for dissatisfaction.

The very religious people resent the government's stern measure in evicting the Jesuits from Spain and appropriating their land and property. The shop-keepers, hotel-keepers, and the others who thrive on festivals are angered by the government's attempts to decrease the numerous church holidays and festdays. The pro-monarchists obviously want the return of the monarchy, The government job holders will not release their jobs (of which there are too many by 200 or 300 per cent.) if they can help it. Many labor unions are calling strikes all over Spain because of the government's attempts to censor the press and repress the unions.

Who is the government and who are the people? What will happen in the next election when the women get the franchise, the women who are ardent church-goers? No one knows. The air of uncertainty is obvious in the first conversation one has with a Spaniard.

Barcelona has more than a million inhabitants, claiming slightly more than Madrid, the capital. It is the largest industrial city in Spain. Yet I tramped through many of its streets and saw no slums. Where the poorest lived as well as the richest, I saw trimness, neatness, heard the song of the joy of life through open window after window, saw chubby, well-fed, nut brown, sun-kissed children. Is it possible? a large city without slums? It seems so. An engineer told me, " Barcelona in some industrial machine plants is far ahead of America and Europe. Spain is a rich country. If only the politicians did not stand in our way."

Mores

In Spain the line is very strictly drawn between the " good " woman and the " bad " woman. In Spain where the girls mature very young as compared with the States, they are guarded most carefully from contact with the opposite sex. No girl goes out alone with a young man unless she is accompanied by her mother, aunt, or other duenna,—and then only if the young man is a prospective suitor. On the train to Montserrat, I noticed a group of young women and men going out together for the day, but in a group not couples,—and Barcelona is the most progressive city in Spain. The " bad " women are segregated in a definite district of the old town and the houses of prostitution regulated by the police and inspected by doctors.

I was sorry to give up my morning hour of arising at half past five, learnt in Bali, and become a mechanized member of a rigid society again. But it was inevitable, for one dines here at 8 or 9 in the evening while the theatres start their performances as late as half past 10 at night, finishing at one or two o'clock in the morning.

The food is good as well as the wine. The two local dishes which I enjoyed most were, "sopa rap," a soup containing various kinds of sea-food in their shells,—shrimp, mussels, bits of fish, and bread. "Arroz con polla" is a dish of brown fried rice with sea food again and chunks of chicken. Vegetables of all kinds, many fruits, especially oranges, dates, apples and bananas,—a wide variety of cheeses, meats, and fish make the meal hours enjoyable and health-giving. For the American, living is just about 1/3 that of in the States.

What I saw

One day I took an hour and a half train journey up into the hills and visited the monastery of Monserrat on a mountain top. There 1,300 metres above the sea, a splendid panorama spread itself out before my admiring eyes. To the north towered the sentinel, snow peaked Pyrrenees, while to the south, east, and west stretched plains, hills, villages, rivers, farms, woods, and ribbons of roads.

I visited the remains of the 1929 Exhibition. What pleased me most was a composite Spanish village erected to show the varying architecture all over Spain. What a great variety of houses, churches, shops! And how charming.

Another day I took a cable car to the top of Mt. Tibidabo, from which I obtained a splendid view of the city and the sea. I need only mention the pleasant hours spent tramping through the interesting streets of the city, visiting churches, containing examples of beautiful architecture, sculpture, paintings, and carving. The most interesting church of all was the Sagra Familia (Church of the Holy Family) begun 50 years ago by Gaudi and only one quarter completed. Architecturally it is most original in design, and will dominate the whole city when completed.

CHEMICAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY

——*By* CHITTARANJAN BARAT, M.Sc.

Technische Hochschule, Munich.

It is a happy sign of the times that increasing attention is being paid to the educational facilities available in Germany by our students seeking admission to foreign universities. The comparatively small number of actual entrants to German Universities stands in remarkable contrast to the high standard of excellence attained by the Germans in higher scientific education. It has also been said (not without justification), that most of our best students who come over to Europe for higher education select some British university. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the first place, rightly or wrongly, there exists amongst our countrymen a firm conviction that the prospects in India are decidedly more remote for one with a German degree than with a British one. Secondly comes the fact that most of the better type of students who come abroad with some Indian scholarship are more often required to prosecute their studies in some British university. The difficulty of the lauguage which is often underrated even by those who have had German training, is in reality a very strong argument against coming to Germany ; but the advantages gained from a reading knowledge of German amply repay the pains taken to master the language. since it opens a vast field of important scientific literature not available in any other language.

Last but not least is the present unfavourable exchange on account of the depreciation of the pound sterling, which stands in the way of a large number of promising students coming over to Germany. In spite of all these admitted difficulties a course of study in German universities by Indian students is advantageous from a practical point of view, and for that purpose an attempt is made here to give an approximate but comprehensive idea of the standard and requirements for a complete chemical education in Germany. A fair idea of the average conditions may be formed from the existing curriculum of one of the standard Universities of Germany, *viz.*, the *Technische Hochschule* (Engineering University) of Munich. The average German student desirous of entering the University comes after finishing his studies in the " Gymnasium" or the "*Oberrealschule*," which he enters after leaving school. The standard of the "*Oberrealschule*" can very well be held to be equal to that of the pass B. Sc. standards of Indian universities and embraces a good knowledge of the fundamentals of Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics. In the "*Technische Hochschule*" a candidate has there to prepare himself for the "*Diplom*" examination for which he has to put in from eight to ten semesters on the whole. During this period he has to sit for two "*Vorprüfungen*" or preliminary examinations, which he may do after four semesters ; and finally the "*Hauptprüfung*" or final examination after the expiry of the whole period. It is after this that he may begin his work on the Doctorate for which he has to execute a piece of original research-work, and has to appear in an oral examination in his principal subject as well as in at least one "*Nebenfach*" or subsidiary subject. This alone takes about four semesters on the average.

It is evident from the above that when a candidate has passed his "*Diplom*" examination and starts with his Doctorate work he is quite well equipped with a liberal knowledge of the literature and practice of his chosen subject and is capable of undertaking original investigation at once. In this work although the main scheme is laid down by his Professor, he has ample freedom to suggest or improve upon the main point at issue, provided of course, he does not widely divert from it. In addition to the constant guidance and attention of his Professor, he gets the benefits of the *Colloquia* that take place once a week when various students and members of the Faculty read papers on subjects they have worked upon. The open discussions and criticisms thus enables the author to enrich and improve his ideas by those of others' working along parallel or allied lines. On completion of his work his dissertation is first examined, and if accepted he is allowed to sit for the oral examination in both his principal and subsidiary subjects. The class of Degree depends upon the joint opinions of these examinations as well as that of his Thesis. The system followed by the University is very much alike, only there in place of the "*Diplom*" examination they have the corresponding "*Erste*" and "*Zweite*" "*Verbands*" examination, and there is some technical difference in the choice of the subsidiary subjects.

A word about the minimum requirements of the Indian students desirous of coming over to Germany for higher education in Chemistry or any other scientific subject will not be out of place here. In order to get exemption from the "*Diplom*" examination and to carry on original work with efficiency and credit, it is very much to be desired that the candidate should come here after taking his Master's Degree preferably with Thesis and better still with a couple of years' research experience. It is evident that it works out more cheaply and profitably to spend four years in India than in Europe. And with a view to working out this proposition effectively and profitably there should exist an equivalence between Indian and German university standards, which happily exists in England at the present time. This not only prevents the occurrence of certain anomalies but also gives a correct and precise idea about the actual concession and consideration one may expect in a German University for his' Indian qualifications.

One, moreover, should always try to come here at least three months before one seeks admission into the University with a view to studying the language. However great his knowledge of the German language may be in India, he is sure to find it utterly inadequate to enable him to pull on with his work efficiently unless he spends some substantial time on the language here. It is almost absurd to expect to pick up the language while going on with the work, as one can never pay adequate attention to a study of the language when getting into the swing of the actual work.

A word in conclusion, may be put in about the present political conditions in Germany which are apt to be exaggerated as well as underrated in India. German politics, one should remember, is an entirely German concern, and Indian students have absolutely nothing to lose or gain therefrom. So far no *bona fide* Indian student has been molested in Germany and the opportunity of studying has not in any way been hampered with. One can always hope for the best and believe in the evolution of a civilisation that would be more stable and just.

SOME GREAT MATHEMATICIANS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

——*By* REV. A. SCHELVIS, S.J.
St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

Prof. Ganesh Prasad has recently brought out the first of three volumes which will constitute his work in the historical field of mathematical science. The six chapters of the first volume deal with the first six great mathematicians of the 19th Century: Gauss, Cauchy, Abel, Jacobi, Weierstrass and Riemann. A fine portrait at the head of each chapter introduces us to the physical personality of these great men: a happy inspiration which, we hope, the author will follow up in the second volume of his work as well, which deals with Cayley, Hermite, Brioschi, Poincaré, Klein and five others.

We may roughly divide each chapter into two parts: in the first we have a brief yet accurate description of the man's early life both at home and at school, his University curriculum and successive academical appointments, and his relations with other contemporary mathematicians. In the second part, the author gives an outline of his scientific writings, books and memoirs. Here Dr. Prasad not only shows the great productivity of these great men, but also reviews their works from a critical standpoint, basing himself mainly—in addition to the collected Works of these six mathematicians—on Klein's " Vorlesungen ueber die Entwicklung der Mathematik im 19 Jahrhundert " ; on Koeningsberger's Festschrift " Gustav Jacob Jacobi " ; on Bjerknes's " Niels Henrik Abel, Tableau de sa vie et de son action scientifique " ; and on the articles of Mittag-Leffler on Weierstrass in various vols. of the " Acta Mathematica". This gives evidence of a great amount of labour, when we bear in mind the large number of publications of a historical and critical character which our author has made use of in preparing these excellent summaries.

The history of Mathematics is truly reflected in the study of the lives and works of the great mathematicians of all times. Dr. Prasad's list for the 19th century is well chosen. He has not only presented us with a convenient and agreeable collection of life-sketches, but also

* A Review of Prof. Ganesh Prasad's " Some Great Mathematicians of the Nineteenth Century: Their Lives and their Works (In three volumes), Vol. I. With six portraits. xv, 347 pp. Benares City, Mahamandal Press, 1933.

hinted at the scientific ideal, and pointed out the wonderful achievement of these " highest types of mathematicians." We all welcome books of this kind: they are evidence of the growth of knowledge and culture within the mathematical profession. In a true scholarly manner and with investigation in every line, Dr. Prasad's patient labour has brought together in a small volume a store of facts' and information, for which one might otherwise have to search through many scattered books and reviews. And this alone seems a sufficient reason to recommend the book to all those who are interested in the development of mathematical ideas. We eagerly look forward to the publication of the two remaining volumes—the last one on some great living mathematicians —which, we are assured, will also " place before the minds of the readers the highest types of mathematicians," and will induce "not only every young and accomplished mathematical scholar of to-day but also the budding mathematical genius of the future " (Preface), to strive to attain to a high ideal of mathematical scholarship.

Dr. Prasad's book opens very appropriately with the life and work of Karl Frederick Gauss, one of the foremost mathematicians of all time. In his student-days at Göttingen, Gauss was on terms of particular intimacy with a young Hungarian. Wolfgang Bolyai. Dr. Prasad gives apt quotations from letters which passed between these friends and where "we learn many of the difficulties and much of the working of his (Gauss's) mind in the pecuniary situation in which he found himself after leaving Göttingen " (p. 9). Other passages from this interesting correspondence (pp. 12-13 and 66) reveal, amongst other things, the orthodox attitude which Gauss maintained towards the higher problems of life, and his conviction of the immortality of the human soul. In the early period of their separation, letters between Gauss and Bolyai were naturally numerous. As time went on, the two scientists had not much time for poetical exercises of friendship: their correspondence became rarer and at last altogether ceased. Many years went by and their lives led them very far apart. Bolyai had crusted into a peevish professer at a College in Siebenburg, and had become a notable old crank, at feud with his wife and mother-in-law, and discontented with his son, for whose insubordination the educational theories of the pedagogue papa were not perhaps blameless. But the fame of Gauss's discoveries and researches had penetrated even to Siebenburg, and Bolyai was moved to write once more to his old comrade. He wrote extolling the happiness of a friend to whose lot had fallen all that the world could give of glory, all that intellect could give of knowledge, joy or consolation. This outpouring of his heart affected Gauss deeply, and in response he opened his inmost heart to the friend of his youth (pp. 60, 61). In the full possession of all that Science can procure of intellectual joy, honour and distinction, Gauss comes at the end of his days to declare, in this letter, that there is no peace of spirit in it all, and that life is a riddle and a torment unless it be completed by a happy eternity. And with Gauss these were not mere passing moods, but convictions which dwelt with him all his life and formed the basis of his moral nature. There is one aspect in Gauss's character which seems to suggest a jealous and selfish attitude towards some of his great contemporaries, Cauchy, Abel and Jacobi. Whatever be the explanation of this attitude, Dr. Prasad mentions three facts which remain true and seem to corroborate it. We may also mention that it was fortunate that the

young Abel did not pass through Göttingen during his tour: for Gauss, most probably, would never have opened the treasures of his thought to Abel, and certainly would not have given him a word of encouragement. This judgment is confirmed by Gauss's conduct towards the two Bolyais. Gauss has never communicated anything of importance to his old friend Wolfgang about the principles of Non-Euclidean Geometry ; and when John Bolyai had found these principles, Gauss did not publish a single line to notify this discovery to the mathematical world.

Two years after Gauss, there died in Paris another mathematician who had rendered to Science services no less worthy, Augustin Louis Cauchy. In analysing Cauchy's numerous publications, Dr. Prasad discloses the distinguishing feature of Cauchy, namely, the creative verve of his genius. The rapid sketch of Cauchy's private life is sufficient to show that he was not only a man of genius, but also a man of character. And this greatness of character rested wholly on Christian conviction and practical piety. Besides the facts adduced by the author which go to show that Cauchy was a staunch Catholic, I may mention that he was ever foremost among those who are ready at the call of events to defend or propagate religion ; and many pious and philanthropic societies were established by his efforts. Cauchy was also very intimate with many Jesuit Fathers, especially with the celebrated pulpit orator Father de Ravignan. When shortly before the February Revolution a violent assault was made on the Schools of the Jesuit Order in France, Cauchy published two discourses in defence of them, and which he delivered at the "Institut Catholique" of Paris: they were especially directed to the protection of the young students from the danger of unbelief.

The vicissitudes of Niels (Nicholas) Henrik Abel's life form a strange cadre for the original mathematical work he accomplished. During his short and unhappy life, Abel became for the science of numbers one of the greatest innovators of his time. One cannot expect in the short space of 55 pages to study exhaustively the conditions of the surroundings which may have influenced the evolution of Abel's mathematical mind, and to determine the influence which his thoughts exercised on contemporary scientific circles. But Dr. Prasad's brief account will be of great interest, especially to those who have a preference for the history of Mathematics considered from a psychological point of view. The author points out very forcibly a fact which has always caused a painful surprise to those who have read Abel's life. When we consider the place which the illustrious Norwegian mathematician holds in the world of modern science, we cannot but be profoundly amazed at the fact that the publication of his celebrated discoveries attracted such little—I won't say enthusiasm—attention, even among those who seemed most qualified to appreciate their importance. Abel did not find, when he entered upon his too short career, the sympathy of any great scientific personality who might have brought this precocious mathematician into the limelight of his time. Like Jacobi for Hermite, and like Hermite himself for Stieltjes, there was no one for Niels Henrik Abel, ready to point out, at the outset, the novelty and depth of the ideas which this young and masterful mind had conceived. By their mere force and interior vigour these ideas have now been hailed and accepted by the mathematical world. No doubt a Mecaenas or tutelary-genius might have been able to change Abel's plight and make his life less hard; he could have added

nothing, however, to the imperishable glory with which his memory will always remain associated. In connection with "the claim of priority advanced by the admirers of Abel in the discovery of the various properties of elliptic functions" (p. 162), Dr. Prasad gives a full and documented discussion of the problem in his chapter on Jacobi (pp. 204-210). In September, 1827, Abel published his "Recherches sur les Fonctions Elliptiques,' which contain the proof of the double periodicity, the multiplication and division of elliptic functions, and two questions which go to prove that Abel had mastered at that time the theory of the transformation of these functions, and that he had begun to tackle already the problem of complex multiplication. In 1828, in three successive Memoirs, Abel deals thoroughly with the theory of the transformation. According to some authorities, Jacobi had preceded him in the publication of this theory. If, as seems probable, Jacobi was able to see the "Recherches" published by Abel on Sept. 20th, 1827, before writing his letter to Schumacher (dated Nov. 18th, 1827), he must almost certainly have availed himself of the discoveries revealed there. But Jacobi, with his own mathematical power and genius, could not have been ignorant of the fact that he would have been able to find by himself alone the double periodicity with all its logical deductions. As Dirichlet rightly observes, "The manner in which the one completed immediately the discovery of the other, does not leave the slightest doubt that each one would have been able to achieve it entirely by himself, if the other had not forestalled him in part of the work."

I refrain from commenting on Chapters 5th and 6th, which deal respectively with Weierstrass and Riemann, as otherwise this review would become too long. In concluding, I much regret that I cannot remark favourably on the get-up of the volume. A production of this kind deserves to be presented in a form apt to render it all the more appreciable to those it interests. But, as it is, the press has done scant justice to its merits ; the type used is very inferior, while the misprints are many. The author, I must add, is, however, in no way responsible for this, as it is due to circumstances he was unable to control. I am glad to have his assurance that the succeeding volumes will not suffer from the defects noticeable in the one under review.

Reviews and Notices

[*Kenny's Outlines of Criminal Law* (D. P. KHAITAN)—*International Economics, by R. F. Harrod* (J. P. NIYOGI)—*Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray Birthday Special Number of the Journal of the Indian Chemical Society* (J. N. M.)—*Christian Education in India, by Sir George Anderson* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Thoughts from Rabindranath Tagore* (PRIYARANJAN SEN —*Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume* (N. RAY)—*Mahaprasthaner Pathe, by Prabodh Kumar Sanyal* (N. RAY)—*Rammohun Roy : The Man and his Work, edited by Amal Home* (N. RAY)—*History of Elementary Education in India, by J. M. Sen* (N. RAY).]

Kenny's Outlines of Criminal Law—Fourteenth Edition. Revised by G. Godfrey Phillips. Cambridge University Press: 15*s.* net.

Kenny's book occupies a recognised, and in fact, a prominent place in the legal literature of England, and we may say, the British Empire. It is truly a classic; and for lucid exposition of a vast and complicated subject it has few rivals. Kenny is one of the essentials in the upbringing of the present generations of law-students.

We venture to make a few suggestions which we believe would be calculated to make the book of still greater use to students. The exigencies of modern society and business and the present state of civilisation with its enormous resources and powers have led to the formulation of a large number of artificial crimes. Not only the general law, in its present form, but also various special laws and emergency laws utilise the "sanctions" of criminal law or "sanctions" modelled thereon, and the machinery of the criminal courts wholly or at some stage or other. A reference to the "offences" under the laws relating to companies, bankruptcy, stamps, registration, income-tax, motor vehicles, municipal corporations, possession of fire-arms, etc., and the numerous Defence of the Realm Acts will furnish instances. Many of those offences fairly range themselves under the existing heads of criminal law, but there are a great number which defy such classification. The essential ingredients of a crime as hitherto understood are lacking. Not only is *mens rea* not required in some cases, but there is an increasing application of the principle of vicarious responsibility, enforced by criminal "sanctions" or "sanctions" akin to those enforced under the criminal law. It is said on page 25 that "primitive lawgivers punished an injury even if it were merely accidental." Twentieth century statutes similarly have formulated "offences" which are wide enough to include unconscious and accidental acts and omissions. This new "off-shoot" of the law requires a special explanation and a separate connected treatment—the more so, because it is one of the chief contributions of the last century, and in a special measure, of the 20th century, to the Laws of England and the Empire.

Practical considerations have tempted the framer of the law to cause one branch of the law to make such deep inroads into the field of another that it becomes a baffling task to present a logical definition of any wide conception like "crime." Civil courts are asked to deal with criminal matters, and criminal courts with civil. The definition

as given in Kenny has become artificial enough. Even so, matters may be brought up or are coming into being which spoil the definition, *e.g.*, at page 18 it is said "proceedings which are not punitive cannot be criminal," but the jurisdiction over maintenance proceedings and what are called "paternity" cases exercised by the criminal courts is not punitive, nor can it be explained by saying that the criminal courts exercise civil jurisdiction and become civil courts for that purpose. Nor does the test of pardon by the sovereign apply to such proceedings. In India it is now established that proceedings in a civil court for complaint to be lodged in respect of an offence against justice are "criminal" in a wider sense.

Such topics have, no doubt, been touched upon here and there in isolated passages and footnotes, but the time has arrived for a systematic prominent treatment and a juristic discussion of the same.

K. P. KHAITAN

International Economics—By R. F. Harrod, M.A., student of Christ Church, Oxford, pp. 211, Nisbet and Cambridge University Press.

This is one of a series of handbooks published by the Cambridge University Press under the general editorship of J. M. Keynes. Its purpose is to unravel the mysteries of the theory of international trade and to reveal the fundamental truths about international economic relations in general. The subject of the theory of international trade is one which the average student of economics finds difficult to comprehend. The book under notice will serve as a good introduction and will enable the student to follow intelligently the more comprehensive text-books on the subject. Several pages are devoted to an examination of the aims and methods of monetary stabilisation. In view of the recent happenings at the World Economic Conference an exposition of the first principles will prove helpful to those who want to understand one of the most important economic problems of the day.

J. P. NIYOGI

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray Seventieth Birthday Commemoration Volume.—Special Number of the Journal of the Indian Chemical Society; Calcutta University Press. Pp. v+362. Price for Fellows, Rs. 3, non-Fellows Rs. 5.

The review of this book has become easy since it has already been reviewed with eloquent tributes by *Nature* (June 17, 1933, p. 866) and Current Science (June, 1933, p. 409). The following is an extract of the review of *Nature*. " Sir P. C Ray stands alone amongst Indian men of science not only on account of his scientific attainments but also for his public activities. In December last his colleagues and former students took advantage of his seventieth birthday to show their appreciation and esteem by presenting him with a congratulatory address in which they announced that a considerable sum had been subscribed which would be applied to assist indigent students. The Indian Chemical Society has

dedicated a handsome commemoration volume to its first President and it has thus enabled Sir Prafulla's friends in other countries to show their appreciation of his services to science. This volume of more than 300 pages contains 36 papers and, although the majority of these are naturally by Indians, chemists from Great Britain, America, Germany, Austria and Switzerland have also contributed. Pride of place is fittingly given to a paper by the President of the Chemical Society, Prof. G. T. Morgan, who with Dr. F. H. Burstall, gives an interesting account of recent high-pressure work which has been carried out at the Chemical Laboratory, Teddington, on the dehydrogenation of pyridine with anhydrous metallic chlorides.

"The two other contributions from Great Britain are by Prof. M. W. Travers and Prof. F. G. Donnan, the former discussing the pyrolytic condensation and decomposition of ethane in the presence of hydrogen whilst the latter presents a short but stimulating note on the thermodynamic functions of radiation. Students of the chemistry of the polysaccharides will welcome a valuable résumé of recent investigations in this field from the pen of Prof. H. Pringsheim. Another paper of great interest by Prof. Franz Fischer summarises the valuable work on the utilisation of coal gas which he has carried out during the past few years. As would be anticipated by those who have followed the trend of chemical research in India, the majority of the papers by Sir Prafulla's former students are on physico-chemical themes and are of interest mainly to the specialist. Prof. M. N. Saha has, however, written a remarkably able review entitled 'Spectroscopy in the Service of the Chemist.' The contributions to this commemoration volume reach a high standard and augur well for the future of the schools of chemistry in India of which Sir Prafulla may with justice regard himself as the founder."

After dwelling at length on the activities of Sir P. C. Ray as a chemist, a teacher, an historian and as founder of a great national school of Scientific inquiry, H. E. Armstrong says (*Nature*, May 13, 1933, p. 674), "it is nothing short of a reproach to our Royal Society that it should hitherto have been so narrow in its outlook as not to include his name in the roll of fellowship."

Reviewing the commemoration volume, Sir M. O. Forrester writes in *Current Science* (June, 1933, p. 409): "From the first item appropriately introduced by the President of the Chemical Society, London, throughout until the last, by Dr. Franz Fischer of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Kohlenforschung, Mulheim-Ruhr, every contribution justifies its inclusion, and the prodigality of subjects recalls the bill-of-fare with which pre-War transatlantic liners were wont to dazzle their less fastidious passengers. A rough analysis of the 36 memoirs apportions their subjects among the following branches:—Physical (8), Organic (7), Colloidal (5), Pyrochemical and Biochemical (each 4), Molecular (3), Photochemical (2), Thermodynamic, therapeutic and microchemical (each 1).

"Sir P. C. Ray amply merits this generous tribute. In his person, mind has triumphed over matter. Undeterred by frail physique he has toiled unflaggingly and courageously in a climatic environment which would have speedily quenched a more indomitable spirit. Even yet the crusader has not sheathed his flashing sword, and hope that he may long continue his constructive labours will be universal."

It is gratifying to find that the life and work of Sir P. C. Ray have received generous appreciation abroad. The contributions from Indian Chemists, numbering twenty-four, form a measure of the progress in the study of pursuit of chemistry achieved by Indians since Sir P. C. Ray turned the first sods. Previous to Sir P. C. Ray very few Indians have taken up the idea of studying Science with a view to add to its contents. Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, the father of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, was the first Indian to cross the '*Kalapani*' to study chemistry and to obtain the D. Sc. degree of the University of Edinburgh but the progress of chemical research in India owes its life-giving impulse and nourishment to Sir P. C. Ray. "The History of Hindu Chemistry" is an example of the manysidedness of Sir P. C. Ray's mental equipments and achievements.

It has been accepted throughout the Scientific World as the only authoritative treatise on the subject and as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham said in 1912, "the monumental *History of Hindu Chemistry* is a work of which both the scientific and linguistic attainments are equally remarkable, and of which, if of any book, we may pronounce that it is definitive." The late S. Arrhenius (Nobel Prizeman and Director of the Nobel Institute) quotes at length from Dr. Ray's work and assigns to Hindu Chemistry priority over that of the Arabic or Chinese cultivation of the same subject and considers that the so-called Iatrochemistry was in reality chemical knowledge of the Hindus transmitted through the Arabs.

The modern man is very sceptical and the claims of India's contributions to World culture must be based on incontrovertible facts. The pioneer work carried by Sir P. C. Ray in this direction has unfortunately not been followed up. The other sides of his activity have been briefly referred to in the extracts given above and it is impossible to do justice to them in this review which is mainly concerned with a publication dealing with only one, though perhaps the main field, of his activity.

The keynote in the life of Sir P. C. Ray like that of all great men has been whole-hearted devotion to whatever cause he has taken up. This devotion coupled with an exceptional 'time' sense in the habit of doing everything in its proper time and the capacity to recognise the proper limits for every endeavour has enabled him, inspite of his frail physique, to achieve so much in one life-time. His life and work should serve as a beacon light to generations of Indians and inculcate these qualities in them.

J. N. M.

Christian Education in India.—By Sir George Anderson, C.S., C.I.E., and the Rt. Rev. Henry Whitehead, D. D., Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martins Street, London, pp. 16. 1932.

Education is a matter for deep and earnest consideration all over the world; the case is the same in India, it presents problems that require constantly looking after. The Christian missions here stand on a different footing; their primary business is not to educate, but to serve the cause of the Gospel. It was Dr. Duff who about a century ago first emphasized the importance of education from the missionary view-point, so that the conversion to Christianity might be made easy and smooth. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Dr. Miller and others realised that instead of converting or trying to convert Hindus and Moslems to the

Christian faith they should rather prepare the way for the Gospel among the non-Christian intelligentsia and thus lead them to take a Christian view of the world and of human life. The objective has changed again and instead of catering to the needs of non-Christian people, it seems now more imperative to minister to the Christian population round about the missionary colleges, specially in the South. The need of a change in policy has been acute, as may be inferred from the fact that two important commissions have been sent in recent years by the missionary societies of Great Britain and America, the Fraser Commission in 1919, and the Lindsay Commission in 1929. The authors, while developing their subject, carefully examine the reports of both these commissions, but specially discuss the latter of the two.

The present policy does indeed require a change. The societies would have a Christian atmosphere in a Christian college; but the percentage of Christian students and teachers is there decidedly low, in the north far more than in the south; there has been growing inefficiency even in education due to the relative smallness in the number of teachers employed; the University connection makes for a certain mechanization which is positively discouraging, and the tutors and students all alike are victims to a system which regards examination success as the attainment of perfection in University life. The lure of the Matriculation is a great danger, and it makes for an inferior type of School education which clings through life and defeats the purpose of all higher education. Our institutions are committed to this mistaken policy, because a large number of students would keep them going, and the cup of inefficiency is full when we find that there is a sharp cleavage between those who have received higher education and those who have not, a cleavage which makes our education futile from the standard of service to the community.

The Lindsay Commission has tried to tackle the problem ; it has recommended a large increase in the staff in men's arts Colleges, an increase in the proportion of Indian Christian to non-Christian tutors, a reduction in the quantity of University education for men, and it has suggested new lines of organisation and administration. The authors, who had held high positions in India and knew the state of Indian education at first hand, make definite recommendations in the concentration of Colleges ; they think it is not possible to maintain more than eight good Colleges for men in India, equally distributed in the provinces. They think it also necessary that a new system of rural education should be devised to adjust the conditions in the Christian colonies that have sprung up, "a system which will be capable of expansion, which will be in harmony with village conditions and requirements, which will train up boys and girls desirous of remaining a part of the village and of spending lives of service to the progress of the countryside." Pioneer work for such a system has already been done at Moga in the Punjab, at Allahabad, at Medak (Hyderabad State), at Madura, at Dornakal and other places, and co-ordination of efforts is necessary to organise the new system in selected rural areas.

The line of thought of Sir George Anderson and Rev. Dr. Whitehead has been indicated in detail because most of their observations and recommendations are applicable beyond their immediate sphere and to Indian

education generally. The book makes concrete suggestions on a sound basis, on a recognition of the fact that real India lives in villages. They have harnessed their experience to the solution of the problem and in this small book before us we find matter for reflection for Indian educationists who will be benefited by its perusal. Our village life has been criminally neglected, the University result has loomed too large on our mental horizon, and the authors are to be thanked for having presented a lucid analysis of the failure of Indian education, an analysis which should provoke thought and lead to practical reforms. Though we believe that religious institutions defeat their purpose to a certain extent on account of their being wedded to a dual objective, and though we are sure that the creation of a school to be conducted on the lines of the English public school, such as contemplated by the late Mr. S. R. Das, is sure to breed social exclusiveness, we are in perfect agreement with the observation that "a College education, however good it may be, is no substitute for a good school education for a boy up to about eighteen years of age," and we feel delighted to read:

"Village life cannot be regenerated without a radical change in the mentality, the character, the social and religious ideas of the people themselves."

The book should be in the hands of all who want to think on Indian education.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Thoughts from Rabindranath Tagore. Indian Edition. Macmillan and Co., Limited. London, 1933.

Rabindranath Tagore is a name, to-day honoured all over the world, and as much honoured as read in the works that are available. Most of his works have not yet been translated into English, and even those that have been so rendered, fail to convey the impressions that one gathers, studying him at first hand. Tagore's musical diction, and the suggestive imagery which be subtly uses to express his ideas, are incapable of being understood by those who would appreciate the artist rather than follow the thinker. The poet is both an artist and a thinker; and this deserves to be noted.

Rabindranath is a thinker; he has thought deeply and extensively over the changes in life; nursing a goodly portion of his life in solitude, living in communion with the spirit that dwells far from the haunts of men, by the river-side, on the hill-top and the remote village corner, he has not ceased to respond to the world events and his response has been expressed not in any narrow, local or provincial manner, but in a way that is acceptable to all humanity.

The publishers have done a service to the cultural world by making selections of Tagore's thoughts and publishing them in the form of a book for convenience of reference. The anthology has been divided into five parts, suitably graded, and the value of the work is proved by the fact that a reprint has become necessary, within 4 years of the first edition. The book is handy, and the get-up is commendable. A suitable introduction and a reference to the sources of the passages cited would have added to the usefulness of the book.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume—Edited by a Board of Editors consisting of Messrs Hirendranath Datta (*President*), Meghnad Saha, Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Rajsekhar Bose, Charu Chandra Bhattacharyya, Satya Churn Law (*Secretary*), and Satyendranath Sen-Gupta (*Asst. Secretary*). Published by N. C. Paul, at the Calcutta Oriental Press, 1, Panchanan Ghosh Lane, Calcutta, 615 pp. With two full-plate portraits of Acharyya Praphullachandra and seventeen plates and thirty figures illustrating the text. Rs. 10. To be had of all principal book sellers in Calcutta,

The Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume was conceived as an adjunct, as everybody knows, to Acharyya Sir Praphullachandra Ray's Septuagenary Celebrations which were so solemnly festivised on the 11th December, 1932, last. But though the Volume was intended to be an organic part of the celebrations, it could not be brought out in time owing to the enormity of the obvious difficulties of the undertaking ; but the Board of Editors seized the opportunity of no less an important occasion than the last birthday of the great and good Acharyya when the volume just released from Press was offered to him—" this concrete manifestation of our united efforts as our humble tribute of love, respect, admiration and reverence which the great savant by his genius, personality and achievements kindles and inspires in us." The volume which is now before the public is a golden memento of a celebrated occasion, richly and elegantly got up, and should be in the hands of all who nourish in them any love and reverence for the great soul whose septuagenary it commemorates.

It is no place here to refer to Acharyya Ray's dedicated life, his character and his activities which may be the glory of any clime and country, but one may notice here with a sense of pride and pleasure how that great personality has evoked tributes of love, respect and admiration in the shape of appreciations and masterly papers from poets and scientists, thinkers and workers in all spheres of life and activity, scholars and teachers of our country and outside whose contributions, numbering seventy-three, in three different languages, Sanskrit, Bengali, and English and on diverse subjects of arts, letters and science, have been assembled between the two covers of this huge volume. It is not possible to mention all, but the reviewer may be execused if he mentions only the more celebrated ones. Here one can read tributes and appreciations from Rabindranath Tagore, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jagadishchandra Bose, Abanindranath Tagore and others, articles from Henry E. Armstrong, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya, Ramananda Chatterji, Sunitikumar Chatterji, Hirendranath Datta, Nilratan Dhar, F. G. Donnan, M. O. Forester, Gilbert J. Fowler, Hiralal Haldar, Ganganath Jha, Rameshchandra Mazumdar, Radhakamal Mookerji, Radhakumud Mookerji, Gilbert T. Morgan, Baini Prashad, J. Przyluski, Meghnad Saha, Bhupatimohan Sen, Surendranath Sen, Benoykumar Sarkar, Nareshchandra Sen-Gupta and J. L. Simonsen among others.

It is a pleasure to be informed that the volume owes its publication to the generosity of one single individual, Dr. Satya Churn Law, Secretary of the Editorial Board, in shouldering all expenses incurred in this connection. It is equally gratifying to understand that the entire sale-proceeds of the publication shall be made over to Sir P. C. Ray Students' Fund

Society which has just been registered under Act XXI of 1860—undoubtedly the most fitting resolution to crown an occasion commemorating the septuagenary of one whose life has been dedicated to the service of the students.

N. RAY

Mahāprasthāner Pathe Bengali—By Sri Prabodhkumar Sanyal. Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta, 257 pp. Cloth bound. Rs. 2. Neatly printed and elegantly got up.

Mr. Sanyal is a well-known figure among our younger generation of Bengali writers mainly recognised for his short stories and novels. In spirit and attitude he shows, it seems, his eagerness to claim relationship with the so-called " modernists " and has all the characteristic cleverness, less the subtlety and intellectualism, in dealing with primary instincts and passions of men. He is gifted with considerable insight into human mind but more than that, a simple, clear and passionate way of expressing himself which is the main reason of his popularity.

Mahāprasthāner Pathe is a book of travel, a literary record of the author's romantic journey from Calcutta to those Himalayan haunts of Kedarnath and Badrinath and back. But it is much more than a mere travel book in the ordinary sense. His attitude all along is that of a poet, an artist, a literary man, not of a traveller or mere chronicler. On every page, in every line he reveals his romantic mind, finds a story in every simple episode and experience, apparently without any meaning for a traveller, weaves poetry out of freaks, frowns and frivolities of nature which is so rich in the Himalayas, and gives, as a result, to his literary creation the atmosphere of a romantic life shortly lived admidst the hills, but secretly pining all the time for the love and affection and romance that lit up the homes and lives of the world left behind. The story is told sincerely and passionately, and if there is much in the mental attitude of the author no less is in the style and way of expression that combine to make it a delightful literary production.

N. RAY

Rammohun Roy: The Man and his Work—Compiled and Edited by Amal Home and published under the auspices of the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, Calcutta. Central Publicity Booklet No. 1, pp. 162. With seven illustrations. 8 As. only.

It is perhaps one of the most useful and abiding work the Rammohun Centenary Committee have ventured to do to commemorate the hundredth death-anniversary of the great Raja—this attempt to make known to a wider public the story of the ' life and activities as well as other interesting items of information regarding the multi-sided career ' of one who in the words of Rabindranath " inaugurated the Modern Age in India" and "belongs to the lineage of India's great seers." Unfortunately, even among our privileged educated class, knowledge of Rammohun's life and work is so limited and attitude so prejudiced that any work that aims at extending the horizon and cultivating a correct attitude and better perspective must be hailed with delight.

The book under review is no original work, it is a compilation; but it shows that compilation, with a definite aim and purpose in view, converging on a point and following a plan, can also be creative. Here between the two covers of this small volume, modestly called booklet, are assembled, among other important notes and appendices, four very important essays, reviewing each in its own way the life and career of Rammohun: (1) " Inaugurator of the Modern Age in India " by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, (2) Rammohun Roy: The Story of his Life by the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri, (3) Rammohan Roy and Modern India by Mr. Ramananda Chatterji and (4) Rammohun Roy: The Universal Man, by Sir Brajendranath Seal. The work of the Editor seems to have been called for most in connection with the sketch of the Raja's life by Pandit Sivanath Sastri which, written as early as the eighties of the last century, suffered naturally from grave inaccuracies of facts that only recent researches have brought to light. He has, therefore, found it necessary to supplement Pandit Sastri's "story" by very valuable notes culled from a number of sources incorporating all latest researches, and numbering as many as fifty-five. The Editor's labour and patient searching are still more in evidence in two appendices, one giving a long list, chronologically arranged, of the principal publications and other writings of Rammohun, and another a more or less complete bibliography, arranged chronologically, of books, pamphlets and magazine articles relating or having reference to the Raja. The book is thus a compendium where one can find within a short compass all that he may care to know about Rammohun, his life and work, and his place in the history of India.

Let us hope that this first Centenary Publicity Booklet will not be the last, for this is really the sort of work that would give the Centenary Celebrations an intellectual character.

N. RAY

History of Elementary Education in India—By J. M. Sen, M.Ed. (Leeds), B.Sc. (Cal.), F.R.G.S., Bengal Educational Service. The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Demy 8vo, Cloth bound, 313 pp. Rs. 4.

It is now an admitted responsibility of the State to impart education in the three R's to its people; and the history of elementary education throughout the world has established the fact that without a resort to compulsion no State can ensure a general diffusion of education among its people. Mr. Sen's *History of Elementary Education in India* touches exactly upon this subject from a historical point of view, and systematically traces, perhaps for the first time, the State's relation to education in India from the earliest times to 1932. By reason of the very nature of the history of education in India, the book divides itself into two parts. In Chapters I, II and III which may be said to form the first part, elementary education is treated along with secondary and collegiate education, and a very successful attempt is here made to show why and how the Government of our country tried to give more encouragement to secondary and collegiate education than to primary education. The reason was obviously to create a limited intelligentsia of the upper classes to serve as the mainstay of the administration. It was only in 1854 that the first basis for a

state educational programme in India was laid down by the Educational Despatch of the Court of Directors of the East India Company which was re-affirmed by Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State for India in his Despatch of 1859. It is practically from this date that the history of elementary education properly so called begins; and in the second part of the book comprising Chapters IV, V and VI, Mr. Sen gives a clear presentation of the history of the development of the Government policy concerning elementary education in India culminating in the passing of compulsory Education Acts in different provinces of the country. His analysis brings out that a fairly satisfactory progress has been attained in this respect since 1904 when we find for the first time the Government of India declaring that the rapid spread of primary education is one of the foremost duties of the State. But much yet remains to be done, for though the population of school-going age in India is usually reckoned at 14 p.c. of the total population, only 7·36 of the total male population and 1·80 p.c. of the total female population are at present under instruction in all kinds of institutions. A time is, therefore, come, and Mr. Sen emphasises this point, when the problem of compulsory and free primary education should be taken up more seriously everywhere in India.

The book is sure to have a wide circle of readers, for it would interest not only those who are directly or indirectly engaged in primary education work, but all those who care to think about one of the most pressing problems that are now before the country.

N. RAY

Miscellany

[*Economics and Applications of Science* (P. N. GHOSH)—*The State-control of Banks* (B. K. SARKAR)—*The World Crisis in Agriculture* (B. K. SARKAR)—*Banking in Russia* (B. K. SARKAR)—*Home Accidents in America*—(B. K. SARKAR).]

ECONOMICS AND APPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE

The present-day world economists are faced with two main problems, namely, overproduction and unemployment, and there has been a feeling that explicitly or implicitly Science and Machineries are to be held responsible. The new word "Technocracy" has been coined by American economists to express this idea. Looking back, however, to the history of England just about a century ago, one finds a parallel in its economic conditions. It may be pointed out that most of the machineries which now performs a large part of the industrial work and is supposed to have led to unemployment did not exist at that time. Yet the poverty of the labouring classes was even greater than it is to-day. The population of Great Britain was then 16 millions, yet there were 2 millions in work-houses or receiving out-door help. Carlyle in his "Past and Present" described the condition of those days as follows:—

"We have," he wrote, "more riches than any Nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any Nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful. A strange success if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls and full barns no man feels safe or satisfied. Workers, master workers, under workers, all men come to a pause; stand fixed and cannot further." These days were the starting point of the industrial revolution of the last century and it is little wonder that resentment should have been felt against life-destroying applications of science and that even to-day, suggestions should be made to cry a halt to mechanical improvements or discovery which would increase production at the expense of labour. There is, however, a distinction between invention of machineries which cheapen the production of known commodities and tend to displace labour, and scientific discovery which create new demands and open out fresh possibilities for the utilisation of labour. While invention deals with means, tools, machines, and appliances, pure scientific research is concerned with the principles out of which may come the mastery of Nature in the service of man.

Within the last few decades, discovery and invention have created abundance by multiplying man's power of production and increasing the fruits of the earth, facilitating their quick transport, establishing easy communication between different parts of a country, and have devised means to fight famine and pestilence. Science has given to the world everything required for the maintenance of a growing population in a rising standard of comfort. Prof. Henry E. Armstrong has in his letter to *Nature* (July 22, 1933) very tersely stated that there seemed to be no true scientific

principle or invariable standards in economic fields; international agreements are mainly adjustments of national interests conceived in confined political atmospheres and determined by expediency. He writes " In fact we are living in ' looking-glass lands,' victims of financial speculation: it is they who are creating much of the present difficulty, not only profiting at the expense of the community but also an ever present cause of unrest." While this spirit prevails, the prospect of finding a formula which will unite the peoples of the world for industrial and commercial stability and progress and their general welfare, seems almost hopeless.

The political economists to-day are, indeed, no more helpful than they were a century ago. To work out the solutions of the problems of over-production and unemployment, there is little justification thus for laying all the blame to the mechanical inventors for the unemployment accumulated in recent years. The stage coach and the sailing ships of a century ago have been replaced by faster-moving vehicles and when first introduced, it is true, they displaced labour in one direction, only however to stimulate it in the other, and in the end greater distribution of wealth and employment was created, much to the profit of the whole community. It may, therefore, rightly be said that for a people to be made wretched in the increase of means of producing plenty shows that there is something radically wrong in the economic procedure, industrial or social.

Modern technical achievements and scientific outlook, foreshadow a new economic structure for society in which they should be used to exercise decisive influence upon the major policies of the State, as well as upon their administration. States should keep a strict supervision so that the advantages derived from machineries and scientific improvements are justly shared by all and not used to enrich the few to the sacrifice of the many. In political realms, men of science have so far no place; and it is to the statesman that the community had to look for the solution of the national and international problems brought about by the advance of scientific knowledge and its use in industry. The future destiny of the human race thus lies in the hands of states men who should prove themselves worthy of the task brought before them by the efforts of scientific investigators.

P. N. Ghosh

THE STATE-CONTROL OF BANKS

The banks of the United States have been re-opened after a period of compulsory although legalised holidays. But the bank mechanism, set once more in motion, does not happen to be the same as before. It has undergone some transformation. For one thing, the American banks have lost their power of self-direction and their freedom of decision, for they have been placed under the control of the Government. Do we encounter here a temporary want of confidence in the capacity of the banks to judge and decide for themselves or the commencement of the transformation of the capitalistic system, so far as banks are concerned ?

By right of conquest in an atmosphere of *laisser faire* the bancocracy had become an end in itself, *i. e.*, a gigantic power capable of imposing its own will upon that of the State. The positions are now reserved

State aid has been offered to the banks. The Government has not come to the assistance with a loss to itself but has presented the bill for the assistance rendered, and thereby re-established the authority of the State—A. de Stefani in *Corriere della Sera* (Milan).

B. K. SARKAR

THE WORLD CRISIS IN AGRICULTURE

The cultivators of France are never known to have been contented with their lot except perhaps to a certain extent in the post-war years which marked the rise in prices corresponding to the fall in the franc. But from 1926 when the price of wheat was 246 francs per quintal (3·67 bushels) it has come down to 110 in 1933. The present crisis in France is not a crisis of under-consumption but is essentially a crisis of disequilibrium between the agricultural prices and the cost of production and living. The crisis would have been more severe in France had the Government failed to raise the prices or keep the prices at an artificially high level by protective measures.

The situation is not peculiar to France. In the U. S. A. with 100 as the base for 1914, the prices of cereals have come down to 49 and of cotton to 42 in 1932. From 136 in 1929 the "general average" has declined to 56. The total agricultural production which was worth 16 milliard dollars a few years ago is to-day worth only 5 milliard dollars. The decline in the purchasing power is to be measured by 11 milliard dollars.

The chief cause of this crisis is the intensive cultivation introduced during and since the war in overseas countries. New inventions have been utilized in the U. S. A., Canada, Argentina, Australia and elsewhere. The result has been, on the one hand, a reduction of hands to the extent of 40 to 50 per cent. and on the other, a remarkable diminution of prices. Although, so far as France is concerned, there is no question of under-consumption, the number of effective consumers in the world has not grown to the same extent as the amount of production in the two hemispheres.

The agriculturists are being aided to-day by the Government in several ways. Moratoria have been declared, credits have been offered or guaranteed, subsidies of one sort or other furnished, co-operative marketing facilitated. Besides, monopoly has been instituted in regard to the sale of certain produce in a centralized manner. Not many of these centralized monopoly-sales have been crowned with success, however. The efforts on the Federal Farm Board should serve as warnings. The Canadian pools have led to disaster. The coffee ventures of the Government of Brazil have been failures. The Egyptian Government has been compelled to renounce the stocking of cotton.

Since 1932 the Danubian countries of Eastern Europe have been demanding preferential tariff between two or three regions in regard to the export of agricultural produce and manufactured goods. Certain preferences have been introduced on paper, but virtually on account of the opposition of the transatlantic countries it has not been possible to render them effective.

On the whole, it appears that unless international conventions are established with the object of fixing export contingents on the basis of previous exports no stability may be expected in world-economy. This measure is not likely to be a panacea but may lead to some system in the place of the present chaos —Andre Pavic in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Economie Politique de Paris.*

B. K. SARKAR

BANKING IN RUSSIA

The development of banking is a special feature of the Russian economy under the Soviet regime. During the period of "war-communism" (1917-21) the existing private banks were nationalized. The State Bank of Czarist Russia was transformed into the People's Bank, which absorbed further the other banking institutions. Besides, there was an attempt to convert the entire system into a central book-keeping department of the Government.

The second period of Bolshevik Russia begins with the introduction of the "new economic policy" (N. E. P.) by Lenin in 1921. Down to 1928, *i.e.*, the introduction of the Gosplan, reaction against the ultra-communistic bank system was developed along the entire front. The State Bank was re-opened, the Co-operative Bank was established as well as a number of institutions for mutual credit. Among the new enterprises are to be mentioned likewise joint-stock limited-liability banking companies in addition to the regional (municipal and rural) banks.

During this period Soviet banking was carried on in the usual manner of the banks in capitalistic countries. The banks were moreover called upon to supplement the financial projects of the Government whenever it was necessary to depend on resources beyond those provided for in the central budget.

The Gosplan (1928-33) has introduced modifications in this system of banking as initiated under the N.E.P. The banks have been compelled to lose their non-statal or private character and acquire the features of state institutions in keeping with the general ideals of "economic planning." The credit system lost its economic character and was made to conform to this state-controlled economy. Under the capitalistic ideas of the N. E. P. the banks were permitted to offer credit only under "economically worthwhile" conditions. But the plan-economy, as established by the fiat of the state, removed those ideas of "private," "economic" and unregulated banking. They were authorized or compelled to finance the transactions according to the "plan." From the standpoint of bank technique it is interesting to observe, however, that the system of offering credit in goods as prevalent under the N. E. P. has been abolished. In its place has appeared real banking, *i.e.*, financing through bank papers and account, etc. The consolidation of the entire banking system is another mentionable feature of the last five years.

Certain reforms of this period are noteworthy. In 1930 an Act was passed to modify the earliest provisions of the Gosplan in regard to bank credit. It had been the custom to offer credit to any and every business

on the strength of the Plan's certificate, so to say. No considerations were attached to actual requirements of the business or its total output or capacity. Today "automatic" credit of this type has been abolished. In order to obtain credit the business must demonstrate by its records to what extent it has succeeded in carrying out the instructions of the Plan. Besides, the banks have to examine the understandings entered into under compulsion of the Government between the different business in order to ascertain how the transactions help another from the standpoint of co-operation in production and marketing. In other words, the "economically worthwhile" character of the business, and therefore, of the credit to be offered, is once again an item of chief importance in the banking system. In 1933, be it observed further, another principle of capitalistic banking is in operation. Down to 1931 the diverse accounts of the businesses with the banks were treated in one lump. There was no distinction made in the bank books between the business's own money and that offered to it as credit. This distinction has since then been introduced in the records.—Dobbert in *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv* (Jena).

B. K. SARKAR

HOME ACCIDENTS IN AMERICA

The home is becoming a more hazardous place for grown-ups but a safer place for children.

In the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the rate from fatal accidents in the home rose nearly 42 per cent. among persons at ages fifteen and over, between the years 1924 and 1932 : and the rate from these accidents, last year, was the highest on record. The increased number of men and women killed in domestic accidents may be a reflection of the business slump which has forced large numbers of persons to remain at home, who, in normal times, would be employed elsewhere during a large part of the day.

The increased hazard in the home appears to be due entirely to the greater number of fatal accidents involving falls. Each year since 1924 has shown an increasing number of accidents of this type. In that year, one-third of all fatal accidents that occurred to adults, while engaged in activities in and about the home, were due to falls, but in 1932 this single class accounted for more than one-half of all the domestic accidents. With respect to fatalities following accidental burns, no similar increase has been observed; in fact, the death rate from this class of accident has remained on practically the same level throughout the nine-year period. Asphyxiations by gas are fewer now than ever before. Accidents, other than falls, burns and asphyxia by gas, have varied in number from year to year ; in the last three years, however, the rate from the group of miscellaneous accidents has been somewhat above average.—*Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York.*

B. K. SARKAR

Gleanings from Periodicals

BACK TO ASIA

If all that is contained in the article *Japan and Pan-Asianism* by Mr. V. B. Metta in the "Indian Review" (Madras), is true, Japan is now resounding with the cry of "Back to Asia." She intends to organise and lead a movement for Pan-Asianism, for which purpose, she will help in founding a Pan-Asiatic University at Shanghai, to create an Asiatic News Agency to spread correct information and to construct a trans-Atlantic Railway. The movement is thus to be both cultural and political.

"To try to bring together Asiatic nations is by no means a new ideal for Japan. Soon after the end of her War with Russia in the early years of this century, she began to work for the creation of a sense of solidarity among Asiatic nations. She started a linguistic society to make the Mongolian peoples realize their kinship, the Indo-Japanese Association to create friendly feelings between herself and India, and the Pan-Asiatic Association to create a sense of unity between the different Asiatic nations. She sent out teachers and journalists to various Oriental countries to preach the gospel of Asia for the Asiatics. Her universities taught the same ideal to the Chinese, Siamese, Indian and other Asiatic students who were studying there."

"Although always friendly with western nations and often less than friendly with China, the Pan-Asiatic ideal has never been wholly out of Japan's mind since then. She welcomed and gave asylum to Doctor Sun-Yat Sen, General Chiang-Kai-Shek and other Chinese leaders. Also in 1922 soon after she agreed to evacuate Shantung a bill was passed in the Japanese Parliament to establish technical schools in China with the proceeds of the Japanese share of the Boxer indemnity and a system of exchange professorships was created between the Japanese and Chinese universities. Japan also sent a commercial mission to Siam and commercial treaty between the countries was signed. Soon thereafter the Siamese Government employed several Japanese advisers and instructors. Japan has also been cultivating friendly relations with the Islamic East. In 1920 she exchanged ambassadors with Turkey for the first time. In 1926 she opened a commercial exhibition at Constantinople and conducted negotiation with the Turkish Government for the Japanese colonisation of Anatolia. Japan already supplies one-eighth of the wants of Turkey for unbleached cotton cloths."

"The main causes of the Pan-Asiatic movement from the Asiatic point of view are common grievances and common dangers."

"The Asiatic nations do not like any racial discrimination to be made between themselves and the Europeans. They want to be allowed to immigrate to the United States and British Dominions and Colonies on

the same terms as the Europeans (which is now denied to the Japanese, the Chinese and the Indians alike).......... Had western nations not gone to eastern countries to conquer and exploit them, had they not closed the doors of their Colonies and Dominions to Asiatic immigrants, had they passed Japan's motion for race equality at the Versailles Peace Conference, and had not America passed 'the Immigration Act of 1924 explicity to hurt the *amour-propre* of the Japanese there would have been no Pan-Asiatic Movement."

" History does not move in a straight line but in a circle. Western nations have not always been at the top as they are to-day. They were at the bottom when the Assyrians, Scythians, Huns, Mongols. Arabs and Turks were the conquerors of the world. And western empires in the East have not lasted forever, the empire that Alexander the Great carved out for himself was reconquered by the Asiatics. The Romans were driven out bag and baggage from the East by the Arabs."

" The outlook for the West—for the whole world, in fact—is serious. The realities of human nature must be faced. If Europe wants war, then let her continue her policy of domination and exploitation in the East and colour bar in her Colonies and Dominions. But if she wants peace, then let her begin to modify her policy."

THE RURAL REFORM MOVEMENT IN CHINA AND HER UNIVERSITIES

As in India so in China farmers and agricultural workers who form the eighty-five p.c. of the huge population constitute the foundation of the Chinese economic organisation. The nation has therefore rightly realised that her salvation must begin with the uplifting of the living standard of the farming population, the training of these people in local self-government. The late Dr. Sun-Yat Sen, in his programme for national reconstruction, definitely laid down the principle that the *hsien* (large rural districts), will be the basis for local government reforms. In pursuance of its declared policy, the National Government of the Kuomintang has applied various methods in the improvement of rural communities, says Mr. W. H. Ma, Head of the Department of Political Science in the University of Nanking, in an article in " The Chinese Affairs " (Nanking, China).

"In each *hsien*, there is organized a local militia consisting of volunteers recruited among the people. This people's force is to keep order in the villages and to protect them from bandit attacks. The *hsien* is also divided into several self-government areas (which are called *ch'ü*); the number varies with different *hsiens*. A *ch'ü* is again divided into many town and country districts (*chen* and *hsiang* respectively) which consist also of smaller units like villages and hamlets. By beginning with the smallest

groupings of the people, it is hoped that local self-government can be more easily and effectively put into operation. In a number of *hsiens* where the mass of the people are relatively advanced in political experience or interest, they are allowed to elect their own officers in the *ch'ü*, *chen* and *hsiang* (*ch'ü chang*, *chen chang* and *hsiang chang*). The people are poorly prepared to elect national representatives like congressmen or members of parliament; but they more easily learn how to choose a village head and officers below the rank of *hsien* magistrate. In economic ways, the government has been equally active in seeking a solution of the problems confronting the rural communities. Just recently, through the effort of Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the President of the Executive Yuan, the Government has successfully established a Commission of Rural Reconstruction. It consists of a group of able men, experienced in rural economic and educational reforms. It represents the first attempt on the part of the central government to consolidate all movements of rural reconstruction. Under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek, various shemes of rural Reconstruction in areas recovered from the Communists have been effectually carried out. The provincial governments, in various ways, have also made attempts at rural reconstruction. In Kiangsi province, the government has organized an institute for the study of *hsien* government. A returned student from England, Mr. Ts'u Ching-yu, is heading this organization. Also an office for the direction and guidance of the rural co-operative movement is established in the same province. Throughout Kwangsi province, reforms of all kinds are carried out in the *hsien* districts including road-building, co-operative societies, popular education, and agricultural improvement."

"Aside from the government, private citizens of various classes have also organized themselves into societies for the promotion of rural reform movement. The most successful and fruitful organization is the society for the promotion of mass education under the personal direction of Mr. James Yeu. He has established his headquarters in Ting hsien in Hopei province. Being well financed, Mr. Yen has been able to conduct numerous experiments in the field of seed-selection, animal husbandry, general sanitation, farm implements and popular education. In acknowledging the value of this work, the Hopei provincial government has recently established at Ting hsien an institute for research in schemes and systems for *hsien* or local government improvement. Mr. Yen is appointed head of this institute. In Chow P'ing *hsien* of Shantung province, Mr. Liang Shu-min, a noted scholar in Chinese and western philosophy as well as in other subjects, has successfully started an intensive movement for rural political and economic improvement. General Han Fu-chu, the governor of the province, gives Mr. Liang a free hand in carrying out his plans. Reports from that *hsien* indicate that Mr. Liang's projects are working out very well. Other *hsiens* of the province are likely to follow in his footsteps. In Nanking, there has been organized a Research Association on China's Hsien Government which includes professors of the universities and government workers in the city. Its work is to study a specific *hsien* in respect to its political, economic and social conditions. The Association will utilize the survey to suggest concrete programs for the reforms to be carried out in that *hsien*. It is a movement which assists the various provincial governments to begin rural reform work and will inspire leading persons to pay more attention to *hsien* government and to be willing to

assume the responsibility of a humble magistrate. Similar instances may be multiplied, but the work along this line led by the universities should be counted among the most significant. The noted ones include the University of Nanking, the National Central University and Lingnan University (Canton)."

NATIONALISING EDUCATION IN TURKEY

Under the caption *Recent Educational Changes in Turkey* Prof. Walter Woodburn Hyde of the University of Pennsylvania contributes a short but interesting article in "India and the World" (Calcutta). The new Republican Government of Turkey has recently passed legislation in the direction of "reforming" the educational system through exerting unifying control for *nationalistic purposes.*

"As primary and secondary schools increase in number and efficiency in the Republic this tendency toward turning the educational system into one national mould will grow apace. Only the beginnings of the movement are as yet observable, and it is still too early to say how far the Government will continue to let foreign schools, which are manifestly not in harmony with the nationalistic spirit, to function. To-day all schools, whether Turkish, foreign, or minority, are slowly conforming with the new regulations which have emanated from the Ministry of Education. Later on perhaps all schools of every type and origin will be obliged to join the unified system. In March, 1931, all foreign schools in Turkey were informed that only such students as had passed through the national primary schools could enter them. This was manifestly intended to insure that younger pupils would receive primary instruction within the national system. Later on in the same year another decree was passed which proved of far greater interest to the American colleges in Turkey, since it allowed only graduates of universities, native or foreign, to teach in the secondary schools. A third law, far more injurious than either of the preceding in its effects on American colleges in Turkey, was passed in the late summer of 1931. This required that all instruction in the three important subjects of History, Geography, and Civics in classes below University grade, must be given to Turkish students in Turkish by Turkish instructors. At the same time, of course, these subjects can still be given to foreigners in foreign languages. Such an enactment shows the Government's attempt to control these important branches of learning in a nationalistic manner. It was immediately applied at the beginning of the academic year 1931-32 throughout colleges in Turkey, with the exception of American ones, which were given a year's extension under the older system, *i.e.* to September of 1932. Heretofore instruction in these fields at Robert and other American colleges has been given to all students, whether Turkish or foreign, by trained American scholars, and in English. Consequently the new law made grave changes in curricula and staffs inevitable. About the only Turkish instructors that can henceforth be used in the American colleges in these subjects will be their own *alumni,*

though these must give their instruction in the Turkish language. Robert College for the past seventy years has been an outpost of Western culture, and the chief means by which that culture has been interpreted was through History and Geography, which were required subjects both in the Lower College and the Upper Academy. In the Junior and Senior years of the Upper College they were elective along with Government, International Relations, Economics, and Sociology. These latter subjects can still be given to mixed classes in English, but History and Geography can only be presented in English to classes which have no Turkish students. Since 1931 an inexpensive text-book in four volumes on Universal History, inspired by Kemal who is responsible for many of its views, has been published by the Ministry of Education to be used in all Turkish schools, and in foreign ones which have Turkish subjects. Its worst feature is the glorification of the Turkish people, especially back in the dim past of prehistoric times, when the Turks are regarded as the basis of all the cultures of antiquity and still important in some of those of later times. For the authors believe that the Turks " have created the greatest movements of history," and that they are " the most ancient nation of the world." Volume III is wholly concerned with the modern Turks, as well as parts of Volume IV. From this work we can readily see that historic instruction from now on is intended to be strongly nationalistic."

" While these new regulations will certainly injure the future activity of Robert College especially, they will quite as severely enhance the importance of the one national Turkish University, that of Stamboul. This institution, officially known as Istanbul Dürüflununu, enjoying a budget of nearly a half million dollars, was founded in 1869, though the first *firman* was issued twenty-four years earlier by Sultan Abdul Medjid (1839-67), refounded in 1901, and reorganized through a decree of April 21, 1924, *i.e.*, in the early days of the Republic. It is frankly modelled after the German University plan, as all similar institutions are in eastern and south-eastern Europe. In its present outlook it seems worthy to take its place soon beside the Universities of Europe, though many Turkish students still prefer to study abroad. Thus only the foreign schools and especially Robert College have been crippled by the new legislation, while the national schools and the University have been aided. The new movement is quite in line with nationalistic tendencies in education elsewhere in the world and should not excite our surprise nor displeasure. There can be no valid reason why Turkey should not follow her own bent in education as other peoples have done and have what she wants, even if foreign schools long resident in the country are injured thereby."

INDIA AND THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

It is well-known that the Army in India is maintained not merely for the purpose of maintaining order in British India, it is maintained also for the protection of India, as it is alleged, from external aggression and for taking part in a major war against a powerful European State which might attack India's frontiers. In a significant article entitled *India and*

the Disarmament Conference in "The Asiatic Review" (London), Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I, shows admirably that the world situation has been transformed in such a manner as to make the danger of such aggression negligible or insignificant in that quarter. The question therefore necessarily arises, argues Mr. Pratt, whether there should not be a corresponding revision in the strength and organisation of the Army in India, for "in India we have a country which less than any other country in the world can afford to have a large proportion of its resources earmarked for defence expenditure."

"External dangers are said to threaten India from three directions: either singly or in combination from the frontier tribes. from Afghanistan, and from Russia. A fair estimate is needed of each of these factors which will avoid the Scylla of exaggeration and the Charybdis of optimistic understatement. The frontier tribes, from Chitral down to Swat and the Malkand, the Afridis of the Khyber and the Tirah, the Mahsuds and Waziris of Waziristan are often spoken of as if they constituted a serious danger to the security of India. It is usual to quote the numbers of the adult male population and the numbers of their rifles as if these men were an organized and equipped army corps backed by the esources of a great and powerful Government, which might at any moment be mobilized for the conquest of Northern India."

"But, have we on our side any grounds for believing that the Afghan Government harbours any sort of aggressive design against India? Amanullah's mad attack in 1919 was, in fact, a kind of backwash of the Great War, and its results were not such as to encourage any future ruler to repeat his attempt. At the present day *The Times* correspondent tells us that Kabul is an increasingly steadying factor in the politics of the frontier. It is on official record that during the frontier disturbance in 1930 the Afghan Government actively discouraged the unrest in our tribal areas, and its assistance is stated to have been of incalculable value. It is probable that the Afghan Government on their side, were equally grateful for our active co-operation in 1933 in preventing our Waziris from taking part in the Afghan rebellion in Khost. A Constitution was promulgated in 1932, and the Government is concentrating all its efforts on trade and pacification with a cautious policy of internal development. Her army of 40,000 is of no serious military importance. It would be almost as preposterous to speak of Switzerland as a dangerous neighbour to the French Republic as to represent Afghanistan as a serious menace to the security of India. There are no possible grounds of dispute which could not easily be settled with or without the intervention of Geneva."

"It may, of course, be urged that Afghanistan, though not formidable by her own strength, may be used as a cat's-paw by Russia, who will first Sovietize Afghanistan and then proceed to the conquest of India. It is in this argument that we at last come up against what is generally believed to be the real menace to India's security, that 'danger of the first order of magnitude' arising from the hostile attitude and the aggressive intentions of a great European Power. The specific references to Russia in the Simon Commission Report establish quite clearly that the Government of

India and their military advisers look upon the danger of Russian military aggression as not less serious to-day than it was fifty years ago, when memories were still fresh of the days when Russian armies were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and the fear of Russian aggression in the Mediterranean brought Indian troops to Malta and British battleships to the Bosphorus."

"The hypothesis that the Afghans would willingly allow their country to be used as a corridor and overrun and Bolshevized by Soviet commanders need only be mentioned to be set aside as not worth serious discussion."

"It would be more profitable to ask whether the conduct of the Soviet Government has been such as to give any grounds for believing that they have any special designs against Afghanistan. They had ample opportunities for subversive activities during the ten months of civil war in 1929 prior to the accession of the present King Nadir Khan, when the British Minister withdrew and the Russian Minister for the best part of a year was left alone in Kabul. What, in fact, happened was that the Soviet Government took an early opportunity after Nadir Khan's accession to renew the 1926 treaty of friendly neutrality and non-aggression. It is undoubtedly the fixed policy of the Soviet Government to work for a world revolution which should destroy the capitalist system in every other country and set up in its place a system similar to their own—and to achieve this end they will employ every engine of propaganda for stirring up discontent and revolution in capitalist countries."

"But apart from propaganda the foreign policy of the Soviet Government is emphatically a policy of peace and non-aggression. If there is one stable factor in the world of to-day it is that Russia will never attack. She will never attack because external war would mean the collapse of her economic programme ; it would mean peasant risings and revolution, and nationalist rebellions by all her discontented minorities in Central Asia and Georgia and the Ukraine. This is the obvious explanation of the meekness and long-suffering of her diplomacy in the Far East in her relations with China and Japan. She lives in constant fear of her capitalist neighbours. It is for this reason that for years past she has been weaving a network of protective treaties of non-aggression with all her border States in Europe and Asia."

"The world has moved on since 1919, and Kandahar and Ghazni and Jalalabad can no longer be regarded as possible objectives for India's Field Army. The reader need hardly be reminded that we are still maintaining a strategic railway with a terminus at New Chaman, the purpose of which is to serve as the spear-head of an advance on Kandahar. This is the railway of which the Amir complained that he felt it like a 'knife in his vitals.'"

"If the enemy is to be Russia there is nothing in the history of the last fifty years to support the theory that Russia intends to attack ; and no such attack would be possible without long years of hostile preparation, even the first beginnings of which could not possibly be concealed. It is therefore suggested that the time is ripe and more than ripe for giving India the blessings of a military holiday during which her armed forces, like the armed forces in other parts of the British Empire, shall be

determined solely on the basis of the maintenance of internal order and effective military control of the frontier tribes. Would such a formula be one of reasonable security for India under existing conditions? I am quoting Sir Austen Chamberlain when I say that 'this is a question which has to be answered by the politicians. The answer does not affect and cannot be given by the military, naval, or air experts. It depends on political considerations and must be answered by politicians and statesmen.' "

FUTURE OF GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP

Under the caption *The Nazi Menace to German Scholarship*, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa contributes a very interesting article in " The Modern Review " for August (Calcutta) in course of which he discusses the present and future of German Scholarship. Says he:

" Germany's political turmoil is strikingly reflected in her universities and in the attitude of her students. With the advent of Nazidom, the German universities have really become the most prolific incubators of chauvinistic nationalism. The revolutionary fervour of the German youth is growing so rapidly that many of the distinguished professors at the universities are most anxious about the future of German scholarship and its scientific spirit. Though they declare that there has been no serious decline in the accomplishments of German scholars, yet they view with deep concern the intensification of political party feeling among the students and the frequent recurrence of outbreaks against university authority and discipline which hitherto had been jealously guarded. Further they seem also to be much disturbed over the uncalled for repressive measures that are being adopted by the Nazi government to discourage liberalism and freedom of thought. Germany has long been known as a land of professors and as a country that has produced prodigious monuments of scholarship and men with great erudition. But now the German university, the centre of *Kultur*, is no longer the centre of peaceful research and scientific scholarship. It has, on the other hand, become the focus of intense social and political unrest. The high-handed methods which Hitler encourages, or at least condones, are sometimes tragic in their results, and his tremendous influence over the student population has dealt a serious blow to academic freedom. No professor or lecturer is quite sure that some day he may not be the victim of the attacks of students. When a new man is appointed to a university faculty, the student corporations study very carefully his previous record and try to find out if he is really a scholar in his subject, whether he has any leanings towards the internationalist point of view, what his attitude is towards pacifism, above all, if he is a Jew. If the results of their investigation are not satisfactory, they launch a campaign against him, and all kinds of disturbances break out in the class room. Sometimes students go even to the extent, as in the case of Prof. Cohn of Breslau, of using tear gas and stink bombs. In this manner a number of men have already been driven out of the German universities,—as was Cohn,—by the activities of the students. It is Prof. Eduard Spranger, the famous

pedagogue and philosopher of Berlin, who resigned his professorship as a protest against the present tendencies which threaten to leave the universities at the mercy of the unruly and irresponsible student groups. Prof. Spranger's resignation is the outstanding episode of the present university upheaval under the Nazi leadership."

The students are also reported to have been invading libraries and book shops and demanding withdrawal from sale and exhibition of works by prominent authors but who are considered by them to be "un-German." Those books are consigned to the Nazi fires which from time to time light up the University campus.

"In spite of the permanent feverish spirit among the students of Germany, magnificent work is being done, especially in the fields of pure and applied science. Such an organization as the Kaiser Wilhelm-Gesellschaft, which supports a group of research laboratories in various parts of Germany and which draws some of its funds from private individuals, is feeling the pinch of hard times; all the same, its work is being carried on with the usual enthusiasm. It is probably the greatest single agency for the advancement of pure science in the world. And Dahlem, the little suburb of Berlin, where most of its laboratories are assembled, is outwardly untroubled by the storm of nationalism which is sweeping over the country. Hence at least in their research work they are not worried by the demand for practical results and by the necessity of teaching large numbers of students. The present revolutionary methods of the German students is sure to drive eventually all intellectual life underground. The unwarranted and reckless dismissal of professors not only involves the question of their material status but deprives them of their professional honour since their enforced leave of absence is in a certain sense an attestation that they lack the ethical and scientific equipment for their work, that they are not good enough Germans to instruct the German youth. The lofty ideal that the German scholar usually sets up for himself has now been dragged down under the Nazi dominance."

FASCISM IN GERMANY: A PORTENT

Under the above caption Dr. Sasadhar Sinha contributes an article in "The Indian Review" (Madras). Democracy to-day is at the parting of ways: the tendency is to choose between Communism and Fascism. The question resolves itself into a comparatively simple problem, says Dr. Sinha. Fascism, he thinks, must perforce hold out a greater attraction to wealth and intellect, for it substitutes, without fundamentally altering them, one form of government and society for another. Hitlerism is a portent.

"German Fascism, like its counterpart, draws its main inspiration and strength from the ambitions of its founder. Never, however, were two

personalities more widely different in intellect, political acumen and temperament than the Duce and Herr Hitler. Mussolini, endowed with deep political insight, has from the very outset been marked as a politician of the first rank. Like his distinguished compatriot, Cavour, he is also a 'Realpolitiker,' whereas Hitler remains the eternal demagogue, owning success more to the sentimental temperament of the German people than to any real political genius. Indeed, at no time has Hitler shown himself more lacking in political realism than now by sanctioning the wholesale persecution of Jews and political parties opposed to his own—a persecution unparallelled in the recent history of Europe. The circumstances, which have led to the rise and the eventual coming into power of Hitler's followers, the so-called Nazis (National Socialists), are in certain respects unique. In the case of Italy, her very success in the War was of paramount importance. Germay's impoverishment, her loss of territory and her political impotence—all traceable to the War and the unjust Treaty of Versailles, have, through all these years of misery, not only rankled in the hearts of all self-respecting Germans but have aroused patriotic sentiments, in particular in the generation that has grown into manhood since 1919, whose keynote is hatred—hatred against all and sundry, supposedly un-German or anti-German. The love of the Fatherland has grown into a religion unto itself."

"Fascism holds the destiny of Germany in its palm. The question that one involuntarily asks oneself is: For how long? If the parallel of Italy or even of Soviet Russia is any guide to historical prophesying, one thing is clear, namely, that once a well-organised party is saddled in power it does not abdicate of its own free will. In the main two or three lines of development are likely in the future. If the excesses towards the racial and political minorities let loose by the Nazis are not curbed in time, a revulsion of feeling culminating in a revolt against Hitlerism is possible, but this is, in any case, a remote contingency. In the second place, if national socialism fails to bring relief to the desperate economic plight of Germany in the near future (and it is hardly likely that it will succeed in this laudable venture) then there is bound to occur a breach in the ranks of the Nazi party itself. In such an eventuality, an alliance of the Nazi malcontents and the other irreconcilables will prove too formidable a combination for German national socialism to grapple with. Last but not least is the danger from abroad. The persecution of the Jews has already created a certain hardening of feeling towards the present rulers of Germany. The claim for equality of armaments coupled with the alleged secret rearming of the nation will only reinforce the process. It is possible that the ultimate blow to German Fascism will come from a combination of all these factors. If Hitlerism is wise, it will learn to reconcile international goodwill with its activities at home. But, will it ?"

At Home and Abroad

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[*A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Cultural and Academic Institutions*]

Indian Students in German Universities

German Universities have at present become the most prolific centres of revolutionary activities of the German youth, and there has been an intensification of political party feeling among the students. But this should be no reason for concern or anxiety for Indian students in National Socialist Germany, assures Dr. Taraknath Das in a letter, dated Baden-Baden, Germany, June 23, 1933, and published in "The Modern Review." "During the last week I have received letters from Indian students in Kiel, Konigsberg, Cologne, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Heidelberg and Nuremberg. These students are carrying on post-graduate studies on various subjects—medicine, engineering, chemistry, commerce and philology ; and every one of them expresses complete satisfaction with the kind treatment accorded to him by the German public, students and professors.........From my personal experience and from the experience of many *bonafide* Indian students in German Universities, it may be safely asserted that worthy Indian scholars are always welcome in German Universities.........I wish to assert that whatever be the tendency of the "foreign policy" of National Socialist Germany, it is certain that the German people in general, especially German educators, are not unfriendly to Indian students. It is a fact that Indian student have been welcome in Germany and those Indian students who do their best in acquiring all that is best in German educational institutions will always receive every consideration."

Foreign Scholarships for Indian Women

The Barbour Scholarships, yielding six hundred dollars each per annum and university fees, are awarded annually upon a basis of merit by a committee at Michigan University, U. S. A. The character of the candidate, her physical condition, her scholastic attainment, her fitness for university work, including the ability to use the English language for study and classroom purposes, marked ability in some special field, and her desire to return to her native land for service after suitable preparation shall have been made, are the chief factors considered by the committee in making appointments. The awards are made annually about the first of March to take effect at the beginning of the following term in September. All courses of instruction offered at the Universi y of Michigan are open to women students, and the Barbour scholars are not limited to women pursuing any particular course of study. The scholarships are open to women of any Oriental nationality, no definite number being allotted to any one country. No race restrictions nor religious requirements are imposed. Unless exception is made by special action of the committee, married

women are not eligible to appointment. For further information and application blanks enquiries should be made before September first to Mrs. V. M. Ilahibaksh, Y.M.C.A., Naini Tal, U.P.

A Prize for Agricultural Research

In memory of Mr. E. J. Woodhouse, formerly Economic Botanist and Principal of Sabour Agricultural College who was killed in action in France in 1917, a prize in the form of a silver medal and books of a combined value of Rs. 85, will be awarded to the writer of the best essay on a subject of botanical interest. The length of the essay is not to exceed 4,000 words. The competition is open to graduates of Indian Universities and to diploma holders and licentiates of recognised Agricultural Colleges in India who are not more than 30 years of age. The subject of the essay is to be selected from the following:—

(1) The root system as a limiting factor in plant distribution, (2) Basis of quick selection for drought resistance and water-logging in agricultural crops, and (3) Application of modern statistical methods to yield trials.

Papers should be sent to the Director of Agriculture, Bihar and Orissa, Patna, before November 1.

Ex-President Hoover becomes Librarian

Former President Hoover is shortly to become a librarian of the Leland Stanford University at Palo Alto. The Stanford University library building is being remodelled to provide an office for Mr. Hoover, from which he will direct the unique Hoover library of the Great War books and documents. Most of these were collected by Mr. Hoover himself when he was engaged in relief work in Europe during the War. Additional space in the archives also will be provided, to house additional material gathered by Mr. Hoover when he was at Washington as President. The collection is the largest of its kind (writes Mr. Sudhindra Bose in the "Hindu"). Many documents filed there, dealing with secret diplomatic negotiations before and after the Great War, never have been made public. Away from politics, Mr. Hoover will now spend his days among books.

Assam Sahitya Sabha

His Excellency Sir Michael Keane, Governor of Assam, has given a donation of Rs. 200 to the Assam Sahitya Sabha as "an earnest of his sympathy" with the aims of the Sabha. The Executive Committee of the Sabha at a meeting expressed their gratitude to the Governor. The Sabha was established more than a year ago for the preservation, encouragement and advancement of the Assamese language and literature. Through the munificence of Rai Bahadur Radha Kanta Handiqui the Sabha was housed in the Chandrakanta Institute at Jorhat, and Sir John Kerr during his Governorship gave them an annual Government grant of Rs. 3,000. Owing to financial stringency the grant was reduced to Rs. 1,000 in 1929-30, and in the following year it was suspended. The revival of the grant, which is the subject of communication between the Secretary of the Sabha, and the Government, appears to be a possibility, as the Minister for Education has taken a very sympathetic attitude, and is giving it careful consideration.

All-India Library Conference

Preparations for the forthcoming All-India Library Conference to be held in Calcutta from 12th to 14th September 1933, are getting apace. The Commissioner of Education of the Government of India, Mr. J. Leitch Wilson, has consented to open the Conference on the 12th September. Rai Bahadur Dr. U. N. Brahmachari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, has donated Rs. 1,000 towards the expenses of the conference. Sir P. C. Ray will propose and instal the President, Dr. M. O. Thomas of the Annamalai University.

Hyderabad Museum

Some noteworthy additions have recently been made to the Hyderabad Museum which was opened by H. E. H. the Nizam about a year ago. Some rare manuscripts which were lately added to the list of exhibits deserve special mention. Among these is a copy of *Naurasnama* composed by Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. At its end the manuscript bears the following inscription: "Under the orders of His Majesty the King, the refuge of the world (may his kingdom be perpetuated) this book was completed in haste by Faqir Ismatullah." Another interesting manuscript is the *Diwani Be Khudi* which was written in 1024 A. H. by Nimatullah at Hyderabad for the library of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah of Golconda. A third manuscript is the *Nai Nama* of Mulla Jami, which has been copied by Muhammad Muhsin Hirawi in beautiful Nastalic characters. It bears the seal of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, and an inscription shows that the manuscript belonged to the library of that king. The margins are decorated with graceful designs of *shikargah* work in gold. Yet another illuminated manuscript of rare beauty is the *Durude Mustaghath* copied in Nashk script. A copy of the *Shahnama* of Firdusi, containing about fifty-five paintings of Siyah Qalam in Persian style, has been acquired. The covers of the book are decorated in highly artistic lacquer work and illuminated with miniatures in the Persian style. Five manuscript copies of the Holy Koran have been removed to the Museum from Bibi ka Maqbara, the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife at Aurangabad. One of them was copied by Muhammad Salih, the court calligrapher of Shah Jahan. Most likely one of the remaining copies had been copied by Aurangzeb himself.

Al-Azahar University

The Al-Azahar University of Cairo, the first, oldest and largest educational institution of the Muslims of the world, has recently admitted five Chinese Muslim students from Peiping (Peking) and granted several privileges to them. These students from Peiping formed the second group of students from China to Cairo to study Islamic theology. The first group was sent by a Muslim organization of Qunan Province in 1931. In Al-Azahar University, which was established more than one thousand years ago, there are about 16,000 students of whom nearly 600 hail from foreign countries. Their nationality varies from Portuguese to Koreans and their age ranges from 14 to 75. The students belong to both sexes and dress themselves in special uniforms of the University consisting of a long black coat and a red hat. The language used in the class

rooms is Arabic. There are three colleges in the University, the College of Law, the College of Literature and the College of old Muslim Classics. Many aged Muslim scholars from various countries are devoting their time there to the study of one of the world's oldest and most brilliant culture. It is understood that a third batch of Muslim students from Peiping will be soon leaving fot Cairo.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

During his last visit to Poona, His Excellency the Viceroy paid a visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and was presented with the first volume of the *Mahabharata* and four volumes of the collected works of the late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. His Excellency was shown the work in progress on the *Mahabharata* edition. The new building for the press and stores of the Institute, the Nizam's Guest House, which is nearly complete, the Post-Graduate classes of the Institute and the library of manuscripts. In a speech of welcome the Chief of Aundh recalled that Lord Willingdon set the Institute working by performing its inauguration ceremony this very month (*i.e.*, August) 16 years ago when he was Governor of Bombay and became first President of its general body.

The Viceroy in reply said in course of his speech: "I am particularly glad to pay a visit to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which you reminded me I opened 16 years ago and to find that my godchild, which was then a mere infant, erected principally to commemorate the work and teachings of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, has thriven so well that it is now an institution of international repute."

"My presence here recalls to my mind my admiration of the qualities of head and heart of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and my grateful feeling that he was to me during my life here one of my best and trusted advisers and friends. Is it any wonder that I say that I am glad to be here to find that the building which I opened as a tribute to the learning of an old friend has become a worthy memorial to one who by his erudition and character was beloved and respected by all who knew him?"

Patna's New Vice-Chancellor

Khawaja Mahammad Noor, Judge of the Patna High Court, assumed the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Patna from 21st August last in place of Sir T. S. MacPherson, resigned.

New College for Simla ?

Simla Municipality has recently adopted a resolution to-day urging that the Punjab Government be approached with the request that an intermediate college be started at Simla at an early date.

Separate University for Sind

The question of providing a separate University for Sind has been raised in a manifesto issued by Diwan Kewalram Dayaram Shahani, son of late Diwan Dayaram Gidumal, ex-Judge of the Bombay High Court, to whose large munificence many educational institutions owe their existence in Sind. The manifesto emphasizes that the interests of Sind in the Bombay

University should not be allowed to go by default in the meantime and suggests the starting of a Sind University Association to protect their interests.

A new Arts College, the Chakrasing Sitaldas College, has recently been established at Shikarpur in Upper Sind. This is the third Arts College in Sind.

Allahabad University Music Conference

The fourth session of the Music Conference and Competitions, University of Allahabad, will be held from October 17 to 22, 1933, in the Vizianagram Hall, Muir College Buildings. Musicians, students of schools and colleges, and students of music academies who wish to take part in the competitions (vocal and instrumental) are required to fill in the forms which can be had from the office of the Music Conference, Muir College Buildings. Medals and prizes will be awarded to deserving competitors. It is also intended to arrange lectures and discussions on Indian music and to hold an exhibition of Indian musical instruments.

Hughli College

The 97th Founder's Day of the Government Huhgli College at Chinsurah came off on the 1st of August last in presence of a very large and distinguished gathering including Mr. Surendra Nath Mallik, C.I.E., formerly a member of the India Council, who presided. In course of his address Mr. Mallik suggested that the name of the College ought to have been changed after that of Haji Mohamad Mohsin, who was the real founder of the College.

Dacca Education Board

Pending the establishment of a Statutory Provincial Board for Secondary Education, a Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education was created for the Dacca University area in 1921 on a temporary basis for one year and its term has since been extended from year to year. The term last sanctioned expired on the 30th June, 1933. The Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education have decided to extend the term of the Board with effect from the 1st July, 1933, up to the end of February, 1934. It is understood that the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University will be the Hony. Chairman of the Board.

Indian Students at Edinburgh

The careers of Indian students at Edinburgh University for 1932 are reported upon to the University Court by the general adviser of students from India. The statement shows that 119 students had been enrolled, of whom 35 had completed their courses and obtained degrees (including 5 doctorates and 5 diplomas) in the Faculties of Art, Science, Medicine, and Law. Six graduates in medicine from India were admitted to the fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh, and 8 to membership of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. Five Government scholars studied at Edinburgh University during the whole or part of the year, and 2 forest service probationers also took out courses. The

Committee recorded with regret the death of Dr. Mackichan, one of their most helpful members.

Madras University Convocation

The annual convocation of the Madras University was held at the Senate House on the 3rd of August last, His Excellency Sir George Stanley, the Chancellor, presiding. Nearly 1,800 graduates received their degrees including 570 *in absentia*.

Proposed Art Academy in Calcutta

An important step towards the advancement of Western and Eastern arts in India was taken recently when an Indian Academy of Fine Arts was founded at a conference held for the purpose at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee presided. The Academy will encourage painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving chasing, seal-cutting, medal-designing and other kindred branches, and will be open to any nationality of British subjects. It will also hold an annual art exhibition in Calcutta. Maharaja Tagore was elected President of the Academy. A strong Working Committee was formed with Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali as chairman, and Mr. Van Manen and Mr. Atul Bose as joint honorary secretaries.

Proposed Kabul University

Afghanistan has just celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of her "independence," but it is only during the past five years that she has made substantial progress in her domestic affairs. In the matter of education a great forward step has been taken as the result of the initiative and untiring efforts of the Minister for Education. The proposed Kabul University is expected to bring about a great awakening of the masses. The whole of Darul Aman has been set apart to house the University. Many State scholars have been sent to Europe and America for courses of training in Engineering. There are four Colleges conducted by German and French people, and the Government College, where instruction is in the Persian language, has also a few classes in English. The students are very well looked after by the Government and all their fees, including pocket money, dress, and books are supplied by the Government.

Education in Delhi

"Education seems to be widening the gulf between the educated classes and the masses, thereby endangering the harmonious working of future Constitutions and that between men and women, thereby endangering social harmony in our homes," says the Quinquennial report on Education in the Delhi Province (1927-32) issued by the Rev. J. C. Chatterjee, Superintendent of Education, Delhi.

"The only means," says he, "of preventing the gulf from widening to a dangerous extent is to push forward rapidly those who lag behind, namely, women and the illiterate masses. During the closing years of the quinquennium several recommendation of the Primary Education Committee, appointed in 1929, were carried out, including the appointment of a

whole-time Superintendent of Education and a Lady Superintendent for the girl's school and the replacement of untrained by trained teachers."

According to the census of 1931, the percentage of literacy among males in the province of Delhi was 19·9, and among the females 6·03. The total literacy percentage was 14·06.

World's Largest Library

The library of Congress, Washington, is claimed to be the " largest in the World " in the annual report of its librarian which has recently been issued.

The book collections now number 4,477,431 exclusive of millions of maps, manuscripts, musical compositions and engravings. " A study of the most recent figures leads clearly to the belief that the library of Congress now heads the list of the world's libraries," he said.

" Five hundred and five books were added to the collections every day throught the year. Three and a half miles of shelving are required for the arrangement of the annual increment to the collection."

All of the books now in the library require 84 miles of shelving.

The Royal Academy of Italy

Italy is a land of Academies, one of the earliest, dated 1540, is the Royal Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, Padua. The academy of Italian language, Florence, was founded in 1582, Bologna in 1690 ; Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei of Rome was founded in 1603, the academy of Science and of Agriculture, Turin, dated 1783-85. The Medico-Surgical Academy of Naples was founded in 1818.

The first attempt at a federation of the various learned Institutions was made in 1923 as we find in a Royal decree, dated 18th November signed by H. M. Vittorio Emanuele and countersigned by Mussolini, De Stefani and Gentile. The National Council of Research and National Academy were reorganised in 1927 and finally led to the inauguration of the Royal Academy of Italy, on the 28th October, 1929.

The Academy is divided into four classes : (1) Moral Science and History, (2) Physico-Mathematical and Natural Science, (3) Literature, (4) Art. Two renowned Indologists, Dr. G. Tucci and Prof. Carlo Formichi, the latter a Vice-President of the Academy are ever wakeful of the interest of Indians and Indian culture in Italy.

Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta

It will be welcome news to all lovers of Indian art and culture that the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta, have been able, once more, to find an organ of their own. Since *Rupam*, that celebrated art-journal of international repute, ceased publication more than three years ago, the Society had been without an organ ; it is now, therefore, a matter of real satisfaction for both the Society and the public to be provided with so high class an art-journal as the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, the first number of which has just been published. The Journal which is to appear twice a year is being edited by Dr. Abanindranath

Tagore and Dr. Stella Kramrisch, one a creative artist of the highest rank and the other a profound interpreter of art. One can, therefore, legitimately hope that the new organ of the Society shall ere long come to occupy the position held by its predecessor. This is held out even by its very first issue which contains contributions from such eminent authorities as J. Strzygoswky, H. Zimmer, A. K. Coomaraswamy, K. P. Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar and others.

Bombay's Mass Education Plan

The Indian Academy, which has been started by Prof. G. M. Jadhav with the object of educating the masses, has now a project for starting eight museums in the city and is trying to secure the co-operation of museums in other countries. The Academy's attempt to enlist support overseas is bearing fruit and many institutions have agreed to give Bomb ıy the benefit of their experience. Models, diagrams and charts are to come from England, Germany and the U. S. A. for the Hygiene Museum and help has been promised for the Technology Museum from Munich. Hygiene, technology and engineering, sociology and economics, agriculture, science, evolution, trade and commerce, and geography and history are the departments which it is hoped to form into separate museums on a site between Church Gate and the sea on the reclaimed land.

Post-Graduate Teaching in Chemical Technology

A Government resolution reviewing the progress of education in Bombay Presidency during the quinquennium 1927-32 states that the efforts of the University of Bombay in the direction of initiating post-graduate teaching in chemical technology have proved succeesful and plans are now ready for putting the scheme into operation in the near future.

The Report also expresses gratification at the fact that there has been a remarkable progress in the education of girls.

Among the notable events of this period are mentioned the enactment of the Bombay University Act (1928), the reorganization of primary and secondary school courses with a view to their prorer co-ordination, the introduction of vocational and industial training in primary and seconary schools.

Ourselves

[*The Late Sir Bepinkrishna Bose—Kamala Lecturer—New Fellows—A New Doctor of Science—Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar—Residence of Girl Students of Calcutta Colleges—Study of Pharmaceutical Chemistry—Physical Training Centres in Calcutta and Dacca—Medical Students and B.Sc. Examination—University Appointment Vetoed—Subjects for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize for 1933—The University Athletic Club—Matriculation Scholarship Results—Recognition of Schools—Universities Conference—The Punjab University—I.E. and B.E. Results—University Physical Organiser—Carnegie Research Grants.*]

The Late Sir Bepinkrishna Bose

We have heard with deep regret of the death of Sir Bepinkrishna Bose, K.C.I.E., which occurred on 26th August, at his Calcutta residence. Sir Bepinkrishna Bose, who was born in 1851, was educated at the Presidency College and passed the B.L. Examination of Calcutta University in 1872. The same year he joined the Calcutta High Court as a Vakil but soon after he transferred his activities to Central Provinces and began to practise at Nagpur. By dint of his superior knowledge and ability he quickly made his mark in his profession. For some time he acted as a Judge of the Small Causes Court at Nagpur; after he had reverted to the Bar he was appointed in 1888 Government Advocate which office he held with great distinction for nearly eleven years. He was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council for several years and took a prominent part in the discussion of a number of important measures including the Official Secrets Bill and the Indian Universities' Bill. About 1909 he officiated as Judicial Commissioner at Nagpur. For many years he was a member of the C. P. Legislative Council where he wielded great influence. He held positions of trust and responsibility in various spheres of activity and with ungrudging devotion he worked for the steady welfare of the province which he made his own. His services to the cause of education in particular will long be remembered with gratitude. It was mainly due to his efforts that the Nagpur University was founded in 1923. He was appointed its first Vice-Chancellor and held that office till 1929. During this period he gave ample proof of his great administrative ability and his wide scholarship, and thus succeeded in

placing the new University on a firm and satisfactory foundation. Sir Bepinkrishna Bose contributed more than any other individual to the progress made by Central Provinces in different fields of activity and as such his memory will never grow dim. As a man, he was loved and respected by all who came into contact with him. A man of sterling honesty and character, deeply pious and entirely unostentatious, he reminded us of another great Bengali of his generation, who also was a distinguished lawyer and educationist, the late Sir Gooroodass Banerjee.

Although Nagpur was the principal scene of his activities, the University of Calcutta, his *alma mater*, always occupied a warm corner in his heart. Nearly ten years ago when Calcutta University was passing through a financial crisis and the attitude of Government was not quite friendly, Sir Bepinkrishna created an endowment in the University and desired specially that the interest accruing from the fund during the first year should be applied towards meeting the deficit. The donation was of ten thousand rupees. But it was not the amount that mattered so much ; the spontaneous spirit of help and the genuine anxiety displayed by him for the welfare of his University struck the imagination of all who heard of the gift. Indeed such an offer came from only one of the thousands of the sons of the University and that was the great Bengali whose death we are mourning to-day. The University awards a special scholarship of Rs. 50 per month out of this endowment to a deserving student studying in the University College of Science in accordance with a scheme framed by the Syndicate.

We beg to tender our sincerest condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

Kamala Lecturer

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, has been recommended to the Senate for appointment as Kamala Lecturer for 1932. The subject of his lectures will be *Rationalism in Practice.*

It may be recalled that Dr. Paranjpye was one of those distinguished scholars on whom the University conferred Honorary Degrees in 1921 on the occasion of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Dr. Paranjpye's appointment is in full accordance with the traditions of this lectureship and will be welcomed by all.

* * *

New Fellows

His Excellency the Chancellor has been pleased to renominate Rev. Allan Cameron, M.A., B.D. (Scottish Church College) and Dr. Surendranath Das-gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab.), I.E.S. (Calcutta Sanskrit College), to be Ordinary Fellows of this University. Both the Fellows have been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

* * *

A New Doctor of Science

Mr. Satyasadhan Mukhopadhyaya, M.Sc., has recently been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science of our University. He submitted his theses on Entomology which were examined by a Board consisting of Sir S. Richard Christophers, Kt., C.I.E., K.H.S., F.R.S., Professor Dr. K. Friedrichs, Dr. Phil., and Professor Dr. R. J. Tillyard, Sc.D., F.R.S. We extend to Dr. Mukhopadhyaya our cordial congratulations.

* * *

Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholar.

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1933 has been awarded to Mr. Basantakumar Mukherjee who obtained the Degree of Master of Science of this University in Applied Chemistry in 1931. The subject of his study will be *Sugar Technology*.

* * *

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* * *

Residence of Girl Students of Calcutta Colleges

The increasing number of girl students in the various Colleges of Calcutta has brought to the fore the problem of their residence under conditions conducive to their welfare as also to the development of a full and active College life. Mrs. P. K. Ray, who happens to be the only lady member of the Senate and is keenly interested in the sound progress of female education in the province, has recently addressed a letter to the University on this subject. Among other things she has stated that according to her information a considerable number of girl students live in unrecognised messes and hostels in the city. She has urged the desirability of the University taking steps to have all these places of residence properly inspected and recognised. She has advocated the formulation of definite rules and regulations by the University in this behalf and has herself outlined a scheme for the purpose. The Syndicate has referred the matter to the Students' Residence Committee and has requested Mrs. Ray to help the Committee in arriving at a correct solution of the problem.

The matter has not yet been finally decided but certain steps have already been taken by the Students' Residence Committee. From the detailed information obtained by the Committee it appears that the total number of girl students reading in Calcutta Colleges this year is 803. They are distributed as follows: Diocesan College: 106; Loreto House: 81; Bethune College: 146; Victoria Institution: 22; Scottish Church College: 67; Asutosh College: 118; Vidyasagar College: 175; City College: 31; Medical College: 20; Post-Graduate Department: 37. Of these 803 girls, 555 reside with their parents or guardians and 174 in hostels which are under the supervision of the College authorities. The remaining girls reside in hostels and messes which, so far as present information goes, are under the control either of recognised bodies and institutions, *e.g.*, Y.W.C.A., Gokhale Memorial

Girls' School, St. Thomas School, Kidderpore, or of private committees of management. The situation therefore is not so alarming as it at first appeared to be, because the fact remains that a large majority of girls reside either with their guardians or in approved hostels and messes. The Residence Committee has however appointed a small committee consisting of Mrs. Ray, Mrs. Urquhart, Mrs. Tatini Das and Mrs. J. N. Roy to inspect all such hostels and messes, recognised and unrecognised, and submit a report to the University as to the nature of arrangements obtaining in these places. It will be possible for the University to decide what steps should be taken for improving their future management after a detailed report is submitted by the sub-committee.

* * *

Study of Pharmaceutical Chemistry

The Government of Bengal had recently drawn the attention of the University to the report of the Drugs Enquiry Committee and in particular requested the University to consider the possibility of instituting a degree in Pharmaceutical Chemistry as recommended in the report of the Enquiry Committee. The matter was at first considered by the Faculty of Medicine and certain changes in the Regulations were recommended by the Faculty. These proposals made were next considered by the Faculty of Science where some members felt doubtful as to the desirability of creating a new degree in this subject without adequate information on the future scope of work of students who would pass their University Examination with this subject. The matter was then referred by the Syndicate to a Committee consisting of representatives of the Faculties of Medicine and Science. The Committee has submitted a preliminary report to the effect that Pharmaceutical Chemistry might form part of the degree of Bachelor of Science, the combination of subjects to be allowed being

(*a*) Chemistry, (*b*) Botany, (*c*) Pharmaceutical Chemistry and Pharmaceutical Botany.

The Committee has also expressed its definite opinion that "no useful purpose will be served by the institution of this degree unless the legislature enacts that no manufacturing firm shall be allowed to employ any person as a Pharmaceutical Chemist who possesses qualifications lower than the Bachelor's degree in Pharmaceutical Chemistry." The report was approved by the Syndicate on 4th August last and a copy of it has been forwarded to Government with the intimation that the University will proceed to draw up the detailed syllabus on hearing the views of Government regarding the proposals contained in the report.

We trust this may ultimately result in the opening of a new avenue of employment for our graduates.

* * *

Physical Training Centres in Calcutta and Dacca

The Secretary of the All-Bengal Teachers' Association applied to the University sometime ago stating that the two physical training centres for teachers started in Calcutta and at Dacca might be recognised by the University so that teachers in high schools might be encouraged to receive training in the institutions in larger numbers in future. The Syndicate requested Mr. James Buchanan, Physical Director, Bengal, and the University Inspector of Colleges to inspect the centres and draw up a report. The joint report submitted by them to the Syndicate imposed certain conditions which they desired to be fulfilled before any recognition could be given. These conditions having been duly carried out, Mr. Buchanan forwarded his final observations which were considered at the meeting of the Syndicate held on August 4, 1933, and the two centres have been recognised for two years for the present. The authorities

concerned have been informed that any change in existing arrangements, if made, should forthwith be reported to the University.

* * *

Medical Students and B.Sc. Examination

The Syndicate receives from time to time applications from students who are either reading in Medical Colleges or have just completed their medical course, asking for permission to appear at the B.Sc. Examination without undergoing training for a full period of two years. The policy of the University has been to encourage such students to qualify themselves for the B.Sc. degree as the subjects offered by them at this examination are allied to their medical course. Further, this enables them to proceed to the Master's Degree in subjects in which they might specialise. The number of such applicants recently increased and the Syndicate thought it desirable to frame a definite set of rules governing such cases. A committee was accordingly appointed consisting of experts in the various subjects which are usually offered by this class of students. On the report of the committee the following principles have been approved :

(1) The concession should be granted only to students who have passed the Final M.B. Examination.

(2) Such students should be allowed to take up the pass course for the B. Sc. Examination and the combination of subjects should be limited as follows :

(*i*) Physiology, and (*ii*) and (*iii*) any two of the following :

Zoology, Botany, Anthropology and Experimental Psychology.

(3) Such students should be required to attend a course of practical classes only for one year so far as Physiology is concerned, and a course of both theoretical and practical classes for one year in each of the other subjects.

If a student desires to take the honours course in any of the subjects, he should be required to attend a regular course of studies for a period of two years in that subject only. With regard to Physiology, however, the Syndicate may relax this rule in any special case. The practical work referred to in these rules must be done in a laboratory recognised by the Syndicate for the purpose.

* * *

University Appointment Vetoed

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, has informed the University that Government cannot approve of the appointment of Mr. Kiranchandra Basak, M.A., as an honorary post-graduate lecturer in Economics as it is "objectionable on other than academic grounds." Mr. Basak who had specialised in Statistics at the University of Cambridge was appointed an honorary lecturer early in 1933. This appointment was made till 31st May 1933 and was duly communicated to Government. Government did not however object to Mr. Basak's appointment at this stage. At the commencement of the current academic session Mr Basak was re-appointed an honorary lecturer for another year. This extension of appointment has now been disapproved by Government.

We may note here the relevant section in the University Regulations under which Government enjoys the right of interfering with a University appointment in the Post-Graduate Department. Section 36 of Chapter XI of University Regulations runs as follows :

"No person whose salary is, or is to be paid from funds supplied by Government, shall be appointed or re-appointed University Reader or University Lecturer, without the previous sanction of Government. The names of all other persons appointed or re-appointed University Readers or University Lecturers, shall be notified to the Local Government within

one week from the date of the decision of the Senate. If, within six weeks from the receipt of such notification, Government intimate to the University that a specified appointment is objectionable on other than academic grounds, such decision shall take effect and the appointment shall stand cancelled."

It will be recalled that Government had occasion to exercise its power under this section for the first time about twenty years ago when the appointments of the late Mr. Rasul, Dr. (now Sir) Abdullah Suhrawardy and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal were vetoed. About four years ago the appointmeut of Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal as a University Lecturer in the Economics Department was disapproved under this section.

* * *

Subjects for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize for 1933

At the meeting of the Syndicate held on August 4, 1933, the following subjects were selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1933 :

(1) Proprietory rights of women under the Ancient Hindu Law with special reference to the changes introduced by judicial decisions and British Indian Legislation.

(2) Kalivarjyas or Prohibitions in the Kali Age—their evolution and present legal bearing.

* * *

The University Athletic Club

The Calcutta University Athletic Club has been reconstituted and a revised set of rules has been adopted by the Syndicate for its guidance. His Excellency the Chancellor has kindly agreed to be the President of the Club. According to the new

regulations the Vice-Chancellor will be a Vice-President of the Club, and the Syndicate may appoint another Vice-President. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has been appointed Chairman of the Club Committee for the year 1933-34.

* * *

Matriculation Scholarship Results

The Iswar Pathsala of Comilla (Tipperah) has won this year the distinction of claiming three of the nine first grade scholarships (of Rs. 20 each) on the results of the last Matriculation Examination. The laurels are carried off by *mofussil* schools which have scored eight of the ten first grade scholarships, only one being claimed by a Calcutta school, namely, the Saraswati Institution. Of the two special scholarships (of Rs. 10 each) for girls, one is carried off by the Madaripur Donovan Girls' School and another by the Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya, Calcutta.

* * *

Recognition of Schools

By a notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, on August 17, 1933, the beads of all High English Schools have been informed by the Registrar, that schools seeking recognition for the first time should submit their applications on or before the 15th of January and those seeking recognition in special subjects, *e.g.*, Geography, Mechanics or Hygiene, on or before the 30th of June preceding the year from which such recognition is sought.

* * *

Universities Conference

The next session of the Indian Universities Conference will be held at Delhi on 6th, 7th and 8th March, 1934. The

Vice-chancellor, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Professor Phanindranath Ghosh have been appointed delegates of the University on the Conference.

* * *

The Punjab University

The Syndicate has appointed Rai Bahadur Dr. Upendranath Brahmachari and Professor W. S. Urquhart representatives of this University in connection with the Jubilee Celebration of the University of the Punjab to be held in December, 1933.

* * *

I. E. and B. E. Results

57 candidates were registered at the last I. E. (Section A) Examination, of whom one was absent. 46 candidates appeared in all the groups of whom 24 passed. 16 were partially successful, 13 failing to qualify in Mathematics only, two in Physics only and one in Chemistry only.

9 candidates appeared in Mathematics only of whom two failed. One appeared in Chemistry only and he was duly qualified.

54 candidates were registered for I. E. (Sec. B) Examination of which 38 passed and 16 failed.

41 candidates were registered in the non-professional section of the B. E. Examination (Civil Engineering) of whom 35 presented themselves for the whole examination. Of these one failed to qualify in Mathematics and two failed to qualify in Science.

37 candidates appeared in the professional section of the B. E. Examination (Civil Engineering) of whom one passed in the first division and twenty-eight in the second division.

The first examination under the New Regulations for the B. E. Examination (Mechanical Engineering) was held this

15

year. In the non-professional section 8 candidates were registered of whom 2 failed to qualify in Mathematics. In the professional section 7 candidates were registered of whom 6 passed.

The Board of Examiners has drawn the attention of the Syndicate to the relatively large number of failures at the I. E. and B. E. (non-professional) Examinations. The Syndicate has requested the Faculty of Engineering to consider the matter and submit a report.

* * *

University Physical Organiser

The Syndicate has recently appointed a whole-time University Organiser of Physical Education. Applications were invited for the post and after interviewing several candidates the Committee selected Mr. Durgakumar Chaudhuri, B.Sc., who has been finally appointed by the University. Mr. Chaudhuri is a B.Sc. of this University and is a well-known figure in the field of University sports. He also received training at the Government of Bengal Physical Training Centre at Ballygunj, and stood first at the Diploma Examination in 1933. This Officer will have two principal duties. First, he will have to visit the Colleges in Calcutta and also as many of them in *moffusil* as possible with a view to obtain first-hand information of the arrangements now is existence and also of the facilities that may be available in future. He will then be in a position to draw up a comprehensive scheme in consultation with other experts indicating how physical training should in future be organised under the auspices of the University.

Secondly, he will remain in touch with the organisations now in existence in the University itself, as also in the affiliated Colleges in Calcutta and render such assistance for the improvement of physical training of students as may be practicable.

The task before Mr. Chaudhuri will will not be an easy one. We have however every reason to believe that he will fully

justify his appointment and help the University in laying down a definite policy for the future organisation of physical education in the province.

* * *

Carnegie Research Grants

Prof. A. R. Wadia, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar.-at-Law, Secretary, Inter-University Board, India, has recently addressed the following communication to the Registrar of the University :

The Secretary of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire has requested the Inter-University Board to forward to the Bureau by the end of March, 1934, two nominations in order of preference for the award of the Carnegie Research Grants to members of University Staffs for work in Great Britain.

The selection of the candidates will be made by the Inter-University Board at its next meeting at Delhi in the first week of March, 1934. I have the honour to request you to send me your nominations in this connection, by the end of October, 1933. It will be convenient, if you will kindly send only one or two names for consideration. As a condition of the award, information on the following points has to be furnished.

(*a*) A ' curriculum vitae ' of the applicant;

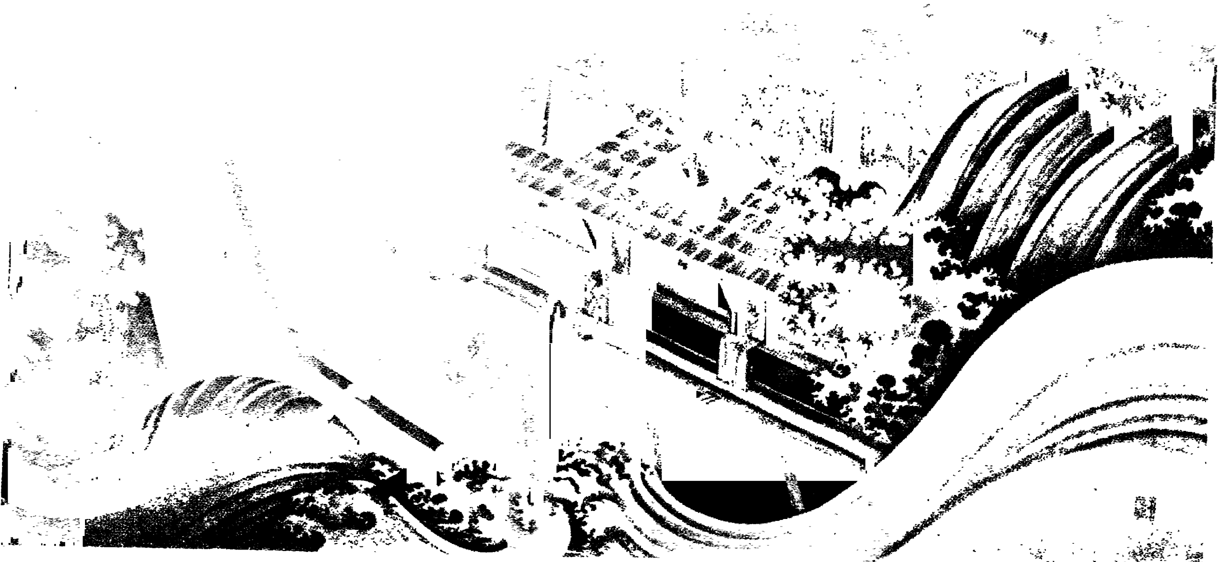
(*b*) The purposes for which he proposes to utilise the grant, and his proposals for study or investigation;

(*c*) Copies of two testimonials, and, if possible, the names of two referees resident in Great Britain or Ireland;

(*d*) A statement to the effect that the candidate will, if he obtains the grant, pledge himself to return to the region from which he has come.

Please note that six copies of the candidate's application should be forwarded to this office together with six sets of his publications.

A copy of the above letter has been circulated to the Secretary, Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science, and to the Principals of affiliated Colleges for favour of circulation among the members of the teaching staff, with the request that names of candidates should reach the office of the Registrar, Calcutta University, *on or before the 10th September, 1933.*



"THE WRECK"
By Dhirendrakrishna Deb Barman

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1933

AN INTERVIEW AT GENEVA

By Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

WHEN I was last in Europe three years ago arrangements were made for me to meet a group of publicists and students who had gathered from all parts of the world at Geneva in connection with the League of Nations Assembly. Questions on all sorts of topics were asked for me to reply, one or two of which refer to subjects that are of perennial interest. For instance, I was asked to give some of my ideas on Internationalism. What I spoke to them on the subject I may conveniently put down here.

" Internationalism " is a word that has become much too hackneyed and I don't like to talk about it because I have talked over and over again on the same subject. Possibly my idea may be somewhat different from the ideas prevalent about Internationlism at Geneva. In the first place let me tell you one fact—how I got my own inspiration from one of the greatest of my countrymen—an Indian, Rammohun Roy, who was born in 1774 and died in 1833. He was the first man I know of that time who really believed in Internationalism though he was not brought up on an English education like most of his countrymen, when young. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and knew Greek, Arabic and Persian. When quite old he also learnt English. I have never known any one so broadminded, especially in those days when these ideas had hardly any place in the history of the time. He made a comparative study of religion, and studied the Bible in the original and also the Koran of Islam. He had wonderful sympathy for all humanity and yet he was typically Indian and steeped in Indian culture.

My idea is this—that every nation has its own affairs which represent the collective worthiness of the people which is only for their own betterment. They have their own self-interest, but if they

are confined within that range of self-seeking then they become like dark stars, they do not reveal their common humanity which we all have—the wealth of man which has to be expressed in something which exceeds the boundaries of their own race and tradition. Now that we have come close to each other through easy communication it is our duty to develop that humanity which can realise deeper human unity inspite of superficial differences. I have very great faith in man and I believe that now that the opportunity has come it must develop itself as it has done in former times when we had our geographical boundaries. The individuals who were gathered within those boundaries, if they fought against each other and if they had mutual suspicion and jealousy they would perish, and I am sure there were many races who perished owing to their failing to develop those moral qualities which could unite them together. But the problem at that time was the problem of those individuals only, who by chance gathered together within certain geographical enclosures and they cultivated their own particular national culture within that limit and they produced great civilisations—Chinese, Greek, Roman, Indian. They formed themselves into different peoples, but now the problem has become much wider as politics do no longer sever individuals who have met together. In order to create a corporate life there should be developed a code of moral conduct which makes it possible for them to become one people. To do this the several races should come closer to each other and the same effort that was made within those small narrow areas in former days to save themselves from extinction has to be applied to this problem.

This spirit of mutual suspicion and exploitation of the weak by the strong can never lead to peace or to anything which is great in its wealth of humanity, and I am sure that this age which has its own message and mission is working towards this latter ideal. Without our knowing it, in different countries there are individuals who are all thinking about the same problem and it is wonderful to realise how even amidst the race conflicts and political struggles and suspicion so many associations are springing up spontaneously as it were, whose one object is to bring a spirit of reconciliation between the conflicting interests of different nations. We see that this fact is there and that means that it is working in the human mind all over the world. It is in the air and we cannot help taking up this problem; the call is sounding within us, and I can only tell you this, that it is this call I have tried to respond to, and for a long time I have been wishing to give shape to this idea of the spiritual

unity of man in my own institution and my writings. I must say I have to work patiently—one cannot have immediate results, and we do not really know the results, how it is ripening behind without our knowing it, and then when we despair, when we complain of the apathy of people and feel as if our effort has had no fruit, without our knowing it, it is all the while growing, maturing itself, and we ought to have faith. I have that faith and I hope that the mission of the age will not be wasted and ignored through the stupidity of the politicians who are leading their people into this whirlpool of war and bloodshed. The higher spirit of man will be victorious.

Nationalism when sober is right. I have no objection to it. The idea that man should have no self at all is wrong, we cannot get rid of our selves, we can get rid of our selfishness. In the same manner, nationalism when it is not the right spirit of a nation is like sentimentalism. Sentiments are not wrong in themselves, but a certain excess of sentiment is termed sentimentalism. In the same way a nation has its own self and that is valuable, we all have that difference. That is where we have the responsibility to offer the best that we have to humanity. That very right of our national self should urge us to make the best contribution to the world.

You who come from China know what happened in the East, that glorious time in India, how those messengers of peace and good-will crossed the deserts and seas and went to your country and other countries. That was the right spirit and thereby India did not hurt itself The light when it goes out is not lost. For the glory of one's own country we should offer something which would live for all time to come and belong to all men; only what is best should survive. We all know what of Greek history remains to-day and is working through history of man ; things that do not exclusively belong to Greece but are acceptable to all humanity, not the narrow nationalism of Greece. There are nations whose names will not reach the future history of man for those acts which possibly brought to themselves certain benefit at the moment; but if they have produced anything which has eternal value for man they will be known only through this. I was saying about the Chinese that they were the least governed of all people in the world. You hardly had the burden of government imposed upon you because you had kings and different dynasties, but the civilisation of the people was widespread through all your villages and all over the country, and you had your own self-government in your own hands and through it you kept secure your own culture and developed it, your

great art, your philosophy, and all this was in spite of the government which did not however, spread all the country over; it touched only a fraction of it. And of all nations it is China alone that looks down upon militarism. Soldiers do not have any homage and admiration paid to them there. This is the one exception in the whole history of man; in all other countries they have tried to glorify the art of war and how to kill men in a militaristic manner, but I think in China they have not done so, you never were taken hold of by some centralised power too rigidly, and that power did not reach all over the country, so that part of the country was left to itself to develop its own life and culture and was not troubled by laws and regulations in the hands of one central power. You do not have to think about military problems—that was left to some professional people whose profession it was to kill men, like an executioner's—it was the executioner's profession to execute criminals, but people did not think very highly of him. Your mind was free from all that obsession, and you could think about other things, better and nobler; and of immortal works of art. That is something which was great. Your nation, because it was not too self-conscious of its own nationality, could produce its great works of art and philosophy. The self-conscious man is too conscious of his own self and that is a sort of disease, and all self-conscious nations are too much aware of their national self and we see this in the West in such a painful measure. They never forget it, and so can never come to a real solution of the peace and war problem. Their mind is not at ease and they are not in natural relation with each other. We in India are not free from this contagion which is widespread and our minds are not superior to this passion of patriotism; we are steeped in it all over. All diseases have their breeding ground in the unfortunate condition of the people who are poor and insulted and driven to fears. They have to develop this passion of nationalism to keep their self-respect which is unhealthy and demoralising like the plague which only gets its hold upon a neighbourhood that is poor. The plague of nationalism finds its breeding ground among those people who are oppressed by other nations and who have been impoverished. All the same we have one thing to our credit of which we can rightly be proud. It is the ideal of revolution without violence and brutal instruments of destruction. It must be admitted that even non-physical resistance can have the true aspect of violence though it is better than the violence which is brutally physical.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS CRITICS

By SIR J. C. COYAJEE, KT.,
Professor, Andhra University

IT does not seem so long ago when the most optimistic views and roseate hopes used to be entertained about the work and potentialities of the League. We all remember the time when M. Briand, in welcoming the German Delegation to the League, asserted that "War had vanished" and bade adieu to the gun and the mitrailleuse. Optimism was rampant in those days, alike regarding the Economic task of the League and its organisation of Peace. The work of Economic reconstruction was indeed going on most hopefully with the assistance of America and of its great banking authority—Governor Strong. The echoes of war had almost died down and the great French orator and pacifist could go on to say "No more War. We do not accept the position that, in any case, for any cause, in any circumstance, war, which we have nailed to the pillory as a crime shall again go unpunished." Much of this optimism was no doubt created by the influence of the three great promoters of political and economic peace who have now passed away—Briand, Stresemann and Strong. But no doubt there is such a thing as rhythm and ebb and flow in public opinion on all important matters. At the present day we are witnessing a flood of criticism and an alarming diffidence in the matter of the League. Perhaps when we examine the facts of the case we shall find that the present mood of pessimism has been as exaggerated as the former optimism had been overdue. The main charges against the League are that it has failed to check the Jingo policy of Japan and China and that it has shown undue hesitation regarding the achievement of the objects of the Disarmament Conference, but suspicion when once roused is apt to become hydra-headed; and many other counts are brought forward against the League. It is believed in some quarters that behind the façade of the League the Old Diplomacy has taken up its residence sheltered and concealed perhaps by the personnel of the League Secretariate. The policy of the League, its moral courage and its personnel have become simultaneously the objects of widespread suspicion. It is the object

of all well-wishers of the cause of Peace and of International co-operation to sift these accusations thoroughly and to see whether there is any measure of truth in them.

A preliminary consideration presents itself to our minds before we enter upon any detailed study of the League's policy. The decade or so of life which the League has enjoyed is surely too short for basing a proper judgment on its policy and achievements. Let us take as an illustration of this idea the history of the Concert of Europe which has been justly termed " one of the most successful experiments towards International Government prior to 1914." Casting a glance at the fortunes of that Concert we find that, although projected as far back as 1791 and planned in 1804, it began its effective career only in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century. It entered then on the period of its maturity and height of power ; but even then it failed to prevent several wars of great importance, the Crimean War, the war between France and Austria over the Italian question, the war between Germany and Austria, and finally the Franco-German War. As its historian Prof. Mowat observes, the Concert was sensibly growing weak after the Franco-German War. He goes on to define the narrow scope of its work by observing that " the Concert of Europe could restrain small states and could thus help to maintain the treaty system of Europe. It could, if given a chance, tide over a war crisis even between Great Powers. But if a Great Power deliberately chose to break an engagement, the conquered could not call it to account." This was the position of the Concert of Europe after seven or eight decades of active life, and at a time when the political equilibrium of Europe was far better established than it is at present.

To take a fresh example, we might note with advantage how slow and hesitating has been the progress of another great institution dealing though it does with the status and mutual relationships of the members of a single Empire. From this aspect the history of the Imperial Conferences of the British Empire is very instructive as regards our present line of study of the League. For there have arisen varied interpretations of the reports of these Conferences. Thus, there have come forward important problems as regards the development of diplomatic representation on the part of individual Dominions. Other questions have come up as to how far a treaty concluded by the United Kingdom can bind the Dominions, and also as to how far they have a right to be consulted in the matter of the conclusion of these treaties. There are outstanding problems regard-

ing the extent of the sovereignty of the Dominions. These are only a few illustrations of the complicated questions which have come forward as the result of the Conferences to simplify and determine the mutual relations of the Dominions belonging to one Empire. As Sir Arthur Keith, the great authority on this subject, has observed, "there is much that remains obscure in Imperial relations" and "much must be done to clarify the position before final pronouncements either on constitutional or international status will be possible." The problems of the League, which is almost co-extensive with the civilised world and which has not only to determine the mutual political relations of its members but to organise International co-operation on the wider scale and for the most varied objects, must be far more complicated than those of an Empire, and cannot be expected to be solved in a decade or so.

To revert for a moment to the case of the Concert of Europe we notice that the League began its career under much worse auspices than the Concert. The League had on its hand at once the baneful legacy of the Treaty of Versailles and the imminent Economic Depression—the greatest economic blizzard that the world has ever witnessed. On the political side the former equilibrium of Europe had entirely disappeared. If Count Beust had lived until the year 1919 he could have used the words "*je ne vois plus l'Europe*" with far greater justice than he did after the year 1870. Instead of the old system of Europe there was only a much aggrandised France and its little Entente allies on the one hand and the hungry, desperate crowd of defeated belligerents on the other. Further, the two sources of *malaise*, the political and the economic, reacted on each other and as a consequence each of these factors grew from bad to worse. With the deepening of the political troubles the clouds of Depression soon lost any silver lining that they ever had. The maintenance of peace for over a decade under the conditions is something of a miracle. Everything seemed to be contributing to the increase of armaments and the imminence of war. The statistics of armament have never shown such a steep upward curve. The victorious allies increased their military predominance, while France itself was turned into a huge fortress. Such increase of armaments on the one side added to the bitterness of the countries which had been compulsorily disarmed. On the top of all this an intense and incessant economic warfare was being carried on in the ruthless spirit engendered by the Depression. It was in the midst of these most disheartening circumstances that the spirit of co-operation with

which the League imbued its members bore fruit, and the exchange of views at Locarno succeeded, at least for a time, not only in turning the world from the path leading straight to a political and economic *debacle*, but gave an entirely new orientation to the world. Had that spirit survived, and had power remained in the hands of those leaders who had been responsible for the work at Locarno, the world would have been spared some of its greatest political and economic trials and the policy, work and spirit of the League would have been brilliantly and once for all vindicated. But in the world as it is actually constituted final progress is only achieved at the cost of numerous and severe set-backs. The League was soon to be faced by greater trials and difficulties.

It must be noted also that much of the present disappointment as regards the League is due to a mistaken conception of the true character of the League—and indeed there has been an inevitable ambiguity about its nature. Thus one school of thought has gone so far as to express the view that the League was a sort of Super-state. No doubt when the idea of the League was first mooted it was implied that it was to be " the sole and final arbiter in international relations," and that, in so far as the sovereignty of the member states was thus limited by its very existence, the League was a Super-state. Another view, which has also prevailed widely, was that the League was a Confederation of states. As a matter of fact the first view, that the League has the character of a Super-state, is only a distant idea; and so was the latter view also. There were tendencies which would result in the remote future in developing the League into either a Confederation or a Super-state—tendencies based upon and favoured by the expanding forces of Democracy and Internationalism. But there are also other forces to be taken into account which are tending in the opposite direction. The old ideas of state sovereignty and of its absolute character in the field of foreign policy particularly are very much alive; and the real position and the power of the League results from a compromise between these opposed forces. The member-states are very reluctant to part with material elements of their sovereignty, especially in the matter of international relations. The result is an atavistic reversion on the most important occasions to the older conceptions and procedure of diplomacy. At the utmost, the League has the character of a loose confederation, and whether it will develop further depends upon the march of public opinion. Under such conditions to expect that forcible action from it which can emanate only from an all-powerful Super-state is to look

forward to an impossibility. It would be far more logical to be content with the realistic conception of the League held by authorities like Prof. M. O. Hudson and to envisage the League as only a *method* of international co-operation through the medium of Conferences, the Council of the League and through other. League machinery. Even so, as has been well observed by an eminent student of international administration like Mr. C. Delisle Burns, " the efficacy of the method is not certain. It depends upon the survival of reason and sanity not only among statesmen but among the groups which believe in war. But the system and the method have so far proved efficacious in preventing resort to armed force on the part of any government even for the defence of what it believes to be its legitimate interests."

This then is the true and proper point of view to take up in judging of the work of the League in its most recent phases. Let us examine whether that method was applied sincerely, persistently and in its full integrity by the League to, say, the Manchurian problem and to the Disarmament question which have been so often treated as the criteria of the efficacy and moral courage of the League. The Manchurian affair might be taken up first as an examplification of the application of the method of the League in applying pressure to a member state suspected of straying into the paths of belligerency. We shall see how there were different phases of the application of such pressure upon Japan. The first phase consists of the measures taken by the Council of the League on this important occasion. A high American authority (Mr. Felix Morley) has contended that the achievement of the Council in this respect was by no means inconsiderable. " In spite of the tremendous advantage given to a single recalcitrant member by the unanimity rule, the Council was able to make Japan go clearly on record as having ' no territorial designs ' in Manchuria or elsewhere in China, and to secure pledges of withdrawal of Japanese troops into the zones where they are permitted by treaty ' as soon as possible.' " Another point gained by the Council was to make Japan consent to the appointment of a commission of enquiry and indeed to share half the expenses of the commission. Mr. Morley adds that on three important points the Council " definitely overruled the Japanese government and forced its compliance with policies which Tokio had ably and resolutely opposed." In the first instance Japan had to yield to the decision to invite the United States to sit with the Council. In the second place it was decided that " Article 15 of the Covenant could properly be invoked without prejudice to measure already initiated under Article 11. The third was

referring the whole dispute to the Assembly where Japan's position was much weaker and less easily defended than was the case before the Council." (Felix Morley, *The Society of Nations*, pages 494-96.) The importance of these views of such a neutral, judicious and first-hand observer of the Sino-Japanese dispute before the Council is obvious. It is well to note that he gives due credit to the Council for its vigorous and well-meant efforts to settle the dispute and attributes its failure to settle the dispute not to any want of courage on its part, but partly to the deficiencies of the Covenant and partly to the fact that none of the permanent members of the Council was willing to exert more than moral pressure. The fact is that the great Powers could not put aside thoughts of their national and individual interests when envisaging the affairs in Manchuria. The Continental powers had also to bear in mind that the vigorous and effectual operation of the League in Manchuria might set up a precedent for similar contingencies on the Continent. The blame therefore, if any, attaches to such Powers and not to the League or to its Council.

The next phase of the dispute was before the Assembly. There, even more than in the Council, the temper of the majority showed itself to be strongly favourable to the Chinese cause. Delegate after delegate showed his anxiety for the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Manchuria and for its evacuation. The delegate of Switzerland asserted that " the principle of the withdrawal of the Japanese forces could no longer be questioned." Speaking for the Irish Free State, Mr. Connelly refused " to recognise a state set up under the condition which have operated in Manchuria." On behalf of Czechoslovakia, M. Benes urged that the machinery of the League must be applied to the case of Manchuria because, otherwise, all countries would make exceptions and might in future bring forward similar arguments to settle their disputes without reference to the Covenant. Then followed the dicta of two eminent jurists on the problem before the Assembly. M. Politis stated carefully the limitations on the right of self-defence put forward by Japan. In the first place, under the League system and the Kellogg Pact, no state can evade a discussion of such action by other member-States; and, in the second place, such alleged measures of self-defence must in their nature be " subjected to the sovereign appreciation of the Council or of the Assembly." M. Madariaga, representing Spain, argued that in upholding the principles of the Covenant the League would be maintaining the permanent interests of Japan itself. There would be no case for the existence of

either the League or the Covenant if the world was convinced "that Article 10 permits of Chinese Manchuria becoming Japanese Manchukuo, that Article 12 allows of military invasion becoming permanent, and that the principles of the Covenant must be waived in exceptional cases or in future all cases are and always will be exceptional cases." The Great Powers also were for conciliation, but obviously, the smaller countries felt more on the subject and four of them moved a resolution against the recognition of Manchukuo and against considering Japanese actions as measures of legitimate self-defence.

During the third phase of the dispute the matter was brought before the Committee of Nineteen. It made clear that the Pact of Paris and the Nine Power Treaty should be respected and that, following the concluding chapters of the Lytton Report, there should be a definite non-recognition of Manchuria.

Thus we see that, at each stage, considerable pressure was put upon Japan and this in spite of the fact that Japan was by no means without a case or without great provocations. International co-operation can only be based on the willing co-operation of nations, and there are many who doubt whether China is entitled to all the implications of nationality in its present fissiparous and chaotic condition. The just treaty rights of Japan were repeatedly assailed by the war-lords and peace-lords of China. As a distinguished publicist has observed, "China proceeded to assail the privileged position of Japan not by war, but by methods of chicanery and by the boycott. Under the old order Japan would have been fully entitled to seek redress for herself, under the new order, she had renounced this right ; but what was the alternative to using it ? The League had no effective power to help. China could always plead that the anarchy in Manchuria was beyond her control and could produce ample evidence of similar disorder elsewhere in her vast muddle of a realm." Indeed there are not wanting writers like Mr. Bland who has argued, in his book on *China. The Pity of It*, that owing to the special conditions of China the Nine Power Treaty had ceased to apply even before Japanese movement into Manchuria. Thus those authorities are obviously right who argue that the Sino-Japanese dispute contained all the elements of the most arduous task which could ever face the League.

There can be no doubt that Japan would have succumbed to the pressure brought upon it by the world opinion which the League had mobilized against it but for the existence of very special conditions which materially strengthened Japanese hands. America, England

and other countries were preoccupied with the Depression and other most urgent problems. Thus, America had on its hands its great Banking Crisis and the phenomenal growth of unemployment. England and continental countries had their own problems to face. With the rise of Hitlerism Europe entered on a new crisis of a most formidable character and was broken up into opposed camps. The problems of Reparations and War debts were also engrossing public attention. Russia also could not afford to interrupt her Five Years Plan and she was apprehensive that she was also open to aggression by the military power of Japan. Thus everything favoured Japan in her aims on Manchuria. With anything like normal conditions Japan must have yielded to the world's opinion. As it was, the political and economic distress of the world favoured her to a most exceptional extent and proportionately reduced the power of the League to take effective measures against Japan.

We now come to examine the second of the two aspects of the League's work upon which the critics love to dilate. One has only to cast a glance at the successive efforts of the League in the field of Disarmament in order to appreciate the persistence and intensity of that work. Here the League had to attempt to meet the needs and views of certain of the former Allies who emphasised —or perhaps over-emphasized—the idea of security for themselves as well as to envisage the task of general disarmament. We need only enumerate the various phases of the League's attempt at a solution of these difficulties. The appointment of the Temporary Mixed Committee and the proposals regarding the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance formed the first phase of this long effort. At the next stage, attention was concentrated on the Geneva Protocol which however failed on account of the attitude of the Japanese delegation to the total condemnation of war, the opposition of some other delegations to the extension of their obligations under Article 16, and the fall of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom. But the determination to secure disarmament was invincible and a very promising situation was created by the Locarno Agreements and by the entry of Germany into the League. These happenings appeared to have opened a new era in the history of disarmament. Then came the suggestion of the idea of a treaty of financial help to the victims of military aggression. Finally, a Preparatory Commission was created on December 12, 1925, for preparing the Draft Disarmament Convention—a task which was achieved early in 1933 after several years' incessant work. As this Convention however did

not secure the approbation of several delegations, even as a basis of discussion, it was left to Mr. MacDonald to step into the breach and to present a new Draft Convention. This Convention was an admirable piece of synthesis and presented many valuable features. It proposed the prohibition of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons. Then there were proposals for a supervision of civil aviation and for the abolition, or at least a severe limitation, of military and naval aircraft. Further, there was the idea of maximum specification for the calibre of guns and the tonnage of tanks. A most important item consisted of the putting down of maxima for armies —maxima which were much lower than the actuals of the day. As regards security it was attempted to meet the French point of view by provisions for a further development of the Pact of Paris, and for the uniform organization of continental land forces.

The compromise proposed by Mr. MacDonald also met a most important issue of the Disarmament problem, *viz.*, the claim of Germany to military equality. In fact the task of disarmament had been rendered immensely more complicated by the determination of Germany to enforce its claim to equality at all costs. It cannot be doubted for a moment that, but for the existence and persistent activity of the League, this claim would have led forthwith to a European war. In assessing this claim on the part of Germany the League had to bear in mind opposite considerations. Morally, if not technically, the claim of Germany to an equality of armaments was indisputably strong. But then a great war would have been very near indeed if Germany had been allowed to arm fully in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, and further, to use this piece of successful defiance as a precedent for breaches of the Treaty of Versailles on her Eastern frontier. Hence the need for a skilful compromise like the one suggested by Mr. MacDonald. While Germany was promised ultimate equality, there was provided a five years' period of transition for this equalisation, as well as a general undertaking not to resort to force—all elements making for peace. The issues of the subject of disarmament had been notably cleared and narrowed, and a programme had been arrived at to which something like general consent could have been extended. Unfortunately the idea has been wrecked, at least for the time being, by one of the excesses of Nationalism in Europe. The French delegate indeed went so far as to offer Germany an eventual equality of land armaments on the Swiss militia basis. But Germany made other proposals which could not be accepted. For example, it urged that

" a decision should be taken on the limitation of permitted war material before pronouncing on the principle of the standardisation of arm types." It also claimed the right to all types of weapons not prohibited to others. It is clear that the responsibility for the present set-back of the cause of disarmament is to be attributed, not to the League but to the excesses of Nationalism in certain quarters. The disappointment felt generally on the subject is however tempered by the reflection that the League will soon find some way to carry forward the work of disarmament.

Summing up the experience of the League in its work in the cause of disarmament, Prof. Alfred Zimmern thus indicates the main factor on which success must depend in the matter. " It is not the looseness of the new international system which endangers its working, but the lack of that which holds the British Commonwealth together, a common political outlook. It is on this supreme need, rather than on propaganda against armaments and other symptoms of the old order, that the peace movement should have concentrated." At present all that unites the partisans of the League and of the Disarmament is the negative philosophy " of the common fear of war." What is required is the coming into vogue of a changed political outlook which alone can make a success of the League as a co-operative system. This insistence of Prof. Zimmern on a change of psychology is fully justified. In that sense there is a good deal of truth in a paradoxical statement by Dr. Fedor Vergin in his recent work on, *Subconscious Europe*: " The League of Nations would be an effective factor in the cause of peace if only its governing idea were not registration but the psychological investigation of the differences by which nations are divided."

Too often the critics of the League concentrate their discussions on the two questions of Manchuria and the Disarmament, and conveniently neglect numerous other problems which the League has solved or is solving. Thus it has solved the question between Columbia and Peru over Leticia. As the delegate of Mexico remarked on the occasion it was a "historical moment which was an auspicious date for the cause of peace and the moral prestige of the League of Nations." The hostilities between the two countries were terminated by the acceptance of the Council's recommendations. About the same time the trouble between Denmark and Norway regarding Greenland was also adjusted by reference to the World Court. Norway had alleged that it had occupied certain portions of Greenland; and against this procedure Denmark appealed to the Court which decided in its favour.

The critics of the League also ignore the outstanding success of the Mandate policy of the League which has given such an important check to the policy of Imperialism and of exploitation of backward nations. Mr. H. R. G. Greaves who is a critical but fully enlightened writer on numerous aspects of the League's work has observed that "the Mandates Commission is steadily buil ding up in print, as well as by personal contact, generally acceptable principles for colonial government. The influence of this extends far beyond the territories immediately under its supervision. The more publicity is given, the more definite does the influences become." He also notices that when a Mandatory Power has been considered to be remiss, the Commission has been "severely critical." But the admirable work of Mr. Greaves on the League Committees and World Order was written too early to provide us with an account of the brilliant success of the Mandate regime in Iraq. This is no place again for giving an account of the League's most im portant and successful work of the promot ion of public health throughout the world and for the suppression of the Drugs Traffic. But it might be mentioned that in the midst of the Manchurian trouble and the Economic Depression the work of the League is being carried on triumphantly in both these directions. On the side of the Drug Traffic there has been reached the new Convention for the Limitation of Manufactures and the Regulation of the distribution of Narcotic Drugs of 1931. It might be added that sufficient ratifications have by now been received to allow the Convention to come into operation. It supplements and completes the Hague Convention of 1912 as well as the Geneva Convention of 1925. This is so because it contemplates a triple system of control of the manufacture and distribution of drugs. In the first place there is an international control in the shape of annual estimates fixing the limits of manufacture and of trade. Then there is a national control through factory and wholesale licences. Finally, there is provided a supplementary international control through the instrumentality of the examination of the statistics of manufactures and trade. It has been noted that "this is the first time that the manufacture of any product has been completely subordinated, as an economic measure, to humanitarian and moral considerations." It is even anticipated in some quarters that the Convention might serve as a precedent for the organisation of the control of the manufacture of and trade in armaments.

The latest aspect of the development of the League's policy in promoting public health is the assistance that has been given to

China by sending a number of sanitary experts on temporary missions, including the survey of medical education in China, and a plan for reorganising the quarantine service. But such assistance on the part of the League is by no means confined to China. The League's permanent commission on Biological Standardisation has been working for years. The Health Centre at Athens is now in full activity. In the Union of South Africa a Conference of Directors of Public Health Services in certain African territories has been summoned with the assistance of the Health Organisation of the League to discuss public health matters of common concern to the various districts of Central and South Africa and in need of urgent solution. In Paris the international School of Advanced Health Studies is being started under the auspices of the League. These few examples will show the vast scope and importance of the activities of the Health Organisation of the League.

The economic work of the League is not second in importance to any other aspect of its activities, and it has been becoming more intensified with the advent and progress of the Economic Depression. With the creation of the Economic Committee of the League this portion of the League's work has been constantly growing in value. A great and long campaign has been carried on for the improvement of the national and international commercial policies and for the abolition of trade restrictions of all kinds. In 1824 the Conference for the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions was held and efforts were made for improving the treatment of foreigners in commercial matters. Soon after, in 1927, the first World Economic Conference was held and it formed the most important stage in the economic work of the League. Its deliberations and report were of the highest value, and had the world given anything like a fair trial to the recommendations of the Conference the intensity of the present Depression would have been greatly reduced. That report dealt with the problems of commerce, of customs tariffs and of commercial policy and treaties. On the industrial side it made important proposals regarding Rationalization and international industrial agreements. It further considered the problems and potentialities of agriculture and emphasized the interdependence of agriculture, industries and commerce.

Although in the end the world did not adopt fully the recommendations of the Conference, the League carried on its work to give a new impulse to commercial policy. At its Assemblies the idea of Economic Disarmament was constantly kept to the fore and

the alternative policies of the complete most-favoured-nation policy and of some modifications of it, at least during the period of Depression, were repeatedly discussed. There were also negotiations for a "Customs truce." These well-meant efforts of the League were denied their full results by the rising tide of Depression which compelled the nations to resort to desperate expedients in order to secure somehow a favourable balance of exports, which was a matter of life and death for so many of them, in a period of such distress.

The World Economic Conference of 1933 was a fresh and very hopeful effort in the direction of the wise regulation of the economic policies of the world and of the amelioration of the Economic Depression. No conference could have been more timely and none could have had its ground better charted or prepared. Its programme was most comprehensive and the world entertained the highest expectations of it. Nevertheless, there has been a suspension of its work on account of divergencies of national economic policies. The fact has not been generally noticed that the prolonged battle between Inflationism and the Policy of price stabilization which has been raging throughout the post-war period found its climax at the present Conference—with very regrettable results. America sees before it a brilliant opportunity, not only of solving most of her economic troubles, but also of getting a start of other countries by adopting a policy of steady Reflation. Consequently, the President as well as his advisers threw over the idea of stabilization, although that ideal had been put in the fore-front of the programme which the President himself had expounded only a few weeks ago. The idea of any immediate exchange stabilization was disparagingly placed among " the old fetishes of so-called international bankers." It was also implied in the American proposal that, so far as the United States were concerned, the day of the return to an international gold standard should be considered as postponed *sine die*. But even from the point of view of national self-interest of the United States the policy of Inflation of an isolated character seems open to serious dangers. As Prof. T. E. Gregory has pointed out, anything like the use of the great powers of Inflation placed in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt might easily cause "a flight from the dollar." Then, again, should a determined Inflationist effort on the part of America drive the "gold-bloc" off gold the world would see a fall instead of a rise of prices. A similar result would appear if that policy of America would shake the position of the pound in the sterling-bloc. The same

economist has pointed out that the Inflationist programme of America has so far been of a very vague character and has failed to define the fundamental point—the price level which is proposed to be attained in that country as the result of the Inflation.

But not all the blame should be placed upon America in this matter, and the gold-bloc too has to shoulder its full share of it. They pushed forward their views regarding the return to gold and the stabilization of gold prices in too uncompromising a spirit. It was open to them to gain the co-operation of America by going a little way on the road to a Reflation strictly and internationally regulated. For there can be no question about the necessity of at least a moderate rise of world prices. Had they made proposals for such co-operation, the President and his advisers would have been obliged to make their programme of Inflation more concrete. In this way a clear idea could have been arrived at as to the extent of the rise of prices contemplated by the United States. The alarm that has been felt in the gold-bloc countries regarding the effects of the American proposals for Inflation could have been in this way sensibly abated. But, further, there were other problems before the Conference as to which co-operation was always possible ; and deliberation could have been carried on during the period necessary for a *rapprochement*. Thus an effort could have been made to tackle the problems of the rising flood of tariffs and the deterioration of commercial policy in general. It is much to be regretted that such opportunities have not been availed of. Nevertheless, it is well to note the general hope that the work will be continued under the auspices of the League and on the lines of the Conference ; for, thanks to the League, the idea of international co-operation on economic lines has been too deeply ingrained to be easily upset (not to say eradicated) by any temporary discouragement. We can still envisage the undertaking of more spade-work and the resumption of the tasks of the Conference at no distant date. Indeed, any further economic difficulties that America might encounter would have the effect of instilling into that country the lessons of a steady co-operation with the League. As it is, the co-operation of America with the League has been of a wavering and spasmodic character. Thus during the Manchurian discussions America showed an intense zeal for action by the League. On the other hand, in the course of the Conference of 1933 the anxiety for co-operation has become "small by degrees and beautifully less."

Although for the time being the Economic Depression and the

political troubles of Europe had acted as brakes on the activities of the League yet it can be confidently expected that these very factors will teach the lessons of widening and deepening international co-operation. As a result the scope and efficacy of the League's work must necessarily expand. No doubt there has been manifested in some cases a tendency to revert to the former individualistic methods of diplomacy, and it has been pointed out that the Three Power Pact in London regarding Naval Disarmament as well as the separate discussions on the question of Reparations form illustrations of that tendency. As against this, it might be pointed out, however, that such individualistic or group diplomacy has not as yet secured any marked success in its efforts to avoid the forum of the League. Consequently this tendency to revert to the older methods of diplomacy is sure to meet with discouragement. Even supposing these attempts had met with some success, such partial successes in the sphere of disarmament would only have prepared the ground for carrying out the League's comprehensive task of general disarmament.

Nevertheless, it is the duty of the member-states and governments to check consciously such reversions to pre-war diplomacy. As has been suggested by Mr. Felix Morley, " the principle of direct contact between specialists with executive authority in their home governments has already done something to modify traditional national ideas of sovereignty." A time will come when the foreign Ministers or even the Prime Ministers of different states might have seats on the Council of the League. In any case what is essentially wanted is what Mr. Delisle Burns calls the modernization of Diplomacy. As he has justly pointed out, such modernized diplomacy will go beyond the ideas of "close" and selfish states and " assumes the existence of a state system in which each state is only a part "—a system which further accepts its inspiration from the League. Such a change in the methods of diplomacy must in its turn be based on the realisation and " understanding of the changed character of government in modern times." For it is obvious that, as that author remarks, the state is rapidly extending its functions, and many of these functions require co-operation across state frontiers. Consequently even the possibility of a war renders the performance of such functions either difficult or imperfect. It is therefore that diplomacy should learn the lesson that " the preparation for future war is obsolete." Here again it is the progress of public opinion that will count in remodelling diplomacy. Prof. Alfred Zimmern has emphasized the fact very recently that " in spite of the defects which

time has revealed in the Covenant, there exists to-day the scattered elements of a co-operative world organization in the Kellogg Pact, the Locarno Agreements and the Covenant of the League of Nations. But there is no automatic machinery to hold it together." Such a binding force can only be exercised by public opinion; and it is only when that public opinion is properly developed and has become vocal that the League can become the fully efficient and successful instrument of International Co-operation.

ELEMENTS OF NEW GERMANY *

By DR. HERBERT RICHTER,
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I AM much obliged to your great poet who gave me the opportunity to speak before you about Germany's recent political development.

You know how difficult it is to understand events which happen in foreign countries. The man in the street gets his political information from his daily paper, and generally he is inclined to believe it. It is the duty of the intelligentsia to study things more thoroughly and without prejudice. In the following I shall try to give you a true impression of present Germany. I intend to convince you rather more by facts than by persuasion and I shall be glad if I can succeed in my purpose to contribute to the mutual understanding between two great countries, the more as most friendly cultural relations always existed between India and Germany.

The making of the National Socialistic Movement is closely connected with after-war politics. The stupendous rise of National-Socialism directly results from the political and economical conditions under which Germany was compelled to live under the so-called Treaty of Versailles. But these influences from outside would not have been sufficient to create new Germany, and the break-down of the liberal parliamentary system would not have been so complete, if not the ideological basis of the constitution had been shaken and undermined long before. Our great philosopher Hegel said Reality cannot resist when the world of the ideas becomes revolutionized. *Ideas* as well as political and economical *facts* and currents have been active in order to astablish a new regime.

Consequently I shall give you firstly a short survey of the after-war period, and after I shall design the lines of Germany's recent ideological development from which finally the present political situation was derived.

The *Treaty of Versailles* which was imposed upon defenceless Germany in June 1919, can rightly be considered one of the most brutal peace-treaties of modern history. I only mention here its most outstanding paragraphs.

* A lecture delivered at the Viswa-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

Surrender of Alsace and Lorraine to France, Posen, Western Prussia and Upper Silesia to Poland.

Handing over of all our Oversea-possessions to the Allies.

Separation of the Free City of Danzig and of the Saar District from Germany.

Reduction of the army to the standard of 100,000 men without any kind of modern equipment, as airplanes, tanks, heavy guns, etc.

Surrender of almost the whole navy and mercantile fleets to the Allies.

Obligation to pay all war damages, including pensions to war widows, orphans, veterans, etc., of all ex-enemies. Occupation of the Rhineland for a period of 15 years.

But not contented with the paragraphs which deprived us of our material wealth and strength the victorious Powers also tried to affect our national honour, to humiliate us and to denounce us for ever as the outlaws of mankind. We were coerced to acknowledge our sole responsibility for the war and to concede the extradition of our leaders, amongst them even Field Marshal Hindenburg, the present chief of our State. This latter paragraph never has been fulfilled owing to the exasperated and united resistance of the whole nation but it never has been formally abolished and clearly shows the spirit of the so-called peace-treaty and its originators. World opinion is beginning to consider that Treaty as the greatest wrong ever done to a civilized nation. The Allies had pretended during the war to fight for peace and justice, for liberty and democracy. They had declared not to fight against the German nation, but only against her leading class, her Dynasties, her so-called, " militarists and squires." Peace could be concluded easily, they had said, if the German people got rid of that sinister set of Prussian generals and land-owners and adopted a constitution on a parliamentary and democratic basis. President Wilson in his famous 14 points solemnly had promised peace on an ethical basis, and the German people, after a struggle of more than four years against an overwhelming coalition finally had yielded to the enemies' promises. Trusting upon the American President's declaration, our exhausted, but still resisting army retired from its strongholds in France and Belgium. In the dark winter of 1918-19 Germany changed into a democratic republic. It was the most dreary period of our history: people at home worn out by the then four years' lasting hunger-blockade, our youths lying in the graves on the battlefields in France and Belgium, in Italy, Russia, Palestine, Mesopotamia or on the bottom of the sea, those left behind

with the bitter feeling that their sacrifice was made in vain, the soldiers who have returned from the front fighting in the towns against the bolshevist revolt, law and order hardly maintained. In those days of hopeless depression, of anarchy, of civil war and complete national enervation, Germany's political transformation was accomplished more or less in accordance with the request of the victors. But as you have heard before, the political change had not the least influence on the decisions of the Peace Conference. Completely disarmed while the allied troops were standing on the Rhine, we had to accept the enemies' dictation, and before the constitution of the newly created Republic was formally adopted, her ministers had to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The connection between revolution, defeat and Republic was a bad start for the new State and German patriots never forgot that the Republic was born in the worst period of ourhistory.

The victorious powers though they had praised the democratic and parliamentary system as the highest status to be aimed at did not do anything in order to make this system popular with the German people. During the first five years after the war, the unsettled problem of the so-called reparations was used as an instrument to encroach Germany's political and economical reconstruction. The total amount of the reparations which had not yet been nominated in the Treaty of Versailles was fixed in the ultimatum of London on the 5th May 1921, on 13,200 crores of gold marks that meant, then, about 10,000 crores of Rupees. As this phantastic sum could not be paid by gold or paper-money, a certain percentage of its value had to be delivered in goods. These material deliveries permanently served as a pretext for further intervention of the Allied Powers. On the end of 1922, the French delegates of the Commission of Reparations found certain irregularities in the shipment of woods and although the same amounted only to a few hundred telegraph posters, it was a sufficient justification for the French to occupy with military forces the whole of the Ruhr valley, our most important industrial district. This automatically stopped our payments of any kind. The passive resistance of the German population in the Ruhr taxed the capacity of the government to the utmost, for the government had not only to pay for the upkeep of the occupation army but also had to care and provide for the many hundred-thousands of fugitives and the transferred population. The government had also to pay to the industrial firms in the occupied area at least the wages and the salaries of employees who could not work during the occupation period. This drain upon the German finance was so terrific

that it gave the final impetus to what is known to the world as inflation of the German Mark.

After the provisional settlement of the problem of Reparations by the so-called *Dawes* plan, and later, by the *Young* plan an end of the reparation payments was definitely agreed last year at the Conference of Lausanne. Finally economical reflections proceeded to political aspirations and resentments of revenge. But the recognition of economical facts came too late. In the meantime our reparation payments and deliveries had strongly contributed to the outbreak of the economical crisis under which the whole world is still suffering. It does not need a special knowledge of political economy to see that international payments such as the reparations can be brought up only by enforced exports of the debtor country. Germany had to increase her exports in order to get the exchange which was necessary for the reparations. These our exports of course meant a strong competition to the same countries which were our reparation-creditors. The creditors in order to prevent the undesired competition raised their custom duties, so at the same time forbidding the imports of German goods and depriving Germany of its only means to fulfil her financial obligations. It was a vicious circle, which checked international trade and worsened unemployment firstly in Germany but subsequently in other countries too.

Though the problem of the reparations has now been settled there remains another question to be solved—the question of disarmament. As I mentioned before, Germany had been compelled to dissolve her army which was based on compulsory conscription. We were forced to drop it and to adopt a military system which does not correspond either to our history and tradition or to our geographic situation in the centre of Europe amidst neighbours who are armed to the teeth. Our present army of 100,000 men is not allowed to have heavy guns, tanks or aircraft. Even anti-aircraft artillery has been forbidden so that Germany is defenceless against bombing squadrons. Although our present army is well trained, it would be helpless in a modern war.

According to the Treaty of Versailles Germany's disarmament was meant to be the first step on the way to general disarmament. For 12 years the whole world has been kept waiting for that general disarmament and the last Disarmament Conference had to be adjorned without any hope that the next one will come to better results. The present status which makes a nation of 65 millions defenceless is unbearable for us. It creates a feeling of uncertainty which paralyzes

economical activities. Besides we have to ask why the League of Nations has been founded and dozens of non-aggression treaties have been concluded when other nations apparently do not trust these international guarantees, but only rely on their swords. *It is the fault of the victorious Powers* that our people became extremely suspicious against the phrases of pacifism and international understanding as they are used in Geneva. Pacifism had widely spread over Germany after the war. Even now, we do not ask for re-armament, only for equality of status. But it is no wonder that we try to awaken our youth to a strong patriotic spirit, as this is the only way to maintain our national existence. Even in a condition of military weakness a nation can be strong if she is united. It was this feeling which mainly made Germany ripe for the national-socialist revolution. In our condition we cannot afford any more the luxury of parties and parliaments with their fruitless talks and criticism but we have to stick together under one strong leadership. So, from outside, the Allies themselves made the parliamentary system unpopular in Germany. On the other hand it cannot be denied—and herewith I come to our internal development—that the policy carried on by our own parties was not suitable to instigate constructive work.

The young Republic was backed by Socialists, Democrats, and by the Catholic Centre Party whilst the Opposition mainly was formed by the Nationalists and later by the National-Socialists. The Socialist party's programme was based on the ideas of Marx, whose standard work "Capital" is known to you, as I suppose, either in its full contents or in its fundamental lines. The Socialist ideology is absolutely materialistic. Marx only recognizes economical interests as the decisive influence in the life of individuals as well as in history. From that conception, Marx comes to the conclusion that the last aim of human development is the material welfare of the society. As Marx believes that only material conditions and tendencies are efficient in the making of mankind he only recognizes the existence of groups of men who are connected by common economical interest, the so-called "classes." Marx emphasized on the international solidarity of the Proletarians of the whole world.

He taught them to consider the capitalists of their own country as their most dangerous enemies. Marx denied the existence of nations as those are formed by elements, which have no room in his historico-philosophical system, as race, language, culture, religion, etc. In accordance with Marx, citizens have to fight only for the dictatorship of the Proletariat, never for liberty and welfare of the nation.

The German Socialists though some of their leaders were honest and disinterested men not without patriotic feeling, never got rid of those Marxist ideas which spread more and more over the hand-working classes and alienated them to their natural love for nation and country.

The democratic party, which in the after-war period shared the government with the socialists, had different views on the political and economical organization of the state. Its ideas originated from the French Revolution. "Liberty, Equality and Faternity for everybody." It is undeniable that the promulgation of these ideas, once, meant a step forward in the development of mankind and that the declaration of the "Right of man" was a necessity in a century of tyranny and absolutism. During the last century, the postulates of the great Revolution were more and more adopted by all nations and classes and changed into an unlimited individualism. Individualism, transferred to the economical sphere justified the rising of capitalism and the exploitation of the economically weak classes by a few enterprising capitalists. Politically, individualism undermined the feeling of social responsibility and national duty, and morally, it led to the decomposition of every ethical and religious bond. Unlimited individualism actually means egoism which is opposed to the commandments of every high ethics and religion.

Although Socialists, especially in the first years after the war, ruled the State without having to face any important opposition, they did not carry out their Marxist programme. They did not change private property into public property nor did they regulate production and distribution of goods. They did not fulfill Marx's postulates, because, since long and specially after the failure of the bolshevite experiment in Russia, they themselves doubted about its realisation. But, on the other hand, they did not avow their former errors and continued to preach hate against the bourgeoisie and to prophesize to the masses a happy future after the end of capitalism. They hampered private initiative by any way they could, bureaucratism, overtaxation and by an artificial system of social insurance which did not correspond to the actual capacity of the economy.

The internal administration of the State as carried on by the Socialists failed completely. Corruption, which was unknown in the Civil Service of pre-war Germany prevailed in every branch where Socialists had personal influence. I am sorry to say the history of our great Municipalities of Berlin for instance, during the last fifteen years, was full of scandals and, in every scandal leading men of the

Socialist party were involved. The low moral standard of the Socialist leaders became evident after Hitler's revolution. Scarcely one of the former big men dared to defy the new power or to put his existence or life on stake for the defence of his system. They hastily emigrated abroad and attacked their own country by a press-campaign from outside after having brought themselves into safety.

The Socialist Government was not only unable to handle the economical situation. The whole structure of Europe at certain moments after the war threatened to break up. Germany, as you know pehraps, was a federation of about 20 States with one Central Government. The biggest State was Prussia, but an important part was played by Bavaria, Saxony and others. Under the past monarchy, uniform policy of the Federation was guaranteed because almost all federal States were ruled by dynasties which were connected by common interest. The Chief of the German Empire was at the same time King of Prussia. So the biggest Federal State never was able to encroach the Policy of the Central Government. After the establishment of the Republic, however, that personal union between the Crowns of the Empire and Prussia was loosened. There were two governments, both in Berlin, which often pursued opposed aims because both depended upon fluctuating parliamentary majorities. Other difficulties came from the second Federal State, Bavaria. The Bavarians ever inclined to particularism and as their majority belonged to conservative parties, they were in permanent conflict with the Socialist-Democratic Government in Berlin. So Germany was split up not only in a dozen of parties and hundreds of economical groups, each busy to save its own egoistic interest, but the separatistic and egoistic tendencies awoke again and menaced the unity of the Empire. Patriotism was threatened to be suffocated by egoistic interest.

The feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty which prevailed under such circumstances was strengthened by the expansion of Communism under the masses of the population. The Communist party, acting under the directions of Moscow, was rapidly growing. It did not at all hide its aims, but cynically spoke about the coming world revolution, the annihilation of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the Proletarians. The socialistic and democratic Government was neither able nor willing to face the bolshevist danger. The Socialists felt a certain affinity to their Marxist cousins and hoped to unite with them on the march against capitalism, while the democrats following their ideas of Freedom and Equality for everybody never allowed an energetic action against decided enemies of Constitution and Society.

The Communist deputies under the protection of their parliamentary immunity were allowed to declare war to law and order and to preach openly the revolution to the desperate masses. Under such circumstances oppression from outside disorder and mismanagement inside, a complete moral and political change was slowly going on. The decay of the socialist and democratic ideology became evident when their representatives were unable to avail themselves of the chance which history had given to them after the collapse of imperial Germany. It may be necessary to say that I do not speak here about the socialist or parliamentary democracy generally. I only speak about the value of these systems for Germany. Socialism may be good for Russia, Parliamentary democracy for England and other countries. They did not fit to Germany. That feeling became stronger and stronger until it reached its practical realization when Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich in January, 1933.

I cannot deal here with every up and down of the National and National-Socialist movement during the past 15 years. I only wish to say that the patriotic movement after the breakdown 1918 grew up slowly and gradually and became deeply rooted under the masses of the population. The event which is generally called the National-Socialist "revolution" does not mean at all a breach of constitution of a minority, of a few fanatics who keep the population under an iron yoke. National-Socialism, a few years after it was started by Adolf Hitler, became a mass-movement, which did not need any anticonstitutional violence. Hitler availed himself of the ordinary constitutional machinery and vanquished parliamentary democracy by its very means, general election. Hitler, as the Leader of the biggest Party, was quite constitutionally appointed Chancellor by the President, and after his appointment, got a two-thirds majority which empowered his Government to carry out every kind of measures and reforms. Hitler enjoys the confidence of his electors as well as of the Parliament. The National-Socialist Government, in Germany, is based upon democracy in a better sense than before. Democracy here means discipline of the citizens under a leader of their confidence. The difference with the parliamentary democracy consists in the fact, that the Leader having got the necessary power is no more dependent on the confidence of the ever-fluctuating parliamentary majorities. That means that legislation gets extremely simplified and government can work without regard to any vote of censure.

National-Socialism wants to give a new feeling of national and social responsibility to every citizen. On the present stage of human

development the nation is considered the highest form of human community. The citizen, firstly, belongs to his nation, his private interests are postponed to the national necessities. The nation is entitled to request from her members every kind of sacrifice, even sacrifice of life. The egoistic, material instincts are replaced by a new idealism. Germany is returning to her best ethic and political traditions, as National-Socialism teaches the citizen that, firstly, he has duties, no rights, and that we do not live on earth to enjoy life, but to do our duty. The old Prussian State was built up by the same leading principle which is not easy and does not please everybody. But it is a heroic, manly conception of life and has—that is my personal feeling—a striking affinity which the ideal praised in the Bhagavadgita.

National Socialism gives a new and brighter outlook to the social question, the question how the natural differences between rich and poor, intelligentsia and illiterate masses can be compromised. Such differences will ever exist, but they can be modified. When all members of the nation are considered like relations of one great family, the exploitation of the economically weak groups must end. The rich have to treat the poor as their brethren, they have to help them to get a standard of life which corresponds to their dignity as German citizens. By this way, the Marxist idea of classes will be overcome. All that sounds very natural and plain but it was not plain at all after the period of inter-class struggle which now belongs to the past.

Let us see what kind of measures were taken by the National-Socialist Government in order to realize the new political conception; firstly, the old system of federal States which formed the German Empire had to go, regional sovereignty being incompatible with the conception of the united nation. The federal states were put under the rule of Lieutenants, who are appointed by the Chancellor. Now uniform policy in the whole Empire is guaranteed The Central Government to-day is stronger than even under Bismarck, our Empire-builder. Particularism and centrifugal tendencies, which often were so dangerous to the unity of the nation, are abolished.

The Government further intends to replace the present representative system through general elections and parties by so-called Corporations, that means unions of the different professions, as handworkers, intelligentsia, merchants, industrialists, bankers and so on. This scheme is still under consideration. When in force it will give a completely different aspect to the political and social life. As .the

different corporations will have equal rights the inferiority complex of the handworking classes will disappear. Workmen will feel themselves as respected citizens with full rights and honours, no more as contemptible proletarians.

As to the economical programme of National-Socialism, it is not intended to encroach private initiative by political interference. On the other side economy as an important branch of national life has to subdue its interests to the general national necessities. Government will do its utmost to stimulate economical life. A grand scheme to fight against unemployment is already under work and Government tries in any way to instigate business. 2½ millions out of 6 millions of unemployed have already been brought back to work by the measures of the Government. To give you an impression of the measures which Government has taken during the last months I mention the complete abolition of the wheel tax on motor cars. Consequently our motor car industry has already risen from its depression and many factories do night-work in order to satisfy increased demand.

Many dull things have been said about the foreign policy of National-Socialism. Germany, more than any other Nation, needs peace after a four-years' war and a fourteen-years' period of social and economical depression. The new Government wants calm in the sphere of foreign politics in order to carry out its programme of moral and economical reconstruction. Besides such practical reasons, the National-Socialist conception of the nation as the highest form of human community involves the recognition of the existence and individuality of foreign nations. Though the National-Socialist Government always will defend the rights and justified claims of Germany, it never will deny the same claims to other countries. The new Government will be—that is my deep conviction—a factor of stabilization in international politics. With a firm and steady hand it will settle the difficult problems which at present are disturbing the peace of Europe and the world. I am sorry to say that the proclamation speech which Chancellor Hitler made in the Reichstag Meeting on March 23rd was in the foreign press either passed with silence or criticized as hypocritical. Chancellor Hilter said: " The German nation wants to live in peace with the world. The Government of the Reich will, however, just for this reason, advocate the final elimination of the division of the nations of the earth into two categories. If this wound were to be kept open, it would led the one to mistrust and the other to hatred and in consequence bring about general uncertainty

The National Government is ready to extend a friendly hand of sincere understanding to any nation who is willing definitely and finally to close the sad chapter of the past." I think it is fair to give a chance to our Government and it is not fair to condemn its intentions as a matter of course.

Let me in the end say a few words about the problem of Jews in Germany which has excited the outside world much more than ourselves. The Jewish Community in Germany, which amounts only to 10% of the population, never became so completely assimilated with the nation as for instance, in England, France or other countries. But in spite of their small percentage the Jews were able to get an overwhelming influence in some most important spheres of national life, as in the press, on the stage, in literature, Universities, on the bar and in the Civil Service. Jews took a decisive part in the bolshevist revolts of 1918. Thousands of Jews fluctuated over our borders from Russia and Poland in the years after the war but they did not at all thank us for the hospitality we granted to them. They observed the disturbed economical conditions to make money out of our pockets. Nobody who does know Germany in these years from his own experience, should criticize the better feeling created from this situation. Nevertheless, the tale about pogroms in Germany are without any foundation. Legal measures have been taken against Jews so far as they were in the Civil Service. With some important exceptions they have to retire but get their pensions. Besides that marriages of German officials with Jewish girls are no more allowed in order to conserve the purity of the Aryan stock of the leading class, a measure which must be comprehensible to my Indian friends. Jews are absolutely free as to any activity in trade and commerce. The abovementioned measures only aim to limit their *political* influence so long as they are felt as a heterogeneous element in our national body. However, I think it is our own business to put our house in order and everybody should deal with his own affairs.

I hope I succeeded in explaining before you the necessities which led to the foundation of our new State—pressure from outside, decomposition inside, and the knowledge that we could not handle the situation with a constitution which was based on a decaying ideology. We consider the National-Socialist revolution as a national renaissance, a liberation from political forms and ideas which we felt as relics of a past century, as heterogeneous and dangerous to our national individuality. Although we do not want to make National-Socialism an export article, we feel that it means a contribution to human progress.

Germany has not " set the clock back." After the defeat, the complete collapse of our political power 1918, the complete loss of our national fortune, Germany under its new political form, under the third Realm as we call it, has sufficient energy to look at the future with fresh hope and to take up struggle of life with an optimism, which seemed impossible yet 6 months ago. That, at least, proves a wonderful vitality. As our new flag we have adopted the Swastika, the eternal Symbol of Sun and Life.

It is a truism that education of all grades has hitherto suffered in this country by reason of inadequate financial assistance from the State. Let us not forget that education is the one subject for which no people has ever yet paid too much. The more they pay, the richer they become, for nothing is so costly as ignorance, nothing is so cheap as knowledge. Explore the history of civilization, ancient and modern, you will find that the people who provide the greatest educational opportunities were always the most wealthy, the most respected, the most secure in the enjoyment of every right of person and property. This truth will be a hundredfold more manifest in the future than it has ever been in the past, as the struggle for existence grows keener and keener, and the very right arm of all future national power comes to rest in the education of the people. Yet, in these strenuous times, when government and institutions of all descriptions are beset with financial peril, notwithstanding unlimited powers of taxation which have been exercised to the utmost limit, we are reproached as bankrupt, because we have exhausted our resources in the fullest measure for the spread of high education and advancement of research. Those who admonish us forget that education is a necessary preparation for the discharge of civic functions in a progressive age and that indifference and hostility to the spread of education is liable to be attributed to the fear that knowledge and intelligence might create a wish for freedom.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
in his Convocation Speech 1923.

IS RE-CONVERSION TO HINDUISM PERMISSIBLE ?

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A FEW years ago when the celebrated Arya Samaj apostle, Swami Sraddhananda was living, the Hindu world was taken by surprise when the news spread that villages after villages which had been inhabited by the Muhammadan Malkana Rajputs were being reconverted to Hinduism. The Sanatanists and the orthodox Hindus began to shake their heads and question whether such a step was in consonance with the scriptures as it certainly was not in consonance with the practice. It is true that the Malkana Rajputs were originally converted to Muhammadanism by compulsion, that they were all along following their original Hindu customs and practices inspite of their outward change of faith and that they were always willing to come back into the Hindu fold provided they were allowed to do so. Although these things were highly in favour of the Malkana Rajputs, their actual reconversion to Hinduism shocked the orthodoxy of the Sanatanists and the High Priests of Hinduism who maintained that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that no religious rite could purify the fallen and re-admit them into the Hindu fold.

Every student of Indian History, however, knows that in ancient times many aboriginal and foreign races became hinduised and merged into the Hindu population. This process of absorption, so essential to the self-preservation and continuance of a race or people, ceased to operate at a time, not yet determined, when the Hindu society became crystallised into a rigid and impenetrable caste system, and the belief was engendered that a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that if he performed any socially heinous act, consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or even through compulsion, he lost his caste for ever and ceased to be a Hindu. There is no *śuddhi* that could afterwards purify him and restore him to his original status. Such is still the belief of many Hindus and particularly of the priestly classes. The question, however, arises: whether this was ever a fact before the Muhammadan domination was supreme over the whole of India, or, in other words, whether no *śuddhi* was even enjoined to

meet cases of any religious lapses or aberration, knowingly or unknowingly. This question we shall try to answer in this note as briefly as possible.

The present *śuddhi* movement, so far as we know, originated with the Arya Samaj. When the Malkana Rajputs were being taken back into the Hindu fold, it created a great furore in the Hindu society. In defence of their action the Arya Samajists were ransacking the Hindu scriptures with a view to find out whether they sanctioned such a step and laid down any purificatory rite for it. The Smriti literature, above all, was rigorously scrutinized with this object in view. Their efforts were crowned with success, and they lighted upon many such texts from the law books. They have been all culled together by Pandit J. B. Chaudhury, an Arya Samaj preacher, in the form of a brochure entitled *Śuddhi Sanātana Hai* which he published in 1930. He has therein discussed the subject from many points of view. What we are here concerned with is the quotations he has given from the Devala-Smriti, Atri-Samhita, and the Atri and Brihadyana-Smriti.[1] This doubtless shows that there were more than one Smriti which enjoined *śuddhi* for all such cases. The most important of them, however, is the Devala-Smriti, and it is to this Smriti that I want respectfully to direct the attention of the social reformers as well as the students of history who are interested in the subject.

The sage Devala, we are told, was staying on the banks of the Sindhu, when the ascetics and saints approached him and questioned him on this subject of *śuddhi*. This is how the Devala-Smriti opens: "How, oh! blessed one," they asked "may the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, who have been carried away by the Mlechchhas, attain to purification? What ablution, what purificatory rite, what penance may be prescribed? What observance may they follow? Explain all that to us in detail." The answer to this question constitutes the end and scope of the Smriti which is a neat and tiny composition not exceeding ninety verses. Let us see what light it throws upon the Hindu society of the period of which we know so little.

We have already seen that the object of the Devala-Smriti is to prescribe *śuddhi* for all the orders of the Hindu society—the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—who have fallen into the clutches of the Mlechchhas. The question arises: by what

[1] These and others have been published under the title *Smṛitīnāṁ samuchchayaḥ* in the Anandasram Sanskrit Series (No. 48).

unfortunate circumstances could they have been reduced to these straits ? And we are told that their misfortune consisted in being captured or carried off by, or living together with, the Mlechchhas. This is how they became defiled, and stood in need of *śuddhi*. What caused their actual impurity is further explained thus: "Being forcibly made slaves by the Mlechchhas, Chandalas and Dasyus, they were compelled to commit an impure act such as (1) the slaughter of the cow and other animals, (2) clearing or eating the leavings of their food, (3) eating the flesh of the donkey, camel or village-pig and (4) intercourse and dining together with their women." These are the modes of defilement, and various are the expiations laid down to remove them, which of course depend upon the nature and period of defilement. The period may extend from one month to twenty years.

Now, who are the Mlechchhas referred to in this Smriti? To all appearances they are Muhammadans. In the first place, even a cursory perusal of this Smriti leaves the impression on the mind that in that period the forcible carrying away of the Hindus had become a matter of common occurrence. This is possible only at a time when there was a vigorous attempt on the part of the Muslim power to conquer India. The inference is supported in a two-fold manner. In the Smriti there is a distinct reference to the cases of persons whose father or mother had embraced the Mlechchha religion. In such cases the son is advised to offer *pindas* neither to his father nor to his mother who has been so converted, but to his grandfather and other forefathers. Surely no Indians are known to have espoused the Mlechchha religion up till the Muhammadan conquest. Many foreign hordes poured into India and occupied the different parts of the country. But they all became Hindus and were absorbed into the Hindu population. The phenomenon of a Hindu becoming a Mlechchha arose for the first time when the Muhammadans began to penetrate into this country. That this is the plausible view may be seen also from the fact that the Smriti speaks of Mlechchha-sabha in one place and enjoins expiation on Hindus who have touched or remained together for a long time with the Mlechchhas in such an assembly. With this may be coupled the fact that in another place the Smriti lays down an atonement for a Hindu who has been snatched away by the Mlechchhas but has thereafter returned to his country. These facts lead to the inference that the Muhammadans had at that time come right down to the frontiers of India or at the most conquered and occupied some of the frontier-districts, without being able to push their conquests

further into the interior. This receives confirmation from a passage of our Smriti which makes mention of such frontier provinces as were tabooed for a Hindu. Two of these are Sindhu and Sauvira, which a Hindu can visit on pain of performing a *śuddhi* on his return. Now, we know that in the time of Al-Masudi (A. D. 943) the Muslim power was confined to the two tiny principalities of Mansuhra and Multan[1] which regularly correspond to Sindhu and Sauvira. We shall not therefore be far from right if we assign the Devala-Smriti to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. We have seen above that when the ascetics and the saints approached the sage Devala for enlightenment on the subject of *śuddhi*, he was then living on the banks of the Sindhu which could not have been the Indus of Sind as it was already a Mlechchha country but must stand for Indus of the Punjab, just the place where the proselytising activities of the Muhammadans must have assumed a most aggressive form both from the south, *i.e.*, Multan, and from the west, *i.e.*, Afghanistan, which had then been subjected to the Islamic power. Then again we have to note that Devala, the author of our Smriti cannot be the Devala whose Smriti has been frequently adverted to by the commentators on law-books. To take one instance, Vijnanesvara (A.D. 1076-1126) who wrote a commentary on Yajnavalkya-Smriti has quoted many verses from Devala, none of which however is traceable in our Smriti. This indicates that there were two Devala-Smritis, one which was known to Vijnanesvara and which was a full-fledged Smriti, and the other the work which is here engaging our attention and which deals only with one subject, *viz.*, *śuddhi* of the Hindus that had been defiled through contact with the Mlechchhas. This latter surely was composed to meet a special situation, created by the advent of the Muslim power, whose over-ardent proselytising zeal began to affect Hindu society very seriously.

It will thus be seen that the Devala-Smriti which we are here considering deals solely with the question of reclaiming the Hindus who are defiled by contact with the Mlechchhas or the Muhammadans. And it is expressly laid down that everybody, male or female, healthy or diseased, shall perform a purificatory rite, if he or she is from eleven to eighty years old. That this picture of mass *śuddhi* depicted in our Smriti is real and not imaginary may be seen from what the Muhammadan historians themselves have written about this matter, as has been recently pointed out by Prof. A. S. Altekar.[2] To take

[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 23-4.
[2] *Indian Review*, July, 1933, pp. 446-7.

one instance, during the Caliphate of Hisham (A.D. 724-43) Junaid was governor of Sind. It was he who sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujrat. Junaid was succeeded by Tamim, and the latter by Hakim. While Hakim was the governor, says Baladhuri, the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolatry, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah.[1] This means that all the Hindus, who had become Muslims in the parts of India subjected to the Islam power, again became Hindus as soon as this power crumpled up. This state of things, continued till the time of Al-Beruni (*circa* 1024 A.D.). "I have repeatedly been told," says he, "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like."[2] It is true that Al-Beruni asked the Brahmans if this was true, but they denied it. This is intelligible enough, because that was a point on which the Muslims were then very touchy and a reply in the affirmative might probably had made them victims to their fanaticism. But there can be no doubt that *śuddhi* was in unabated vigour even in the time of Al-Beruni. How else could he be told, not once but *repeatedly*, that Hindu slaves became Hindus again on return to their country ? How again could the mode of expiation referred to by him practically agree with that specified by Devala ? There is therefore nothing surprising if the Christians or Muhammadans who were originally Hindus are taken back into the Hindu fold, provided they have still preserved their original Hindu customs and ceremonies.

What has been summarised from the Devala-smriti above is doubtless very interesting. But interesting though it is, it is not so important as that portion of it which has not yet been touched upon. Most of the cases of *śuddhi* adverted to above relate in the main to men, not to women. But we must remember that men alone were not seized upon by the Muhammadans. Women also were carried away as slaves. Naturally, therefore, purificatory rites have to be prescribed for them also. And so have they been prescribed by Devala. These do not differ materially from those laid

[1] Elliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 126. R. C. Majumdar, *The Arab Invasion of India*, p. 42 (reprinted from *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. X, Pt. I).

[2] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, pp. 162-3.

down for males. But women, just because they are women, give rise to special cases. To take one instance, what is their position in the Hindu society if they are ravished by the Mlechchhas and, what is worse if they thereby conceive? This was a special feature of the enslavement of women. And it may reasonably be asked whether Devala has tackled this question, and, if so, with what results. It is not the object of this note to go deep into the subject, and it will suffice here to say that according to Devala if a woman has been merely ravished by a Mlechchha but has not conceived, she can purify herself by a three days' fast. If, however, she has become pregnant, her relatives shall wait till she is delivered of a child, which should be given to somebody, otherwise it will create a *varna-samkara*. The woman should then undergo the necessary purificatory rite, and be received back into the caste. This fœtus in her womb, says Devala, is like a thorn (*salya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is once removed and she has had her monthly illness, she is as pure as gold (*kanchana*) freed from its dross. Devala's verses bearing upon this point are quoted also in the Atri-smriti and Atri-samhita. Again, Devala and Atri do not seem to be alone in this liberal treatment of women. Even Vijnanesvara expatiates on this subject in the same strain in his gloss III. 265 of the Yajnavalkya-smriti. There also he quotes verses from many smritis to show that a woman can be taken back into the caste even if she is raped by a chandala, Pukkasa or Mlechchha. If that had not been the view of Vijnanesvara, he would fearlessly have combatted it as he does in the case of Sati.[1] In the latter case, being in favour of Sati, Vijnanesvara explains away all the Smriti texts that run contrary to it. But in the case of ravishment of women, he is in favour of taking back into the caste, and has therefore quoted many Smriti texts in support of his view. It is thus clear that up till the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, up till the time when Vijnanesvara lived, it was considered to be a correct procedure, both in North and South India, to purify a woman raped by a Mlechchha. This must smooth the path of the social reformers of India whose mind is at present being harrowed over the abduction of Hindu girls, which has become a menace almost as serious as terrorism to this province. It is true that these cases have mostly occurred in the lower classes of the Hindu Society, but they are by no means unknown among the higher classes also. Among the former, the girls,

[1] See his gloss on *Yajnavalkya smriti*, I. 86.

we are told, are generally taken back into the caste. But among the latter classes the unfortunate girls are for no fault of theirs discarded for ever by their husbands. And if they are received back by their parents, both are ruthlessly outcasted. Such is the Hindu Society of the modern day! Such is the gross and egregious unjustice committed by Hindu (un-Aryan ?) Society upon the innocent people in spite of the clear injunctions to the contrary contained in the scriptures. Such a thing is unheard of in any civilised society, be it Jewish, Muhammadan or Christian.

Hindu Society is on its trial. There was a time when any foreigner could become a Hindu. Whatever foreign tribes entered India, they became hinduised and gradually lost into the Hindu masses. Even the self-complacent Greeks, who were proud of their Hellenism and branded all foreigners as barbarians, were glad to become either Buddhists or Vaishnavas. This state of things continued till in the seventh century A.D. the tide of Islamic invasion broke upon India, and the Hindus themselves were being converted to the Muslim faith. Even after this cataclysm which threatened Hindu Society Hinduism began and continued wonderfully to tide over for centuries by reclaiming all Hindus that were converted to Muhammadanism. But disintegration set in, and a time came, not yet determined, when Hinduism ceased to be virile. The proselytising activity of Hinduism, which was once noted for its overwhelming force and extended sweep, began gradually to ebb and contract till it is now completely extinct, and the slogan is repeated *ad nauseam* that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu. What is worse, the ranks of Hindu Society are being thinned away by the fervid missionary fervour of the rival religions, Christianity and Muhammadanism. And what is worst, the untouchable and despised castes which were once proud to call themselves Hindus are now threatening to secede, before being completely absorbed into the Hindu population. When the power of assimilation is once gone, anæmia, toxæmia and motor paralysis must be the consequence. It is therefore no wonder if the Hindu Society is now in a moribund condition. Let us see what means the Hindu leaders and the Hindu Máhasabha are devising to galvanise it into activity. A more adequate proportion of votes in a legislative council or assembly will not suffice. Some far-reaching and constructive measures are required to restore its assimilation and rejuvenate its social system so as to enable it to regain its original activity of conversion and reconversion. Otherwise the Hindu Society will before long be a defunct body.

RECOVERY OF CALCUTTA BY THE ENGLISH IN 1757

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(I)

AFTER reaching Calcutta Sirajuddowla overwhelmed the Company's troops in Bengal. The English were utterly humiliated, and their Governor, with other fugitives at Fulta, had to spend very bitter days for want of provisions and shelter.[1] At last on the 13th of July, 1756, Mr. Drake decided to despatch Mr. Manningham and a French Officer Lebeaume, to Madras, in order to unfold there the story of their disaster and to ask for help and reinforcements for the recovery of Calcutta. So on the 14th of July, Manningham, accompanied by Lieutenant Lebeaume, sailed on board the Syren [2] with the following letter from the Council at Fulta to the Council at Fort St. George: "Our utmost efforts have been employed to dispatch to you sooner the intelligence of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors acting under orders of Souragge Dowlat, the New Nawab, which account we doubt not have reached you before this can possibly arrive by means of Pattamars (couriers) from the Shroffs or Foreign Nations. A narrative of this unhappy event will be in our opinion faithfully related to you by Mr. Charles Manningham, which we have not time to commit at present to writing. The above gentlemen we depute to your Honour, etc., on the United East India Company's behalf, and require from his representation that you will support us with the whole force, you can obtain on your coast, Military and Marine together with a sufficient quantity of Ammunition, cannon and all other warlike stores Military and Marine, which may enable us to re-establish ourselves in those Provinces, which we esteem of the most essential consequence to the East India Company and trade of India in General." [3] Manningham's ship arrived at Vizagapatam on 12th August but was detained there for about a month owing to a heavy downpour and the consequent difficulty of procuring palanquin-bearers. But he sent the Bengal Council's letter to Madras through M. Lebeaume on 28th August.[4]

[1] Letter from Drake, Manningham, etc., to William Watts and Matthew Collet, dated on Board ship "Doddaley" off Fulta, the 6th July, 1756.
[2] Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, p. 195.
[3] *Bengal and Madras Papers* (I.R.D.), Vol. II.
[4] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

Already in response to the Bengal Council's previous letters regarding the Nawab's hostile behaviour towards the Company, the Madras authorities had sent on 20th July a detachment of 230 men, mostly European,[1] on board the *Delaware* under the command of Major Killpatrick. Major Killpatrick arrived at Fulta on 30th July and found himself placed in a very bad situation "amidst gentlemen, driven out from their habitations, driven out from all they have in the world, and what is worst, having lost all or almost all that had been committed to their charge, where many people around them who have also lost their all, are discontented and even troublesome, pretending to find fault and give their opinions without showing that respect which they ought."[2] So, with insufficient troops and ammunition, and owing to the prevalence of sickness among his soldiers Major Killpatrick could not undertake any offensive action.[3]

He had to wait for further reinforcements from Madras,[4] but before these could reach, he tried to humour the Nawab and to cultivate his friendship through some of his friends. On the 15th of August the Major wrote a letter to the Nawab "complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honorable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened, and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend," and would give orders that his people might be supplied with sufficient provisions.[5] On 22nd August he himself received a letter from Omichand "assuring him of his good intentions and of the desire he had to serve him." That letter was sent through Coja Petrus and Abraham Jacobs, who promised "great things from Omichand as greatly in the interest of the Honorable Company" and at the same time advised the Major to write complimentary letters to Raja Manikchand, Jagat Seth, Coja Wajid and Raja Dewpal (Devapal).[6]

In the meantime news of the capture of Calcutta had reached Mr. Pigot on 16th August through a letter written to him by Messrs. Walts and Collet,[7] and on the next day he informed his Council about it.[8] In consideration of the "great importance of the Settlement of Calcutta to the Company," the Council

[1] Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindusthan*, Vol. II, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 197, and Vol. II, pp. 80 94.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Consultation on board the *Phoenix Schooner*, Fulta, 22nd August, 1756.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Hill, *Op. cit*, vol. I, p. 204.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 195.

agreed that "the utmost efforts should be made to recover it"[1] and thought it desirable to consult Mr. Watson in the matter. On a special request[2] Admiral Watson and Admiral Pocock attended the Council next day, and offered to use their squadron for the Company's services in Bengal. The Council then resolved to send a small force with the object of recapturing Calcutta only but Admiral Watson was not disposed to send the expedition before the end of September and wrote the following letter to the Council on 25th August: "And having further considered this expedition, I am apt to think, if it is delayed, till the last week in next month, there will be a much greater probability of success attending it than if the ships were to proceed immediately, as they will then escape the rainy season which is allowed by everybody to be the most unhealthy part of the year, and in all appearance, if the ships were to go now, one third of the men would fall sick before there would be an opportunity of doing any service."[3] After a long debate it was unanimously resolved on 26th August that "Admiral Watson be desired to send the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships down to Bengal, with about two hundred and forty military with the intent to re-take Calcutta only without attempting anything more until joined by further succours, and that all necessary preparations be made, as expeditiously as possible, to send all the Forces that can be spared from hence with the remainder of the squadron, if in the interim the expected Advices from Europe (about the outbreak of a war with the French)[4] should make it necessary to alter these measures." It was also decided to write to the Council at Fulta informing them of that decision and advising them "not to conclude any terms with the Nabob, but if he should be inclined to treat, amuse him" until they received further forces or advice from Madras.[5]

The Council met again on 29th August when the first point of consideration was whether the survivors of the late Council in Bengal still retain the same powers and rights as they had before. After a long debate the question was decided in the affirmative.[6] The resolutions of the 26th instant were also altered, and it was resolved that "Admiral Watson be desired to suspend any orders he may have given for the departure of the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships and that the

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid,* pp. 199-200.
[3] *Ibid,* p. 206.
[4] Orme, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 85.
[5] Consultations at St. George, 26th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.).
[6] Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.); Ives' Voyage, p. 94.

Embarkation of the Men intended to be sent on them be also countermanded. That in case the expected ships from England should not bring the news of a war with France, Admiral Watson be then desired to proceed down to Bengal with the whole squadron at once. That Colonel Adlercorn be desired to proceed on the squadron with his whole regiment and Train of Artillery. And that all preparations of stores and necessaries be made with all possible Expedition, in the same manner they would be, were it peremptorily resolved such an expedition should proceed at all events."[1] The Madras authorities were relieved of a great anxiety when the Company's ships *Chesterfield* and *Walpole* arrived from England on 19th September without any news of the actual outbreak of war.[2]

But there were also other issues which demanded solution before the expedition to Bengal could be undertaken. There was difference of opinion as to who should command the land forces, what should be the extent of his authority in military operations and in negotiations with the Nawab, and what should be done with the captures of the war, etc.[3] A Council of War, held at St. Thomas Mount near Fort St. George, on 20th September, 1756, decided to send the expedition under their own officers and troops at Madras from considerations of material necessity.[4] Six hundred rank and file and one hundred of the trained were ordered for the expedition under the command of Colonel Clive. It was decided that Mr. Smith, a member of the Madras Council, and Mr. John Walsh should be joined with Colonel Clive as deputies from the Madras Council and Mr. Maunsell should also accompany him. The Council also agreed to give the following powers and instructions to Messrs. Clive, Smith, and Walsh :

" (I) That the Gentlemen at Calcutta be desired by us to form a plan of a Treaty which the Deputys be directed to adide by the

[1] Consultation at St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.). About the reasons for arriving at this resolution *vide* Letter from the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, to the Select Committee, Fort William, dated 21 February, 1757 Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 232-233.

[2] Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated 13th October, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

[3] Orme, Vol. II, p. 87.

[4] (*a*) "......the steps which in case of the expected success may be thought proper to be taken for the benefit of the Company's Interest will be indisputably placed in the power of their servants who will be subject to our orders." (*b*) "......in case the Nabob should not by treaty make ample Reparation for the immense damages the Company have sustained by his violences, it is the Intention of the Board to reimburse the Company as far as possible by Reprisals. But as the Board are uncertain whether the laws direct distribution of things acquired by arms, the duty they owe the Company demands that a matter of such Importance be not left in doubt and liable to contest when they may have it in their power to secure the property of such Acquisitions to the Company by employing their own officers and troops."—Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

tenour of, and make the basis of their correspondence or transactions with the Nabob.

(II) That Colonel Clive be directed to proceed to all such Hostilities as he thinks will most likely bring the Nabob to those terms until he has had the success to do so, or until he find utterly impracticable, or he is recalled by us.'

(III) 'That the Deputys be desired to receive and attend to the Advice of the Gentlemen at Bengal, to weigh the same maturely, and if they think proper to deviate from it in any respect that they have the power to do so, but on assigning reasons to us to be transmitted to the Company.'

(IV) 'That the Deputys be directed to re-establish the Gentlemen of Bengal in Calcutta as soon as their successes shall render it proper, and that they do when the place is in a sufficient state of security put these Gentlemen in possession of all such part of Company's Effects as shall remain with them, and be of no further use to them. And that in case the Nabob should agree to a reasonable treaty with the English, that they do put all the possessions acquired by the Treaty under their management.''[1]

It should be noted here that according to the Court of Directors' letter of 13th February, 1756, sent through *Walpole* and *Chesterfield*, "the management of all affairs of war and diplomacy" had been transferred into the hands of the Select Committees at Madras and Bengal. So, on 22nd September, the Select Committee undertook the management of the Bengal expedition. According to the desires of the Select Committee, the Council, in its sitting of 28th September, granted a commission appointing Colonel Clive as the Commander-in-chief of "all the troops sent and to be sent on the Expedition to Bengal" and also empowering Major Killpatrick to succeed him in the command in case of his death and absence. The Council also granted 40,00,000 Arcot rupees to the treasury on account of the Bengal expedition, and 40,000 Arcot rupees and 3,250 pagodas to Mr. Walsh, Paymaster to the Bengal expedition, for meeting the expenses there.[2]

At the sitting of the Select Committee on 29th September,[3] Mr. Watson, who had been entrusted with the command of the expedition to Bengal by sea, recommended that "it be conducted in all respects like that to Gheria." With regard to the expedition to Gheria it is to be noted that Mr. Watson and Mr. Pocock were joined with

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Consultations at Fort St. George, 28th September, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

[3] Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th September, 1756, *ibid.*

Colonel Clive and Mr. Hough in a commission for the conduct of the expedition and that every thing taken at Gheria, even the guns and ammunition, " was appropriated to the benefit of the captors, although the Company was at the whole expense of fitting out the Armament and also at repairing the damage done to his Majesty's ships." But the Committee did not accept Mr. Watson's recommendations on the ground that there was a great difference between the expedition to Gheria and the intended expedition to Bengal. The former was, as the Committee pointed out, meant for rooting out a " robber who had long infested the seas and so to give a future security to their Trade, and by the capture of his places to acquire new possessions to themselves "; while the latter was " intended for the recovery of the Ancient Rights and Privileges of the East India Company, which have suddenly been wrested from them, and to reimburse by reprisals, if all other means prove ineffectual, the immense loss they have so recently sustained in their own property." The Committee, therefore, thought it proper " to exert their utmost efforts to secure to the Company that immediate possession of their own settlements that may be retaken and such portion of the reprisals that may be made upon the Moors." Mr. Watson assured the Committee that, so far as his personal advantages were concerned, he was ready to forego these for the benefit of the Company, but as the interests of everyone in the squadron were concerned he wanted to lay the proposal immediately before a Council and promised that he would communicate the results as soon as possible. The Select Committee framed the following regulations for the Councils of War that might be held in Bengal, with the unanimous consent of Mr. Watson, Mr. Pocock and Colonel Clive: (*i*) "at all councils of War held on board his Majesty's Ships, the Commanding Officer of the ships shall preside, and call to his assistance such other Captains of the squadron as he shall see proper, together with Colonel Clive and any other Field Officer ;" (*ii*) " at all Councils of War held on shore Colonel Clive shall preside, and call to his assistance such Field Officers as he shall see proper, together with the Captains of such part of the squadron as are employed on the joint service. This is understood to be in the absence of any Flag Officer."

Mr. Manningham, who had arrived from Vizagapatam to Fort St. George, on 29th September, objected to the resolutions of 21st September, which gave the Deputies the powers to deal with the affairs in Bengal and to put the gentlemen there in a proper position, after Clive's military success had made their position secure. He

argued that the investment of such powers to these deputies meant that the Council of Bengal had no existence of its own. The question was much debated. Messrs. Clive and Orme were in favour of the resolutions of 21st September but at last they had to submit to the opinion of the majority of the members, who decided, on the 1st of October,[1] that the deputies would not be sent and the Council of Bengal should be entrusted with those powers. Colonel Clive, who was invested with independent powers to deal with "all military matters and operations" was also furnished with sufficient money and was empowered to draw bills.[2] He was advised to "weigh and consider well the plans he shall receive from the before-mentioned Select Committee of Bengal, and in case he shall judge any part of them not to tend to the most speedy and efficacious method of obtaining the hoped-for advantages to the Company, then to give his best advice on the subject to those gentlemen, and in case their opinions should still differ, then finally to pursue those measures which he shall judge to be most for the Company's benefit," stating clearly to the Madras authorities his reasons for such a proceeding, as these were to be referred to the Court of Directors.[3] He was also furnished with an independent power to return back to the coast in case his recall there was demanded by the outbreak of a war with the French or by any other emergencies.[4] We should note that the object of the Madras authorities in sending out this expedition, as they pointed out in their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated 13th October, 1756, was not merely to retake Calcutta or recover their lost settlements and factories, but also to have "all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the Great Mogul (Emperor Farrukhsiyar) and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained." [5] They were, however, of opinion that "should the Nabob on the arrival of these forces make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before-mentioned advantages" then the "sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war, besides the expense of the Company's treasuries"; but they mentioned that "sword

[1] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-227; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88; Ives' Voyage, p. 94. Ives' notes, on the authority of Admiral Watson's Secretary, that the Admiral was strongly in favour of retaining these powers in the hand of the Council in Bengal. This is also supported by the correspondence between Admiral Watson and the Select Committee at Fort St. George, 30th September, 1756.

[2] Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88.

[3] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 237-241.

[5] *Ibid.*

should go hand in hand with the pen, and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour. These hostilities must be of every kind which can either distress his dominions and estate or bring reprisals into our possession."

(II)

On the 16th of October, 1756, the fleet under the command of Admiral Watson, " being victualled and watered for six weeks," sailed from Madras.[1]

Colonel Clive took with him letters written by Salabat Jung, Nawab of the Deccan, by Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, and by Mr. Pigot "exhorting Surajah Dowlah to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment."[2]

The whole squadron had to encounter various difficulties and distresses before it reached Fulta, chiefly owing to the heavy rains in Bengal of the months of July, August and September.[3] Admiral Watson tried his best to make way to Balasore Road, but was obstructed by "trifling winds and strong southernly currents " and found his squadron driving for three weeks to the southward till it got into the Latitude of 6°30′ N.[4] On the 10th of November "the appearance of a tedious passage obliged the squadron to be put to two-thirds allowance."[5] On 15th November the seamen and military were put to half allowance of provisions, and two-thirds allowance of water, and many of them were attacked with scurvy.[6] Next day *Marlborough*, one of the Company's ships, sailing very heavily, was left behind by the rest of the fleet, which reached the ground of Point Palmiras on 1st December.[7] On 4th the squadron came accross a pilot sloop and took on board Mr. Grant, the pilot. About this time the Military and the seamen were put to a great distress for want of water and provisions and many were down with scurvy.[8] Mr. Scrafton observes that "when the forces came from Madras, they were greatly reduced for provisions, in so much that there was no rice left for the Gentoo (Hindu) Seapoys, and nothing

1 Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 30-401; Ives' Voyage, p. 95.
2 Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89.
3 Ives' Voyage, p. 96; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119.
4 Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.
5 Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc; Orme, Vol. II, p. 119.
6 *Ibid.*
7 Orme, Vol. II, p. 119; Journal of the Expedition, etc.; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.
8 *Ibid.*

to serve out to them but beef and pork; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery."[1]

On the 5th of December Admiral Watson anchored in Balasore Roads, and was joined on 8th by the *Tyger* and *Walpole*. On that day the Admiral met Messrs. Watts and Becher, who had been deputed to him from the Governor and Council at Fulta, to acquaint him with the miserable state of their affairs as well as of the detachment sent under Major Killpatrick, of which only thirty men were fit for duty.[2] The Admiral then consulted the two English pilots, who had come with Messrs. Watts and Becher, about carrying the *Kent* and *Tyger* over the braces. The pilots were of opinion that it might be done with safety during the springs, and said that if the Admiral permitted them, they would take charge of the ships up the river to Fulta. Encouraged by Captain Speke, who had been before several times in the river, the Admiral decided to make an attempt. On 12th he reached Injlee and on the next day anchored at Culpee, where Messrs. Drake and Hollwell waited upon the Admiral and Colonel Clive.[3] On 14th the Admiral wrote to Mr. Bisdom at Chinsura and Mr. Renault at Chandernagore warning them against giving any assistance to the Nawab.[4] Mr. Bisdom replied to his letter on 19th by promising to observe neutrality.

On the 15th of December, the Admiral reached Fulta in Company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole*, and found there the *Delaware*, the *Protector*, and the *Kingfisher*, whom he had sent from Madras, sometime before the squadron sailed, to inform Mr. Drake and his followers of the squadron's advance for their assistance.[5] On the same day Colonel Clive opened negotiations with Manikchand, the Nawab's Governor in Calcutta, by writing a letter to him and also sending him a draft of a letter for the Nawab.[6] Manikchand replied to his letter on 23rd December and sent his agent Radhakrishna Mallik to him. He pointed out that the letter intended to be sent to the Nawab had been written in improper terms, and suggested that it might be rewritten in a milder tone.[7] But Colonel Clive replied that he could not accept his suggestion of writing to the Nawab "a

[1] Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.
[2] Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757. Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc. Ives' Voyage, p. 97.
[3] Journal of the Expedition, etc.
[4] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p 54.
[5] Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Journal of the Expedition, etc.; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.
[6] Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 56.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 74; Orme, Vol. II, p. 121.

letter couched in such a stile (style) which, however proper it might have been before the taking of Calcutta, would but illsuit with the present time, when we are come to demand satisfaction for the injuries done to us by the Nabob, not to entreat his favour, and with a force which we think sufficient to vindicate our claim."[1] On 16th the Company's troops and sepoys on the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Walpole* landed at Fulta and joined the detachment under Major Killpatrick; the military encamped in a place to the eastward of the town, and the sepoys were placed on the roads leading to it. [2] On the same day Admiral Watson wrote to the Dutch asking for the help of their pilots but the latter expressed their inability to help him with these.[3]

On hearing of the arrival of the squadron, the Nawab's officers in Calcutta, " not thinking the forts of Tanna and Busbudgia (Buzbuz) to be a sufficient defence, were raising new works on the banks of the River.[4] They commenced the erection of a fort, called by them Alinagur, " on the bank of the river opposite to Tanna; but only a part of the rampart commanding the river was finished." [5] On the 17th of December both Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive [6] wrote directly to the Nawab in strong and threatening terms. [7] The Admiral did not receive any reply from the Nawab. On 25th the pilots acquainted the Admiral that the time was favourable for advance, and on 27th he sailed from Fulta with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher*.[8] The sepoys were ordered to march overland [9] against Colonel Clive's wishes, [10] and Captain Barker followed in boats with 80 of the train and two field pieces properly completed.[11] Next day, at about three in the afternoon, the troops and two field pieces landed at Mayapur, where they joined the sepoys. At five in the evening they marched from Mayapur, under the command of Colonel Clive and conducted by "Indian guides," in order to lay in an ambuscade on the roads leading from the fort of Buzbuz to Calcutta and Alinagur, and by that means to intercept the retreat of the Nawab's people to those places. [12] For

1 *Ibid*, p. 76.
2 Journal of the Expedition, etc.
3 Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 72.
4 Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.
5 Orme, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 121.
6 Hill, *op. cit*, Vol. II, p. 71.
7 Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70.
8 *Ibid*, p. 121; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 99.
9 A journal of the expedition to Bengal, etc.
10 Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-98.
11 A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.
12 Orme, Vol. II, p. 122; Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

this they had to undergo " infinite labour and fatigue by a continued march all night, which was made difficult by the deep creeks and morasses the troops and cannon were obliged to pass." [1] At 8 in the morning they passed through Paikpara, and after an hour halted at the place of ambuscade, " havin g the ships at anchor in view, though not the fort which was obscured by clusters of trees. [2] Kesar Singh, the Commander of the sepoys, with two hundred sepoys. and Captain Pye, at the head of the Grenadier Company and the rest of the sepoys, were ordered to reconnoitre C aptain Cauppe with his Company, and the volunteers were posted on the Calcutta Road to inform timely if the Nawab's troops approached by that way. [3] The rest of the troops, about 260 Europeans, remained with Colonel Clive. The soldiers were so fatigued that they left their arms in order to take some rest; but they fell suddenly asleep without taking the precaution of stationing sentinels. [4] Clive had no knowledge of the fact [5] that Manickchand, the Governor of Calcutta, had arrived the day before to Buzbuz with 1,500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry.[6] With this body of troops the latter made a sudden attack on Clive at about 10 o'clock. [7] The surprise attack at first created a panic and confusion in the rank of Clive's troops ; the forces of Manickchand advanced and kept up a continual, though irregular fire wounding several, and killing an ensign." [8] But the advance of two platoons soon dislodged them from their position, and Manickchand had to retreat to Calcutta on his elephant. [9] The skirmish lasted for half an hour in which the English lost Ensign Kerr with 11 private men and about twenty were slightly wounded.[10] On the side of Manickchand 150 men were killed and wounded with four *Jamadars* and an elephant. Manickchand himself received a shot on his turban.[11]

The fleet arrived before the fort at about 7 A. M. and at half past seven Manickchand's people began to fire on the *Tyger* from inside the fort.[12] At noon the cannon of the fort was "silenced by

1 *Ibid.*
2 A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.
3 Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.
4 Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.
5 Clive's letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1857.
6 Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.
7 Letter from Clive to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.
8 Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.
9 *Ibid.*
10 Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.
11 Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated the 8th January, 1757; A Journal of the Expedition, etc., Ives' Voyage, p. 97.
12 Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

the squadron" [1] but the English forces, who had "marched down to the advanced battery near the river which the enemy had abandoned in the morning," and had drawn up "in front of the fort under cover of a high bank " [2] and had an intention to storm the fort before night, fired some guns for most part of the day.[3] At 7 P. M. the Admiral sent Captain King with 100 seamen [4] to storm the fort by that evening; but it was deferred till the next morning [5] at the suggestion of Colonel Clive, who pointed out that he himself, Major Killpatrick, and other soldiers were extremely fatigued on account of the last night's tedious march. [6] So all thought it proper to take rest for that night. But suddenly, amidst "a loud and universal acclamation,' the Admiral heard that the fort had been taken by storm,[7] due to the exuberance of a drunken sailor, belonging to the *Kent*, named Straban. Thus as Coote observes in his Journal, "the place was taken without the least honour to any one." One Captain Campbell lost his life "as he was posting sentries over a magazine "[6] and four soldiers were wounded.[7] With this loss only, the English captured the fort which was "extremely well-situated for defence, and had the advantage of a wet ditch round it."[8] Captain Coote remained in charge of the fort for the night.[9] Next day (30th December) the troops re-embarked in the evening after "disabling the guns, carrying off the powder, demolishing the parapets of the fort and batteries and burning the houses."[10] The sepoys marched along the bank of the river and the squadron proceeded up the river throughout the whole of the next day.[11]

At 5 A. M. on the 2nd of January, the Company's troops being joined by the sepoys, marched towards Calcutta.[12] Thinking that two ships would enable him to attack Calcutta, Admiral Watson proceeded with the *Tyger* and the *Kent*, leaving *Salisbury* at Tannah "as a guardeship to prevent the enemy from regaining it."[13] The

1 Ives' Voyage, p. 100.
2 A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.
3 Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1759.
4 *Ibid.*
5 Orme, *Op. Cit*, Vol. II, p. 124.
6 Coote's Journal, Hill, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 39-41,
7 Ives' Voyage, p. 83; Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757.
6 *Ibid.*
7 Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757.
8 *Ibid*; Coote's Journal.
9 *Ibid*; Coote's Journal.
10 A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.
11 *Ibid*, Ives' Voyage, p. 101.
12 *Ibid*, Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 125.
13 Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 101.

Tyger, which was the leading ship, was within sight of Calcutta at about 9 A. M. and at forty-five minutes past nine the Nawab's troops began to fire upon her from their batteries below Calcutta [1] killing and wounding several men.[2] At twenty minutes past ten, "the *Tyger* anchored abreast the line of guns at Calcutta, at half an hour after the *Kent* anchored."[3] Both the ships then began to fire so warmly that at eleven the Nawab's troops were compelled to run away from the fort.[4] According to the Admiral's orders Captain King took possession of the fort in the name of His Majesty the King of England and it was garrisoned with a detachment of Aldercron's regiment under the command of Captain Coote, who received the following instructions from the Admiral: "You are hereby required and directed to garrison the fort of Calcutta with His Majesty's troops you have now on shore, and take care to post your sentinels and guards so as not to be surprised by the enemy. In the evening I shall be on shore, and you are not to quit your post, or deliver up your command till further orders from me. During your continuance on shore you are to take care that no disorders be committed by his majesty's troops or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity and take particular care that there is no plundering, as such offenders may depend on the severest punishment."[5] After some time Colonel Clive arrived at the spot with the Company's troops. The Company's troops were refused admission, but the sentries admitted Colonel Clive, who argued before Captain Coote that Admiral Watson had no authority to appoint Coote, who held a subordinate position, as Governor. With the consent of both, the matter was referred to the Admiral, who sent Captain Speke on shore to know by what authority the Colonel took upon him the command of the fort. The Colonel replied that he did so " by the authority of his majesty's commission as lieutenant-colonel and also commander-in-chief of the land forces." Captain Speke carried this reply to the Admiral, who sent him back with the message that if the Colonel " did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out."[6] The Colonel replied that he could not answer for the consequence and refused to give

1 *Ibid*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1-3.
2 Orme, Vol. II, pp. 125-126.
3 Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 101.
4 *Ibid*, Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126.
5 Ives' Voyage, p. 102.
6 Ives' Voyage, p. 103 ; Clive's Evidence before the Committee appointed to enquire into the nature, etc., of the East India Company, 26 May, 1772; Hill, Vol. III, p. 309; Watson's letter to Clive, dated 2nd January, 1757; Hill, Vol. II, p. 77.

up the command. But after a while Captain Latham, who was a friend of both the Admiral and the Colonel, went to the latter and settled the dispute in such a way that the Colonel agreed to give up the command if the Admiral came himself on shore and took the command.[1] The Admiral agreed to these terms.

Early in the next morning the Admiral landed ashore, received the keys of the garrison from Colonel Clive, and formally delivered up the fort to Mr. Drake and his Council, who were the Company's representatives in Bengal,[2] " with the guns, military stores, and effects, publick and private, for the benefit and on behalf of the Proprietors." [3] Captain Coote then marched out with the King's troops and quartered in the town.[4] The fort contained " many guns of different sizes, round and grape shots, shells, grenadoes, a small quantity of powder (and some military stores) but no small arms ; in the godowns were several bales of the Company's broad-cloth and about 650 bales of goods for the Europe market; and in the town about 1,400 bales of cotton, a small quantity of toothenague and some China ware."[5] For the private property found there a notice was issued, so that the respective owners might take their own effects from the Company's Sub-Accomptant (Accountant) by giving a receipt in return, in order " to be responsible for the said effects or their amount, in case it should be contested and awarded to another."[6] The Council in Calcutta then wrote to the neighbouring Zamindars to pay the rents and revenues of their respective districts, " on pain of having their country destroyed in case of refusal." Some of them sent their *vakils* (representatives) and promised to obey the Company's orders. The Council hoped to meet thereby the charges of further operations intended to be carried on against the Nawab.

1 *Ibid.*
2 *Ibid*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 82.
3 Hill, *op. cit*,, Vol. II, p. 92.
4 Coote's Journal, etc.
5 A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc. ; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.
6 Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 189.

COST OF FEDERATION

By NALINI RANJAN SARKER
Calcutta.

A PROMINENT feature in the evidence tendered before the Joint Select Committee was the financial implications of the establishment of Federation. Obviously, a proper assessment of the value of the constitutional changes contemplated cannot be made without reference to the cost of initiation, for if the cost is too high it may to that extent materially detract from the advantages of the reforms. The extremely limited financial resources of the country and the incapacity of the people to bear any fresh burdens of taxation at the present moment lend additional strength to this consideration. It becomes necessary, therefore, to ensure that the additional expenditure that may be entailed by the inauguration of the reforms should be kept down to the minimum.

The most authoritative review of this subject is the memorandum entitled " The Financial Implications of (1) Provincial Autonomy and (2) Federation " prepared by Sir Malcolm Hailey on behalf of the Secretary of State for India and placed before the Joint Select Committee. The memorandum estimates the cost at about Rs. 10½ crores of which roughly about Rs. 6 to 8 crores is ascribed to the provinces. The basis of the calculation of the latter amount may be briefly stated. Three quarters of a crore is assigned to the overhead expenses of setting up the new provincial machinery, comprising the cost of the provincial legislatures and the cost of the electorates. About half a crore is involved by the provincial governments taking over certain expenditure that is now borne by the Central Government. Of the residue, Rs 2 to 3 crores is estimated to result from the proposed separation of Burma, a further amount of Rs. 3 to 4 crores being provided for the removal of provincial deficits and for the starting of the provinces on a self-supporting basis. Against this estimated cost of Rs. 6 to 8 crores in connection with the reforms in the Provinces, an amount of Rs. 2½ crores is provided for expenditure at the Federal Centre, of which about ¾ crores is attributed to the fresh expenditure on the legislature and Rs. 1½ crores is estimated as the temporary budgetary loss on the establishment of the Reserve Bank, owing to the proposed diversion of currency profits to the

building up of the reserves ot the Bank. This is the kernel of Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum.

The estimate of Rs. 10½ crores thus reached undeniably reveals a formidable state of affairs, which means that the Indian tax-payers will have to pay far too dearly for any advantages accruing to them as a result of the constitutional changes. In a statement on Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum, Sir Samuel Hoare has sought to extenuate the implications by pointing out that comparatively only a small sum, *i.e.*, about three quarters of a crore for the Provinces and about the same amount for the Government at the centre, would be required to meet actual fresh expenditure, while the residue was attributable mainly to two factors which were inevitable even if there were no constitutional reforms, *viz.*, the situation arising out of the necessity of relieving Burma of the two or three crores which she now contributes to the Indian Central Government and the necessity of meeting the permanent deficits of provinces like Bengal and Assam, requiring another two crores of rupees.

The Secretary of State, however, looked ahead with an expectation of a better turn in the conditions of trade and a rise in prices effecting a consequential improvement in the financial position of the Federal and Provincial Governments, and he has also expressed a hope (and he was very careful in not putting it higher than that) that as a result of the proceedings of the Capitation Tribunal, a " contribution of some kind towards the defence expenditure of India' might be obtained from Great Britain, thereby relieving the financial position of India to some extent. He had however to admit that these factors were more or less uncertain and he did not altogether overlook the contingency of his expectation not being realised and he actually suggested the need for an expert enquiry into the entire financial position in such circumstances with a view to making a fresh adjustment.

It is significant to point out in this connexion that he made it clear in his statement that " if the state of the world does not get better, if we still go on with commodity prices either at their present level or actually falling, not only does it make any change almost impossible, but it makes the existing system of Indian finances almost equally impossible." At any rate, "so far as we can see, for quite a number of years to come, there is no orange to divide up in India between the Centre and the Provinces." That is the position, in a nutshell, of the Government of India, and the implications are that whether we are going to have Provincial Autonomy or Federation at some near future, all scope has to be barred to any kind of development work. The

Indian public can hardly acquiesce in this state of affairs and while they have necessarily to accept the limitation imposed by the conditions of world trade, they are by no means satisfied that there is no way out of this *impasse.* Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned in a very casual way in his statement that he believed there was still opportunity for economies to be carried out in certain fields of administration in India, *particularly provincial administration,* but both he in his oral evidence before the Joint Select Committee and Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum seem to rule out the feasibility of any economy in the Defence expenditure of the Government of India forming about 60% of the total Central Budget.

Indian opinion is unanimous that the expenditure on defence should admit of considerable reduction. It appears from a statement submitted by the Secretary of State in reply to a question put by Sir H. S. Gour that though the expenditure on this score has been reduced from Rs. 68 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 46·20 crores in the estimates for the current year, it is still much higher than the figure of Rs. 29 crores in 1913-14. Much was made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum of the fact that "the present budget figure is regarded by the military authorities as barely satisfying the normal requirements of the army at its present strength, for it has involved the depletion of stocks of supplies and the postponement of building and other programmes." But Sir Samuel Hoare had to admit in answer to a question by Lord Hardinge that " this reduction was not due to a failure to replenish reserves of guns, shells, rifles, ammunition, etc." "These reserves," he added, "have not been depleted during the past or previous years." This admission is, in my opinion, quite significant, showing, as it does, the utter hollowness of the cry of inefficiency of the army due to reduction in expenditure. In the next place, the progressive Indianisation of the army must inevitably reduce the amounts that are required for Defence, while, in fairness to India, a more equitable adjustment of India's defence expenditure between this country and Britain must be made. It is almost unanimously admitted that the Indian army also serves an important imperial purpose. If it had not been for the existence of the Indian Army and the fact that it is available for imperial purposes, Britain would have to spend much more than she does on her defence forces, in order to maintain a stronger standing army and to station more units in the Near and Middle East. It is only just, therefore, that a part of India's army expenditure should really be debited to Britain's account ; and if India can secure justice in this respect the financial

burden of federation need not terrify the Indian tax-payers. Sir Samuel, as I have already said, was very guarded in committing himself to any definite statement in regard to the award of the Capitation Tribunal; we are told that the Report of the Tribunal is at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and all that we can hope for is when their decision will be announced next autumn, India will not be disappointed in her claims for being amply compensated by Great Britain for the expenditure on Imperial Defence.

It is also amazing that the Secretary of State while showing a great concern for keeping the cost of the Federation within reasonable limits should have nowhere questioned the justification of the present level of emoluments and salaries. Unquestionably a Federal System of Government is more expensive than the present, but I must question the basis on which this cost has been calculated. The official estimates assume that the existing level of salaries and emoluments will be continued. But, I ask, whether it is necessary in order to maintain efficiency or even to attract the right type of men into the Federal Services that these salaries and emoluments should be retained at their existing high level? We are convinced that the present scale of salaries is extravagant and far too burdensome for our country. At any rate, there can be no question that first class Indians can now be obtained in India for the All-India Services on a salary substantially less than what is the present cadre. The scale of salaries of the superior services was fixed when it was understood they would be manned by recruits from England. When a policy of Indianisation is laid down, therefore, the whole situation becomes altered and calls for reconsideration. In this connection it is interesting to note the policy and experience of one of the greatest Indian-owned industrial corporations in the country. By following a policy of Indianisation, this Corporation pays to an Indian officer only two-thirds of the salary allowed a foreign officer he displaces. The policy has worked long and successfully. The salaries paid at present admit of considerable scaling down without injury to efficiency in the least. Moreover, when a new scale of salaries is fixed for new recruits, a fresh body of servants of the state will arise whose ideas and sense of values will be entirely different.

There is yet another important direction in which important economies are possible. The Federal Government of India will be one of the largest purchasers of material in the world and their total purchases will constitute the most important item of expenditure. It is

wellknown that in the past the policy of purchasing in the cheapest market in the world consistent with quality has not been seriously followed. If that were done, and our specifications so drafted as to give an opportunity to every country to quote, I am sure at least a 10% saving would be effected. We may also assume that the reckless extravagance that has characterised the execution of some of our greatest projects will disappear under a thoroughly Indianised administration, fully responsible to a representative legislature.

The importance of these economies lies not only in easing the difficulty of meeting the cost of Federation but also in the fact, which is even more important, that such economies would make an increasing amount available for the nation-building and social services. Under a true Swaraj Government the economic development of the country will receive particular, genuine and sympathetic consideration. I anticipate a great increase in the material well-being of the country and consequently a growing ability to meet larger expenditure. If only the form of Government is changed into a more costly one, without the real control of affairs passing into the hands of Indians but remaining as it is to-day in the hands of a more or less irresponsible alien bureaucracy, these expectations are, I admit, impossible of realisation.

In this connection, I should also utter a word of warning. Sir Samuel Hoare laid special stress on economy in the Provincial Expenditure. We are all conscious of the extravagance incurred in running the primary departments of the Provincial Government and the stepmotherly attitude shown by the Provincial Governments towards what are called " nation-building departments," the declaration by the Secretary of State may therefore raise a suspicion in the minds of many that the axe will again fall on the latter in order to set the provinces "on a even keel." We must take our stand strongly against such a move. The Budget of the Reserved Departments of the Provincial Governments admittedly leaves much scope for economy, so that large sums may be spared for the nation-building departments. At any rate, that has got to be ensured if, as Sir Samuel says, " there is no sum at the moment to be divided up amongst the Provinces other than, say, a part of the jute tax or some such payment of that kind for dealing with the very exceptional position of Bengal." Speaking of Bengal, I may say that she could legitimately claim the whole of the proceeds of the jute tax. Had this legitimate demand been conceded, she would perhaps have had no deficits to-day, for half the proceeds of the jute tax is likely to be just sufficient to wipe out

the present deficit. Moreover, so long as the present allocation of funds between the Reserved and the Transferred Departments is retained there is not much of a hope for the economic development of the Province. I believe that is the case with all the other provinces as well, and hence the urgent necessity for drastic reduction in the expenditure on account of the primary functions of the Government.

"Let me assure you with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command that plans for University development, whether judged by word already accomplished or activities yet to be undertaken, have been neither casual nor accidental. They have their solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of the Nation. It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its wall the learning of the world in living exponents of Scholarship, who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is equally incumbent upon the University, for the living present and its persistence in the future, to enlarge the boundaries of human learning and to give powerful aid to the advancement of knowledge by the development of creative capacity in those disciplines through which men seek for truth and strive after duty. It is further incumbent on the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of Science and Society, of Government and public order, of knowledge and conduct. The University can achieve this object and contribute to the welfare of the people in freedom, health and wealth, if it sends forth streams of liberally educated men and women to be leaders of public opinion and to be practitioners in all the brain-working professions of our time, for law, medicine. engineering, teaching and commerce, to architecture, agriculture, banking, journalism and public administration. A University so designed for the service of the Nation in all possible phases of its development, cannot be restricted to a narrow or chosen teaching, much less starved altogether in its activities. It cannot be treated either as a great scholastic sanctuary or as a glorified technical institute."

—Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1922

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ART

By St. Kramrisch,
Calcutta University.

MORE and more relics of Indian art become known and an increasing number of theories about them follows. A theory literally is a manner of looking at things and this would specially apply to works of art. They must be seen or else they cannot be understood. There is no other approach but through the eye and seeing means here something more than taking notice. It is a direct and absolute communion through the eye and the number of those able to partake in it is equally determined as the number of those who are predestined to understand, *i.e.*, to hear music. Still, the unmusical person refrains from, and in any case is not expected to experience, music and to register his reaction.

On Indian art, there is however a mute consensus that irrespective of the presence or absence of the faculty of seeing, theories may be elaborated for the sake of justifying one's existence.

By no education will the unmusical person become musical, and by no operation does the eye unseeing in face of art, become seeing. The tongue may be practised. Words and notions are substituted for the " unseen," reading is a widespread habit, writing almost as bad, and theories are launched, believed in, disputed and give rise to others.

The various existing methods of approaching Indian art fall into two main groups. In one of them the eye is not put to any further use, no faculties are released, none even are expected differing from those of the eye that sees a leaf and makes you say green, a pond, twenty yards across, a girl, ugly. Codification of sense impressions, valuations that can be measured by the yard, others unfathomable in their limitations of which the opining individual is stacked, belong to the one group. Besides the scholar or expert is more or less well versed in Indian history or philosophy or various other branches of " learning." Sidelights are thrown while facts are gleaned. They are of importance, they may be indispensable even to one whose eye can see.

The second group allow their seeing eyes to dwell on Indian art and their conclusions vary according to how the record of their eye is received by their personality, its power of identification with Indian art and its faculty of rendering this relation by way of their ' systems.'

The first group is by far the larger. One of its branches is naive and righteous in method and claim. Its foundation lies where description takes for granted whatever can be given a name and where the rationale of a school training is indispensable.

This descriptive method,—image of Maya Devi (height), made of black *Kasti pathar,* in this posture under that tree, with six minor figures around it of which each is to be recognised according to insignia, numbers of heads, built of body, etc., etc., all have their names, this implies a meaning, mythology, lotus pedestal variety B, two donors on either side—finally puts " mediaeval " as date and proceeds to the next image. Without much ado and before having gone as far as that the dynastic history of the place as far as inscriptions, etc., will have revealed will be dwelt upon as a befitting introduction. Facts are communicated, the most important is the reproduction from an original photograph.

Let those who dare and can, spin the cobwebs of imagination round this clear piece of news !

A bolder access than the descriptive one is climbed by the historical method. Missing links are still welcomed when participation is lacking on the side of the scholars, with art. Step by step, gap by gap is filled in by evolution. What evolves, from where, into what direction, does it evolve at all, where is the measure and where the proof ? Needless to ask ; biology of yesterday driven from its position lives in the sheltered nooks of the art historian's mind. Pass Brahma day and Brahma night, another and yet another, creation and dissolution, its process towards creation, go on as long as it is certain that the diameter of the bottom of the lotus capital decreases in an inverse proportion to its height, as time goes on.

But the thin thread of the historical method has not as yet been twisted with any firmness, with the help of Indian material. In its stead tape is being applied of Western manufacture. It is used as a flourish, glitter of a safety pin. It tears the texture, never mind. The hand, also, is not too sure as yet as to how to apply it.

If the thin thread threatens to break why not strengthen it by the comparative method. Blue here, blue there, does it not always remain blue. Pull out a hair here, pull out a hair there, put the two

together, there is no end of it, what a mass of hair. It has been torn out, it need not grow again.

Or else excursions need not go as far as that, it is profitable to stay at home and to watch how cultural activities in other spheres determined or took a parallel course with art. What moves either, what pushes, is not the question. Observe the facts recorded and co-ordinate them and the picture is filled in. On what is it painted ? No need asking, it looks a picture. What does it show ? Many things, one next to the other, why should they be there. That they are, as they are how did it come about ? The unseeing eye receives no answer. It has collected so many data, named, and compared them and has drawn its conclusions, the painting is complete and many more of its kind may be drawn.

If the descriptive method, unknowingly full of self-denial prepares the stones for a building, the historical method joins them. If all are laid in one line there is the danger of collapse, nor is the direction all too clear. Leaving aside the applicability of this method to Western art, it is of greater importance to ask—Can Western historical methods be applied to Indian history ? Do not the Indian facts demand an order and approaches which fit the facts? Are they to be passed through foreign meshes and measured according to foreign standards. The tepid commonplace of the ultimate sameness of man is an abstraction at its best, but history means life, and its possibilities are uncounted. The Indian possibility carries a measure and destiny of its own. It communicates it to the student who does not tie it into his net of taught conventions. The student who can afford to forget, when he has been trained to behold, will have to take upon himself a task of which possibly he is not yet aware. Nevertheless and even then, the seeing eye will show the way and from no other source can light be shed on it.

Midway between the seeing and the unseeing eye stands what is commonly called art criticism. Fragments of the two first methods are joined by the personal predilections, preconceived 'aesthetic' ideals and a fair command of supposedly technical words. While formerly Indian art used to be judged according to Western classical standards and its value was found to be negative at present the terms coined to denote certain aspects of Western art are transferred to Indian art for the sake of an interpretation of its 'aesthetic values,' and as more and more śilpa śāstras become known, their terminology too, is made use of as if this would not express anything but the views held by craftsmen

and the interested public at an age that saw and expressed things different from ours. The living substratum, the valid tradition no longer being there, these terms and notions are but a cliché, and it is of greater importance to go to the originals for their understanding, and this will impart life to the cliché too.

Most of the writings on Indian art, it is seen, have little to do with it and they brush its fringes, they may circumscribe the situation of the body which is left untouched, by descriptive archaeology, by art history and by aesthetic art criticism. The limits between these three approaches are not always sharply drawn and they intermingle. This arbitrary and fluctuating talking on art and specially on Indian art cannot but evoke mistrust. The outsider will say enough if there is art and people enjoy it and no self-appointed priest is required between the two. Others may think that a strangely misled taste of the public has to be educated and guided towards the discrimination of quality and if the art critic succeeds in this, his existence is justified. If his eyes are open, they may no doubt help others too, to behold with wonder what hitherto had remained hidden from them. This tutorial work may prove useful, it is however not the main aim of the study of Indian art.

What then is its aim ? Literature, *i.e.*, the written word had been hitherto the almost exclusive material, by which man and his standard could be approached. For this purpose the intellect had to be trained. But all there is in man does not find utterance in words and to be able to follow the articulations in material more tangible than sound, less elusive and obedient to a logic which is not that of the intellect alone, the eye has to be trained.

Assuming that a person born with the gift of seeing is trained systematically to co-ordinate the data of the visible, to what account may this knowledge be turned? Before sketching the various possibilities a word may be said about the elementary training of the eye and in what it consists. In relations of points, lines, surfaces, volumes, space, light and darkness and colours, there exists a coherence and it is this coherence that matters. Twofold may be the attitude towards this coherence. Beheld from outside the world of this coherence may be interpreted as the result of a specific mode of seeing and of correlating accordingly the visible values. From this point of view the mode of correlation is taken to be the result of certain given conditions, say for instance the sixteenth century sees like

this, the seventeenth like that. While the observations on the work of art are correct, arbitrariness creeps in where outer connections, such as the historical, are taken to be causally connected with the data observed. Rules consequently are seen into an "evolution" from one type of seeing to another. The question is not asked in this system whether these modifications in seeing may not be connected with other factors than the chronological and whether the element of time may not have to give way to others, such as those of the ethnical carrier, or the soil. This formalistic, historico-biological treatment may or may not fit the specific phase of Western art which was its starting point. If, however, such deductions and their corresponding categories are seen into any phase of Indian art their net will not fit any better than that of Western classical notions did at its time. The only gain lies in the novel attempt at seeing, while the interpretation is a process of applied thought and rules. Or else the stress may be laid not on the chronological but mainly on the ethnical element and then art will serve as an indicater of racial predestinations. In either case art is made into a means of demonstrating correspondences, be they biological or if the term may be used 'geo-sanguineus,' in each case the work of art is asked with a purpose and if the desired answer comes forth, its mission is fulfilled.

What is lacking in either method is the participation of the scholar in the work of art. His sociological pre-occupations stand in his way of ridding himself of the entire apparatus which he is expected to be able to master, and to enter art as a vehicle that leads from the seen into the ever unseen state of being and its paradoxical utterance, creation. Once this root is struck, all the ramifications unfold and are beheld in their proper places.

The study of Indian art demands from its interpreter not only that he should be fully alive to the situation into which he is placed in space and time, for how else could he make sure of his own limitations, of his own peculiar mode of seeing ?—and that his eye should be seeing, but that while seeing he should contemplate and once out of his contemplation apply the whole critical apparatus, in the way in which he is guided by the experience gained during, and by the result of his contemplation. Once more, and different from the Indian craftsman of old he has to identify himself with the meaning and exact data of a *sadhana*, but this not a written or spoken formula but a visible whole, be it a single work of art, or a phase or aspect of Indian art. Having participated in the urge, in

the compulsion that had brought forth Indian art, and stepping aside into the—as far as can be—neutral sphere of one's knowledge and awareness, it will be permissible to study Indian art, as that living form of the Indian mind, which utters what words cannot communicate in a consistent language of its own.

"I do not agree with those who are of opinion that our post-graduate students should rigidly avoid politics. The political field is the rightful inheritance of the well-educated man. To tell graduates that they are to refrain from all political controversy is in my opinion to create the inevitable desire for forbidden fruit. It seems to my mind far better in the interests of good government that the young men in our universities should study politics and learn to understand properly the politics of the world and particularly of their country, in a properly organised graduates' political society under the supervision of a responsible professor, so that when they leave their university they will be able to direct and confine their political opinions to their proper channels with beneficial results. It requires years of deep study to enable one to form a judgment of and to arrive at the right conclusion in any political problem. There can be no objection, I think, to graduates attending political meetings within reasonable limits if their object be to educate themselves in politics and to learn its difficult problems, accustoming themselves to discount at its true value the violent language which in most countries accompanies a political movement. Their education should enable them to carefully weigh all the arguments and to arrive at a conclusion dictated by their own judgment and commonsense. They will then be able to adduce intelligent reasons for the opinions they hold and to add weight to the uninstructed political opinions of the public. I would remind those who wish to follow in the footsteps of men like the late Mr. Gokhale that it is necessary to spend years in studying the knotty problems of politics and to learn to sacrifice personal and private interests to the public good before it is possible to become a political leader of the country in the true sense of the word."

—*Sir R. N. Mookerjee in his Convocation Address at the University of Patna, 1919*

THE CHINESE MYSTICISM

By DR. PRABODHCHANDRA BAGCHI, M.A., D.LIT. (Paris)

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THE Chinese mind, generally speaking, has no mystic bent. The Confucian positivism is its best expression and the greater bulk of the people have been ardent followers of the Confucian ethics. The abolition of imperialism, round which this Confucianism centered in ancient times, has made no difference in the country and the Confucian attitude of mind has not been disturbed in the least. The Confucian ethics is mainly based on conservative social dogmas. There is no place of divine revelation in it, and it insists on the reciprocal duties of the Emperor and his subjects, father and children, and the fellow-citizens. The respect of the subjects for the Emperor, and the respect of the children for their ancestors, constitute the real foundation of the Government and family. This is why it has been given the place of a national religion in Confucian ethics. In Confucian philosophy there is no place for a Creator God, and in fact Confucius himself refused more than once to be dragged into the speculation on the existence of a Godhead. He explains the mystery of the Universe by the formulation of two principles which he calls *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* is the female principle which is passive and *Yang* is the male principle which is active. These two in conjunction create the beings which populate the earth.

Such a simple positivist creed could not have given rise to mysticism, but still China witnessed very early the birth and growth of a very intricate mysticism. This mysticism known an Taoism was, if we are to rely on tradition, first introduced by Lao-tse in the 6th century B.C. Lao-tse was an elder contemporary of Confucius and lived between 570 and 490 B.C. Lao-tse which means the "Old Philosopher" was only the nickname of the teacher and the real name still remains in obscurity. In fact, the personal history of the "Old Philosopher" is not much known. It is admitted by all sources that he was the librarian in the court of the Cheou princes and while engaged in the study of the old documents he discovered his new mystic philosophy. About his last days there are two different stories: according to one, he left his office and went away to the West (West of China) and was never heard of afterwards; according to the other he lived in China till his death. His mystic philosophy is

contained in a canonical work which is called the *Tao-te-king* and attributed to him. About this treatise there are two stories: according to one, Laotse composed it during his journey in the West for his friend Yin-hi who was the guard of the Western pass; according to the other, admitted to be more authentic, he discovered it or at least records containing the exposition of analogous doctrines in the ministerial archives. If we are to rely on the second, we have to admit that the history of Taoism did not commence with Lao-tse, it had its pre-history, or, in other words, Lao-tse had his precursors. But this pre-history is lost in oblivion and for all practical purposes the *Tao-te-king* is our oldest authority on the subject.

About Lao-tse, what the famous Chinese historians Sse-ma-ts'ien of the 2nd century B.C. has said still remains true: "of the Old Teacher some say this, while others say that, and it can be only affirmed that this man deliberately effaced all the traces of his life because he loved obscurity above all." It is not known if he had any following during his life-time but in later times some of the well-known Chinese writers and philosophers professed his mystic doctrines and amongst them were counted Lie-tse, Chuang-tse and Yang-chu who lived in the 4th century B.C., wrote comments on the famous work and contributed to the spread and development of Taoist philosophy. The Taoist literature which consists of about two thousand treatises forms an important section of Chinese literature.

Tao literally means the way and is generally rendered as the *principle*. This *Tao* is conceived as the unique principle which existed before everything else. It is both transcendent and immanent and has no form, sound or colour. It can not be expressed or defined in language and "if a name has been given to it, it is as a symbol, if not of its unfathomable essence, but of the way in which it manifests itself on earth." Says the *Tao-te-king*:

"The principle which may be enunciated is not that which always existed. The being that may be named is not that which always existed. Before all times, there was an ineffable and unnameable being. When he was still unnameable he conceived the heaven and the earth. He then became nameable and gave birth to all beings. Man's knowledge of the universal principle depends on the state of his mind. The mind which is habitually free from passion knows its mysterious essence. The mind which is habitually full of passion knows only its effects."

The commentators, discussing this passage of the *Tao-te-king*, says: Before times and before all times there was a being who was

self-existent, eternal, infinite, complete and omnipresent. It is impossible to name him or speak of him because human words apply to perceptible beings. But the primordial being was at the beginning, and is even now, essentially imperceptible to the senses. Before the origin of the world there was nothing beyond him. His essence alone existed at the beginning. This essence possessed two immanent properties—the *yin*, concentration and the *yang*, expansion, which were once exteriorised under the two perceptible forms of heaven and earth. This was the commencement of times and since then the principle came to be named. The state of *yin*, *i.e.*, the state of concentration and repose which the principle had before time is his real state. The state of *yang*, *i.e.*, the state of expansion and action, the state of manifestation in perceptible beings, is his condition in time—a condition which is illusory. To these two conditions of the principle correspond in the mental faculty of man repose and activity or in other words void and fullness. When the mind is productive of ideas it is full of images, it is moved by passions and at that time it is able only to recognise the effects of the principle. But when the cogitation of the mind is absolutely stopped it becomes completely void and calm, it is then like a pure and unstained mirror in which is reflected the ineffable and unnameable essence of the principle itself.

This principle is further defined in the *Tao-te-king* as the *true nature*. The superior kind of wisdom consists in knowing this true nature of self. It can be attained by imposing one's own will on himself and in mastering his passions. It can be realised by renouncing all forms of conventional knowledge and worldly activities. In the words of Lao-tse a true sage " acts without acting, is busy without being busy, tastes without tasting, sees with the same eye the great and small, much and little." These words of Lao-tse are capable of only one interpretation. Man ought to realise the universal principle or the true nature of his self. This principle or true nature cannot be defined by words, it can be only felt or realised. This realisation is possible only when the passions have been mastered, the worldly ideas and images have been removed from the mind and a perfect calm has been attained. The mind goes back to its real nature or gets the image of its real self when it is completely clean and void. This cannot be attained through conventional knowledge. When the mind attains this true nature its attitude undergoes a complete change. The man then moves in the world but not as others do. As he has then no desires and passions he acts but he is not moved by any of his actions,

he looks at others but sees in them only one universal principle and does not distinguish between this man or that man.

There is however a practical side of this mysticism. The method by which the transcendental state can be reached is indicated by Lao-tse in the following words:

"Close your mouth and nostrils and you will run to the end of your days without any decadence. To talk too much and indulge in too many anxieties is to waste yourself away and shorten your life. To concentrate the rays of intelligence on the intelligence and not to allow the mental functions to disturb your body is to cover (or protect) the body so that it may endure long."

Chuang-tse states this method more clearly: One should retire to river banks or solitary places and abstain from doing anything just as those who really love nature and like to enjoy leisure, do. To take in breath in a measured way, to evacuate the air contained in the lungs and to replace it by fresh air lengthens one's life. However simple this method might have been at the beginning, it gave rise later on to a very complicated system of breath control.

The pantheistic conception of the universal principle and breath control and concentration prescribed for realising that principle within the self have no doubt close similarity with the Upanishadic conception of Brahma and certain Yogic methods adopted for its realisation within the self. The agreement is so close that one feels tempted to say that Lao-tse derived his ideas from the Indian source and his traditional journey to the West may supply its confirmatory evidence. In fact some Sinologists have expressed such an opinion. But there is a very great difficutly in accepting such a view because the ancient Chinese annals do not officially admit of any relation of China with India before the close of the 1st century A.D.

But whether of Indian extraction or of independent growth there is no doubt that the mystic philosophy of the "Old Philosopher" attain "a rare elevation although its very sublimity renders it sometimes obscure."

IMPRESSIONS OF INDUSTRIAL JAPAN *

By. SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS, KT.

I feel very grateful to the Chairman and members of this Institute for inviting me to speak on my impressions on Industrial Japan. Before I give my impressions, I would like to say something about the period of my trip and the industrial concerns which I had an opportunity of visiting. One stayed in that country for thirty-three days and during that interval was able to see the working of six cotton mills, one cement factory, two porcelain works, one spinning machinery manufacturing work, one clock manufacturing work and one cloisonne work. In all cases permission had to be obtained beforehand for the visits and the management had previous information of these visits. I am giving this detailed information as I have often been asked if I was allowed to pay surprised visits. I did not ask for such permission nor would such permission, if granted, have been really useful as my ignorance of the Japanese language would have been a great handicap. Moreover, I did not think mill-owners and other industrialists will in any country allow a visitor to go over their mills at any time he liked. I would like to confess that I am not a technical man and my remarks are to be taken as those of a layman connected with the financial side of some cotton mills and other concerns.

The first and most lasting impression left on the mind of a visitor to Japan is the intense nationalism of the people. Their country right or wrong is the mental, if not the spoken, slogan of the people. The whole nation is united as a whole and an indivisible entity in Japan. One seldom sees the agriculturists fighting with the industrialists. The objective is the same, the progress of the country. There is not a single prefecture looking upon the other with jealous eyes as a rival. They both desire to work for a common cause, namely, the material advance of the country and its people. The second point that impressed me a great deal was the desire of the industrialists to look ahead and to go on introducing improved machinery in the mills so that it may continue to keep high efficiency. The industrialists think more of the future competition and of the preparations to meet it than of immediate dividends and managing agents' remuneration.

Of the cotton mills that I visited one is considered both by the Japanese and by the Indians residing in Japan as the best and biggest cotton mill in Japan. Others were smaller mills and not so clean and imposing as the Kanegafuch Mills, but the labour-welfare work done in all the mills was of an almost equally high standard.

In all these mills the majority of workers consists of girls. There are some men workers also. There are girls' dormitories, bachelors' dormitories for female and male workers. In some mills there are houses for workmen's families. The dormitories are quite clean and have very little furniture. The beds are of mat, are clean and kept in drawers in each room. Under a regulation, they have to be cleaned every morning and sun-dried once a week. The workers, both male and female, work for 8½ hours per day. There are two shifts per day and consequently the

* Synopsis of a speech delivered by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas at the Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 22nd August, 1933.

mills' work is done for seventeen hours per day. Under another regulation no woman is allowed to work in factory from 11 P.M. to 5 A.M. As the female workers are in a majority, the mills have as a result of this regulation to be closed for six hours a day. Out of the remaining 18 hours, there is a recess of half an hour per shift and thus the working hours are reduced to seventeen. I have seen the working girls in the mills and also during their recess and during their off-time and have found them cheerful and sprightly. All these girls have the advantage of seven years' compulsory education and few months' training as apprentices. They are naturally more intelligent and more attentive than the workers here. It has been said that the Japanese mill-owner sweats labour. A person working for 1½ hours less than the workmen in India cannot be said to be sweated labour. At least the industrialist here has no right to say so. If we compare the wages of the girls there with those of the workmen here and make allowance for the provision of dormitories and mess feeding at about half the cost, it must be acknowledged that the girls are financially much better off. Physically they are also far superior to our workmen. A Japanese girl attends to about 8 looms as against 2 looms worked till recently by an Indian workman. Although the work is nominally four times, there appeared on the face of the girls no effect of the strain of this extra work. In one mill working with the Toyoda Automatic Looms, a girl is able to work 30 looms and the Manager of the mill told me that practically a girl could manage 60 looms but experience showed that it was physically impossible for a girl to attend to more than 32 looms. A girl attending to even 30 looms means a reduction in labour cost, *i.e.*, nearly 1/15 the Indian labour cost.

Management by Directors, one being in charge of each Department, is also much more efficient. Absence of the Managing Agency system gives direct control and interest to individual Directors and leads also to economy. As there is usually a combination of mills working together for the organisation of cotton purchase and cloth sales, they are able to purchase cotton at a cheaper price on the spot and sell their manufactured goods in the most profitable markets.

The Cotton Spinners' Association have an agreement with the Conference Lines for carrying all the cargo from India to Japan at a low rate. As all the mills work through the Association, the latter body is almost in a position to dictate terms. As there are no Japanese Lines in the Conference which has entered into an agreement, there is no likelihood of the Japanese Government giving any subsidy in lieu of rebate to a non-Japanese Company. Similarly, the Japanese Government are not likely to grant subsidies to cotton mills that are able to declare dividends. Bounties and subsidies are given to concerns which are in difficulties and are not able to earn profits. No Government, unless it is entirely ignorant and foolish, would give subsidies to profit-earning concerns.

The same efficiency and economy were noticeable in the cement and the porcelain factories. In the latter as well as the cloisonne factory, I was very much impressed with the artistic work. In these institutions, it is a genuine pleasure to see young girls and others doing delicate painting work on the porcelain ware.

The percentage of agricultural households is 47 out of the total households in Japan. Agriculture is, therefore, a very important industry though not as important as in India. In agricultural industry also, Japan is forging ahead by the use of chemical manures and improved agricultural implements. The agriculturists have been able to raise the amount of rice grown per acre by some 50% in the past few years. Increase in the acreage under cultivation and the produce per acre are jointly ahead of

the increase in population. Agriculture is a growing and important industry. There are many farms for the growth of gold-fishes which are exported in large numbers to America and other countries, bringing a very appreciable return.

Sericulture is almost like a hand-maid to agriculture, as more than 22% of agriculturists are doing this work, thus increasing to a large extent the income they derive from agriculture.

Although I had little time at my disposal to inspect the small home industries, I found that the few I saw, were worked as efficiently and economically as the large ones.

PROTECTION AND GROWTH OF NATIONAL CAPITAL

By Dr. H. L. Dey, M.A., D.Sc.
Dacca University,
and
Dr. J. P. Niyogi, M.A., Ph.D.
Calcutta University.

I

In the course of his review of *The Indian Tariff Problem* in the August Number of this Journal (pp. 257-58), Dr. J. P. Niyogi, while conceding that protection is extremely bad from the point of view of distribution, does not accept the proposition, which I have set out on p. 33 of the book just referred to, that far from stimulating the growth of national capital, it is calculated rather to reduce the rate of its growth. I have tried to put as generous a construction as possible on the reverse proposition enunciated by the Indian Fiscal Commission (Report, para. 42) and further elaborated and illustrated by Dr. Niyogi. This latter proposition does not amount to much more than that protection *viâ* higher prices effects an automatic transfer of purchasing power from the consuming classes to the producing-investing classes, who have a margin of saving over expenditure and who invest these savings through shares or debentures or undivided profits, *i.e.*, company reserves, thus increasing the industrial capital of the country. But the nature and significance of the transfer will become clear to us if we continue our search further backwards and forwards both into the antecedent and the subsequent state. Before the transfer took place, the purchasing power in question was in the hands of (*i*) the rural classes, *i.e.*, landlords, tenure-holders, agriculturists, village artisans, traders, etc. ; (*ii*) the urbanised, middle class people and others ; and (*iii*) the rentier class, which perhaps is a very small class in India. Now, in all these three cases, the higher prices brought about by protection *ipso facto* leave a smaller margin of savings than before, because a part of the former savings now passes *viâ* higher prices into the hands of the entrepreneur and shareholding classes. That is, the difference between the pre-protection and the post-protection price-levels measures *the decrement of saving* for the first three classes and *increment of income* to the share-holders, labourers and entrepreneurs in the protected industries. But let us follow out the consequences of the transfer step by step. It is only stated, but not analytically proved, *e.g.*, by the Fiscal Commission and Dr. Niyogi, that the transfer will help the growth of national capital. It is difficult to see how the transfer of the savings of classes (*ii*) and (*iii*) above to the industrial classes, *i.e.*. entrepreneurs, share-holders and labourers in the protected industries, will lead to an increase in the aggregate national capital. The amount remains the same, only the ownership is different. Some significant change does indeed happen to the purchasing power that is transferred from class (*i*), *i.e.*, rural, to the industrial classes. The savings that would have otherwise remained

idle in the shape of hoards or jewellery, etc., *i.e.* potential but inactive capital, now become active and effective capital. That is, there is a change in the character of the capital. Even so, it is not clear how this change in the *character* of the capital leads to a change in the *amount* as well. On the contrary, since the rural classes have a comparatively lower and more stationary standard of living than the urban-industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former is now transferred, it is fairly obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure and therefore, lesser aggregate savings. Now, the larger aggregate savings that would have remained in the hands of the rural classes in the absence of the protection-high-price regime could be cured of their extravagant "shyness" through the spread of education and the popularisation of the modern methods of investing small savings in the post-office savings deposits, cash certificates, and co-operative societies—methods whose success have been amply demonstrated since the last war. This is the right treatment of the disease of hoarding. To attempt to cure it by a virtually compulsory transfer of the savings of the rural classes to the industrial classes is nearly as good as drying up the well itself in order to prevent leakage of water, or burning away the whole crop in order to destroy the weed, or cutting away the stomach itself in order to cure dyspepsia. I agree that the remedies I have suggested will take a comparatively long period to produce their full effects. And so, if I have understood Dr. Niyogi aright, he would theoretically support a protective policy as being beneficial in the short period from the point of view of capital growth through company reserves, etc. But if such a policy does not increase the aggregate savings, as argued above, I can only interpret Dr. Niyogi to mean that he would prefer to have a larger immediate increment to the invested industrial capital even at the cost of a decrement of aggregate savings, although the pursuit of the more direct, educative, method I have suggested would give us larger aggregate savings as well as larger investments in the long run. The short-period policy of protection gives us a small gain in increment of industrial investment but a larger loss through decrease of aggregate savings ; Dr. Niyogi also agrees that this small gain obtainable under a protective policy is far outweighed by its injurious effect on distribution. If, then, these are the items on the debit and the credit side of the account, will Dr. Niyogi kindly attempt to strike the net balance again ? I am sure he will find good cause for retracting even the small concession he appears to have rather incautiously made to the protectionist thesis.

Dr. Niyogi also contends that "protective tariffs on the necessaries of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving. If these sums had been retained by the poor these would have been expended on consumption goods, whereas the sums diverted to the rich are likely to be reinvested." I confess I have been unable to follow the point of this suggestion. If we assume, as we must, that the purchasing power of the poor with little or absolutely no margin for saving is fixed, the rich, *i.e.*, industrial classes, cannot get more under a protective system than under the pre-protective one. They have transferred to them the same sum of money in both cases (assuming that they produce commodities both of elastic as well as inelastic demand). So that there is no chance of their being able to receive and save more in the one case than in the other. But there is certainly a lesser amount of savings left to the poorer classes in the regime of protection than under that of free trade. For, in the pre-protection stage of lower prices also they would have spent these sums of consumption goods; only they would have got either more

commodities with the same amount of money, or the same commodities with a lesser amount of money, there being a saving in the second case. In the post-protection stage of higher prices, they buy a lesser amount of commodities with the same amount of money as before, or an equal amount of commodities with a greater sum of money, there being negative saving in the second case. Thus, in the pre-protection stage there is a chance of saving or obtaining more commodities; while in the post-protection stage there is negative saving or receipt of a lesser amount of commodities. So that a protective policy produces exactly the reverse of the result which Dr. Niyogi, in company with the Fiscal Commission, envisages for it.

Nor do I think that Dr. Niyogi's third point that "in so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be re-invested," can stand the test of analysis. The customs duties are like all other taxes in their effect on the tax-givers, only with this difference that they take a larger proportion of the income from the poor than from the rich, whereas most other taxes do just the reverse. Exactly to the extent that the customs go to the payment of interest on public debt internally held, do they diminish the capacity of the consumers of all classes to pay interest on private debts. The customs duties do not reduce the aggregate amount of internal debt, private and public, nor do they increase savings more than what would have been the case in the absence of customs duties. (In considering the incidence of import duties, we must accept the verdict of Marshall, Pigou, and Sir Herbert Samuel that on the whole they should be assumed to fall on the consumers. Also *cf.* the Report of the Colwyn Committee.)

I tried my best to make my position on these points clear in the *Indian Tariff Problem* (pp. 32-34). But it seems that it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to have a fair hearing for an unorthodox point of view even at the hands of academic experts. And that is the excuse for this further effort to elucidate the points at some length.

H. L. DEY.

II

Dr. H. L. Dey has referred to a few remarks of mine which I had made in the course of a review of his book *The Indian Tariff Problem*. these remarks which appeared in the August number of the Calcutta Review may be briefly stated as follows:—

(1) ......"In so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be reinvested."

Dr. Dey argues that this point cannot stand the test of analysis. In support of his contention he appeals among other authorities to the Report of the Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation. I was surprised to see Dr. Dey calling to his aid this Report. For the position which I have taken up is identical with that of the Colwyn Committee. Might I refer to the following passage in paragraph 668 of the Report ?

"Of the duties borne by small incomes by far the larger part will be met out of money which would otherwise be expended on consumption

goods of one kind or another; a much smaller part will be so expended by the debt-holders out of their interest receipts. In the case of debt repayment it is probable that nearly the whole of the sums received will be re-invested."

It appears that Dr. Dey has missed the whole point regarding the ultimate effect of the application of custom duties to the payment of interest on national debt. No one would ever contend that such duties reduce the national debt. But what would happen is that in so far as such duties are utilised for paying interest on national debt they effect a transference of resources from the poor to the industrial classes. This transference does bring about an increase of savings more than what would have been the case under any other arrangement, *e.g.*, under an income-tax. Dr. Dey's position is therefore unsound when he says "nor do they (customs duties) increase savings more than would have been the case in the absence of customs duties."

(2) "Protective tariffs on the necessaries of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving."

Dr. Dey's comment on this proposition is that the transference thus brought about means only a change in the character of the capital and not in the amount. "It is not clear" he says, "how a change in the *character* of the capital leads to a change in the *amount* as well." My contention is that in the absence of protection the resources left in the hands of the rural classes would have been spent on consumption goods. To the extent of this expenditure the aggregate saving would be less. I do not agree with Dr. Dey when he says that, as the rural classes have a comparatively stationary standard of living, they are likely to save much more under free trade than what the industrial classes would do under protection. The well-known fact that the expenditure of the rural classes on conventional necessaries has gone up does not bear out Dr. Dey's thesis that their standard of living has remained stationary. Nor can it be maintained that the increased income of the urbanised classes would be thoughtlessly spent on luxuries without making any provision for the future. As a matter of fact the increased volume of insurance in recent years does indicate a growing realisation of the future which is helpful to capital formation.

It is thus evident that what takes place under protection is not, as Dr. Dey maintains, a mere change in the character of capital. The resources left in the hands of the rural classes under free trade and spent by them on consumption goods are certainly not capital. The resources become capital in certain circumstances when transferred *viâ* protection and high prices to the industrial classes. The volume of savings in any country depends as much on the magnitude of the national dividend as on its distribution. Protection, although it diminishes the magnitude of the dividend, might so alter its distribution as to facilitate a larger amount of saving by certain sections. It is conceivable that even if protection reduces the aggregate national dividend, it might cause a greater *proportion* of that reduced dividend to be devoted to productive purposes. Unless the national dividend shows a considerable shrinkage under protection, it is not likely that the aggregate saving will diminish.

Further Dr. Dey contradicts himself when he says that "the industrial classes cannot get more under a protective system than under a pre-protective one." For does he not himself make the admission in the first paragraph of his note that protective duties cause a transference of resources from the rural to the industrial classes? I refer to the following passage: "the urbanised industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former (rural classes) is now transferred, it is fairly

obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure"... If the industrial classes cannot get more under protection, as Dr. Dey maintains, it is inconceivable how they can incur a greater aggregate expenditure.

(3) " In a modern society saving has to a great extent become impersonal and automatic in its nature. For the world has come to rely increasingly on corporate savings and the savings of public authorities for its supply of capital......The stimulus given to company-promoting might result in a growth of national savings."

As no comment is made on this proposition, I rafrain from making any observations.

J. P. NIYOGI.

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR *KURKUTCH* IN BENGAL

By BINAYBHUSHAN DASGUPTA
Bengal Civil Service.

In Chapter II, para. 7, of the *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal, 1932*, Mr. Pitt says, " Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation." Again in para. 23 of the same chapter, he writes, " In spite of a close scrutiny of such old records as are now available, it is impossible to discover that any manufacture on the coast of Bengal or Balasore were carried out purely by solar evaporation."

The above two statements of Mr. Pitt, we are afraid, are not correct. The old records, that still exist on the subject, disclose clearly that an experiment of manufacturing *kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was undertaken on the coast of Chittagong and was carried on for the years 1827-28 to 1831-32 (inclusive).

In those days of the Government salt monopoly, it was part of the Government policy to retail salt in the manufacturing localities at a cheap rate in order to prevent illicit production. A small quantity of salt was thus retailed in every agency. In Chittagong, however, instead of retailing the dearer boiled Agency salt, Government indented cheaper *kurkutch* salt from Madras for retailing it at a cheaper rate in the locality. The supply was obtained through a contractor who bore all risks. Writing in 1855, Mr. Plowden says that " the present contract price is Rs. 46 per 100 maunds, which yielded to the contractor a profit of Rs. 31 per 100 maunds.

Now, for five years from 1827-28 to 1831-32, Government carried on an experiment of manufacturing the *kurkutch* salt in Chittagong, instead of indenting it from Madras. The manufacture was carried on, in the island of Kutubdia, in Aurung Barchur, and on the main and on the opposite side of the Kutubdia channel, in Aurung Jooldeah. The Madras process of manufacture was followed and Madras Mulunghees were procured for the purpose. In the first year the manufacture was carried on by hired labourers but in subsequent years it was done by contract with the Mulunghees. The annexed statement shows the results of the experiment:

" It was calculated that the cost to the contractor of producing 100 maunds of salt did not exceed Rs. 20 or at the most Rs. 25 being at the rate of from 3 to 4 annas per maund, as follows:

A set of salt pans, capable of yielding 300 maunds in the season, required the attendance of five labourers whose wages for the season of six months at Rs. 3 per mensem, amounted to Rs. 90 or Rs. 30 per 100 maunds, but as in effect the constant attendance of the salt-workers was not requisite for more than two out of six months the actual cost of salt was estimated, as above stated, not to exceed Rs. 20 or 25 per 100 maunds."

The quality of the salt was variable and even that which was approved of as good quality when first made, seemed to deteriorate from being kept

any time in store. The good salt was considered to be superior to the salt usually imported from the Madras coast and was preferred by the people to that salt.

The Result of the Experiment.

We have it on the authority of Mr. Plowden that " It is supposed that the salt by solar evaporation does not admit of being manufactured in the Chittagong district to any great extent ; because it could only be made in the cold season, or from the latter half of December to early in March during which period the heat is insufficient to create such an evaporation as would ensure a very large production of salt. In March the low lands are commonly inundated and storms accompanied by rain commence, as shown by past accounts of the Agency. In one of the years of the experiment (1829-30) as appears from the annexed statements, the manufacture failed altogether owing to the unfavourable weather generally from February to April. Whenever the works were in a state of producing salt, a heavy fall of rain, with a stormy wind continuing for days impeded the manufacture and injured the works and saline mixtures.

In 1843 when one Mr. Velly again applied for permission to make *kurkutch* at Chittagong on the same terms as the Mulunghees make *punga* salt there, Government "thought proper to maintain the prohibition of 1833 against the local manufacture of salt by solar evaporation."

Thus the old records show the following facts very clearly :

1. *Kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was produced on the coast of Chittagong on a small scale during the years 1827-28 to 1831-32.

2. The quality of the salt thus produced was good.

3. A large-scale production of *kurkutch* was not thought feasible under the climatic condition of Chittagong.

4. But the prospects of success of a small-scale production of *kurkutch* were quite good and the results attracted an English adventurer to undertake such a production though he was not allowed to do it under the then Government policy.

(For a tabular statement see next page.)

Year of manufacture.	Quantity of salt made.	Price paid for salt per maund.	Cost of the total quantity of salt made.	Rate of transport charge per 100 mds.	Total cost of transport to the store *golas*.	Total cost of salt including transport and storage charges.	Rate of cost per 100 maunds.	REMARKS.
1827-28	1,732 0 0		1,080 0 7		33 10 1	1,113 10 8	64 6 0	The figures in the first line shows their results of the manufacture by hired labour, those in the second line the result by contract.
	692 0 0	7 *as.*	303 8 7		14 0 0	317 8 7	45 12 0	
Total	2,424 0 0		1,383 9 2		47 10 1	1,431 3 3		
1828-29	28,623 20 0	7 *as.*	12,522 11 6	1 12 0	500 14 6	13,023 11 0	45 8 0	
1829-30	839 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1830-31	18,681 11 2	5 *as.*	5,837 14 6	1 11 0	315 3 10	6,153 2 4	33 0 0	
1831-32	70,550 10 0	5 *as.*	22,046 15 3	1 9 0	1,102 5 6	23,149 4 9	33 0 0	

The statement is taken from App. C, No. 2 of the Report of Mr. Plowden, the Salt Commissioner, 1856.

Miscellany

[*Public Works in Fascist Italy* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Regime of Technocracy* (B. K. SARKER)—*Special Labour Currency in the Nazi Campaign against Unemployment* (B K. SARKER)—*Years of Life wrested from Tuberculosis* (B. K. SARKER)—*Savings Insurance* (B. K SARKER)—*The Organisation of Saving in Japan* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Corporative State* (B. K. SARKER).]

PUBLIC WORKS IN FASCIST ITALY

The report on the balance-sheet for Public Works, affords further proof of the profound, far-reaching and beneficent changes brought about in the Fascist attitude towards public works. The following figures are of considerable interest:—

During the decennium ending 28 October, 1932, the Ministry of Public Works has spent sums amounting to over 15 millard 500 million lires, while the independent Road Building Company has spent a further 1 millard 800 million lires.

In addition to the above-mentioned payments, those made by the Under-Secretary for Integral Land Reclamation (*Bonifica Integrale*) after the separation of this service from the Ministry of Public Works, amount to over 657 million lires. The total expenditure on public works thus amounts to 17,513,944,679 lires.

The expenditure of the three services mentioned above as on 31 January, 1933, amounted to over 18 millard lires according to the latest information.

The consequences of such a policy must be deeply felt throughout the nation as regards unemployment and also in relation to increased production and to technical, economic and social progress.—*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

THE REGIME OF TECHNOCRACY

Technocracy, or the regime of technology, consists essentially in a criticism of the prevailing economic system whose bankruptcy it declares to be imminent and which it would replace by a new system. The fundamental features of the technocratic regime are envisaged to be, first, the banishment of money and property, and, secondly, the rigorous control of production and sources of energy.

Since the beginning of the century the output of labour per head has been quintupled on account of machinery. It is mechanism that has created in a great measure the enormous unemployment of to-day to be measured by tens of millions throughout the world. For every country according to its standard of living it is possible to fix upon the number of hours per week that an able-bodied man or woman should work with the machines available. For the United States the 4-hour day and the 4-day week have been considered to be the optimum.

The services are to be paid, in the technocratic system, not in money but in consumption-goods possessing validity for a distinct period. The standard of value is to be neither gold nor silver but a certain quantity of energy because its cost of production is more constant than that of metals. The "electric dollar" is likely to replace the gold dollar under those circumstances.

Technocracy as proposed by the American engineer Howard Scott is in spirit communistic. It is as unrealizable in practice as were the anti-machine system of Sismondi and the followers of St. Simon or the abolition of profit by Fourier and of interest by Proudhon. But one cannot deny that the technocrats have called attention to the fact that the economic and social problems of mankind can hardly be solved by *laissez faire*—*Journal du Commerce* (Paris).

SPECIAL LABOUR-CURRENCY IN THE NAZI CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The *Arbeitsbeschaffung* (creation of employment) measures of the *Reich* would involve enormous expenditure. The sum of RM. 1,000 000,000 has been earmarked by the Central Government for distribution along diverse lines. The money, however, is not to be considered as something paid in cash or currency notes. The *Reich* is issuing *Arbeitswechsel, i.e.*, "labour notes" up to the amount named above and has declared itself bound to cash them when presented. The labour-notes run for one, two, three, four and five years. The period of maturity is mentioned on each note. The *Reich* knows definitely the due dates in each instance as well as the amounts to be paid each year. It is believed that the outgo of the Finance Department is likely to be less than the income because the expenses on account of unemployment insurance will tend to be reduced in large proportions.

The labour-notes are to enjoy all the privileges of commercial bills. They can be used for ordinary marketing purposes. Taxes can be paid with these notes, which can likewise be used while making voluntary contribution in order to promote national work. Creditors are to accept labour-notes as mortgage. Finally the Reichsbank is authorized to discount them as it does all other bills of exchange.

The bank law of Germany, subject as it is to the provisions of the Dawes and the Young Plan, forbids the Reichsbank to discount any bills running for more than three months. Besides the Reichsbank is not authorised to discount the Treasury Bills issued by the Government beyond RM. 400,000 000. In order to get over these technical difficulties the Hitler regime has hit upon measures such as serve to carry the plan of RM. 1,000,000,000 labour-notes to fruition.

The Imperial Minister of Finance is authorised to issue labour-notes valued at one millard Reichsmarks. These notes are to be made over to the German Society for Public Works which is a Government company. The persons or companies who need Government help have to apply to the Minister of Labour who furnishes them with certificates in case he approves of their plan of business. On the strength of a certificate they can get the labour-note for the value declared. The labour-note is then presented to the Society for public works for acceptance. Once it is "accepted" by the Society it can be used by the companies as medium of payment for their purchases. The labour-note then passes from bank to bank for discount and at this stage the Reichsbank is prepared to rediscount it. The labour-notes are to run for a maximum period of three months. But at the expiry of the third month each can be replaced by a new note or rather prolonged up to the period when the *Reich* according to the original note is bound to cash it.—*Verein Deutscher Ingenieure Nachrichten* (Berlin).

YEARS OF LIFE WRESTED FROM TUBERCULOSIS

Almost an entire year has been added to the general average duration of life by the successful battle against tuberculosis within the last decade, that is from 1920 to 1930 ; about another year's gain stands to the credit of the previous decade. That so much has been accomplished in increased life expectation through attack on a single disease is very remarkable.

According to the mortality statistics of the recent census year, 1930, the curtailment of the average length of life due to tuberculosis was just over one year for white persons of either sex. In 1920 it was a little short of two years. Still another decade further back in time it was about three years.

The loss of potential years of life through a given cause depends not only on the degree of the mortality from that cause, but also on the age-period at which its effect is concentrated. In this respect tuberculosis is in a particularly unfavourable position, and it is interesting, in studying the situation regarding this disease, to consider it in contrast with organic heart disease. Deaths from tuberculosis occur very largely among young persons or persons at the prime of life. As the result of this, although the death-rate from tuberculosis has fortunately decreased in late years so far as to relegate this cause to the seventh rank among the principal causes of death, yet the number of years of life lost, on the average, is still a relatively important item.

Among white persons in the United States in 1930, the average length of life (expectation of life at birth) is shortened by 1·1 years through tuberculosis (all forms). Up to about the twentieth year of life the curtailment of the average remaining after-lifetime by tuberculosis remains nearly the same, irrespective of age, namely, about one year, according to the mortality as of 1930. After this age it falls rapidly. Among white males, for example, the loss of remaining after-lifetime at the age 42 is about one-half year, at age 62 only, *i.e.*, ·15 of a year, or less than two months.

The situation is strikingly different in the case of heart disease. There the loss of years of life is nearly the same for all ages up to 52, and only slightly less even at age 62, because heart disease claims most of its victims among persons in or past mid-life. *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).

SAVINGS-INSURANCE

A system of savings-insurance has been introduced in Italy and is being operated by some banking institutes with the collaboration of the National Insurance Institute.

The system combines saving with life assurance in one of the various forms in use and grants the contracting party the widest facility, during the course of the contract, to decide as to whether such contract shall definitely assume the character and have the effect of an ordinary savings account or life assurance. The contracting party may also make deposits of such sums and at such times as suit him.

Medical examination is dispensed with for contracts with a maximum deposit of 20.000 lire. For bigger amounts examination is necessary.

The contracting party may obtain part or total repayment on demand of sums deposited together with accrued interest compounded annually, which from a minimum of 1½ per cent. may rise to over 2½ per cent. The insurance is then reduced in proportion. The system also provides for the granting of loans up to the amount of deposits made. In this case if the loan is not repaid within the time stipulated, it automatically becomes a withdrawal.

Interest is not allowed on those deposits of which the depositor does not demand repayment; or rather, such interest constitutes the price of the insurance and, when added to the deposits from which it is derived, its total cost.

The savings-insurance contract is therefore an alternative contract: when sums are repaid, the contract is one of ordinary savings to the extent of repayment and one of insurance for the remainder, if any.

There are two clearly distinct functions in the operating of savings-insurance: that of the banking institute which receives the deposits, manages them and arranges for their part or total repayment, and that of the insuring institute which attends to the formation of the capital insured. The banker pays interest to the insurer at the rate of 3½ per cent. on the sums deposited by way of premium and retains the excess, if any, arising from the investment yield of such deposits. The nominal amount of the deposits is added to that of the insurance at the expiration of the contract of insurance.—Riccio in *Inconsulente Bancario* (Rome).

THE ORGANIZATION OF SAVING IN JAPAN

The biggest savings institution in Japan is the Post Office Savings Bank, which at the end of 1932, had deposits amounting to 2 milliard 750 million yen. The co-operative societies (which have a central bank) and the insurance companies also collect savings deposits. As to the Savings Banks which number 86, they are private institutions conducted according to the principles of commercial undertakings. They must have the structure of a juristic person and possess an initial capital of at least 500,000 yen. At the end of 1930, the capital of these Savings Banks amounted to 41,650,000 yen and the reserves to 33,780,000. Their activities are strictly controlled by Law. Their chief operations comprise the purchase of Government securities and the granting of personal, mortgage and unsecured loans. The profits of these institutions are considerable, net gains rarely falling below 10 per cent. In 1930 they paid a dividend of 10·8 per cent. The rate of interest of deposits in 1931 fluctuated between 4·2 and 4·7 per cent.—*Deutsche Sparkassen-Zeitung* (Berlin).

THE CORPORATIVE STATE

Italy has given an example of national co-ordination by dealing with the co-ordination of all branches of production and creating the essential instruments for this purpose. Those who imagine that Italian trade-union organization, legally recognized and incorporated in the State, is intended only to solve the problem of the relations between labour and capital, have only a limited and erroneous conception. When the economic struggle was wearying all peoples, it was essential for a young nation to avoid any dispersion of its energy. Strikes and lock-outs represent serious waste and also a danger. It was necessary to prevent them and, therefore, to provide means for the fair settlement of the inevitable differences of opinion between categories and classes. That was not sufficient. It was necessary to re-organize the State with the participation of representatives of labour and industry.

"We have done that through our trade-union and co-operative systems, which have already been working for six years and which, by the continuous adjustment of the varying requirements of social and economic life, have produced increasingly important results. Our organization is being developed and improved, not only in the social sphere but also in the economic sphere where there is gradually being realized a collaboration which is at the basis of our whole regime.

"In our system the State does not intervene directly; no scheme of production is drawn up by Government departments, or imposed by the State. The State is not responsible for production as it would be if it established and administered enterprises. What the State does is to set up bodies responsible for the regulation of production. They are State bodies but they are composed of representatives of the categories concerned, and consequently, when the need is felt, there is self-government in production; and if we recognize the necessity of co-ordinating the various branches of production and of harmonizing and regulating them, we should also admit the desirability and utility of this being done by bodies consisting of representatives of the categories concerned. While the system of cartels, trusts, etc., places in the hands of a few powerful individuals the direction of the economic life of a nation, our system associates employers and workers in that task on an equal footing. Equality of rights in labour is not merely an affirmation of moral, social and political value, but under the Fascist Regime it is a constant practice. The corporative system is being realized and developed according to the requirement and according to the capacity of organization attained by each category. At the present moment new problems are arising, and others will arise in the future, including that of creating and developing *Consortia* to act as intermediaries between individuals and the corporation, and therefore to enforce the orders and rules of the corporation. All this cannot be improvised, because improvisation is foreign to our methods, and also because in economic matters it is necessary to proceed by stages when making improvements.

"I believe that I have sufficiently established my claim that under the Fascist Regime Italy has been the first country to work out a corporative system that has placed labour and capital on a footing of equality, has established social peace, and may become an efficient instrument for the restoration of that economic equilibrium which the world so anxiously awaits."—Biagi at the International Labour Conference (Geneva).

Reviews and Notices of Books

[Books in the principal European and Indian classical languages and vernaculars are reviewed in *The Calcutta Review*. But the Board of Editors do not guarantee reviews of all books received. Newspapers, periodicals, School and College text-books, pamphlets, off-prints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not reviewed. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published, nor receipt of books received for review acknowledged or enquiries relating thereto answered.]

[*The East India Company, by J. D. S. Paul* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Mediaeval India, by A. Yusuf Ali* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Dream Cargoes, by David W. Code* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*A Junior Chemistry, by E. J. Holmyard* (P. RAY)—*A Text-book of Chemistry, by H. A. Wootton* (P. RAY)—*Elementary Organic Chemistry, by B. C. L. Kemp* (P. RAY) - *A School Course of Chemistry, by J. R. Partington* (P. RAY)—*Byathar Parag by Krishnadhan De* (MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA)—*Nirukta Ed. by Lakshman Sarupa* (KOKILESWAR SASTRI)—*Mana-meyodaya by Narayana Bhatta*—(KOKILESWAR SASTRI).]

The East India Company by J. D. S. Paul, M.A. (Yale), Ph.D. (London). Luzac & Co., London. 3 shillings.

The history of the East India Co., is full of interest for the Indian reader ; the Company still lives in the mind of the villagers who dwell far from the town and who, in an emergency, call upon the Company to redress their grievances and grant them relief. In this volume Dr. Paul discusses its early trading organization and commerce, from the start to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, a period of 22 years, 1609 1621. The provisions of the Queen's Charter are carefully noted as well as the status of the Factor ; the Directorate were very strict in their choice of the agents, and the first venture was made for Bantam. The Dutch competition was a serious matter for consideration, specially with regard to the trade in jewellery. It is gratifying to note that the cloth of Bengal, specially "Cassia," was in demand at the Spice Islands, and at Bantam. There was a large element of piracy mixed up in the trade on high waters in those days.

The second half of the period treated, the years 1612-1621, witnessed greater commercial activity on behalf of the Company which now tried to get a foothold within the Moghul Empire. Surat was the chosen site, and Roe managed to secure bare privileges by 1619 ; though his attempts at securing more were foiled for the time being, British trade followed the route of the Moghul Court, and thus Kashmir, Lahore, Ajmere, Agra, Delhi, all these places were visited by the adventurous traders. The English imports and the Indian exports are severally named, and they provide interesting reading. The British encountered the serious rivalry of the Portuguese and profited by the wise policy of the Dutch.

The book is well documented and Dr. Paul deserves congratulations for the difficult task of telling the story of those 22 years within such brief compass. The references and bibliography will, it may be hoped, stimulate other scholars to work on this highly interesting period.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Mediaeval India by A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). Oxford University Press, London, 1932.

This book contains the substance of four lectures delivered in Urdu at the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad in 1928. The author confines

himself to social and economic conditions that prevailed in India during the seventh, tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries which form distinct periods of history. Mr. Yusuf Ali first cites his authorities which include literary sources, travellers' tales, inscriptions and art and then proceeds to describe life as lived in those days. How did the people live, what they had for food and dress, the crimes they committed and the penalties that were awarded, the various social adjustments required by changing circumstances—these and similar topics have been discussed in the book, though in a summary fashion, for we have to remember the book is a "substance" of the four lectures, not the full-fledged lectures.

The importance of the book is obvious. The studies, to quote Prof. Hearnshaw, who has written a very enjoyable introduction, "relate to a little known but profoundly interesting period of Indian history. They deal, moreover, with an aspect of Indian life, namely, the social and economic, hitherto inadequately examined, an aspect incomparably harder to see in entirety and perspective than is the political or even the religious history of the great sub-continent." There can be no doubt of the truth of this opinion. Mr. Yusuf Ali has shown the way to a highly interesting line of research ; it now remains for others to follow it up and present it to the people in their own vernacular. What has been possible in Urdu is possible in the case of the other vernaculars as well. The book should find a ready welcome with all students of Indian history.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Dream Cargoes by David W. Cade. Published by Dean & Co., New York, 1928.

This is a collection of lyrics on diverse subjects. Mr. Cade is accustomed to rhyming and the lines drop from him naturally, sometimes with delightful freshness. Specially enjoyable are the quatrains that are apparently used for padding. Mr. Cade is not afraid to experiment ; though he is at best in the shorter line he can also exclaim

"Loom London's dark towers, frowning, warning and urging him,"
(*Jack Cade of Kent.*)

"To where pleasant harbors wait for all who greatly dare,"
("*Joseph Conrad is dead.*")

and, most of all,

"Three endless, stagnant spaces, where never a song is unabashed and never a long wave breaks"
("*Death outside the gate.*")

Mr. Cade has the power of calling up a quickness of sensibility and the best example is to be found in his "*Drums ! Drums !*" The poet is not given to innovation except very occasionally, and those rare cases do not jar on the ear. The reader will learn to like him, as he reads the poems.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A Junior Chemistry by E. J. Holmyard, M.A., M.Sc., D.Litt., F.I.C., pp. viii+376. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

Dr. Holmyard has already gained a high reputation as a writer of juvenile text-books, and this has been ably maintained in the present volume as well. The book deals with some important metals and non-metals. The treatment, as the author remarks, is "mainly qualitative and the chemical theory has been reduced to a minimum." Exception has, however, been made, and rightly too, in the case of atomic theory, because it is not difficult even for the young mind to form some rough

idea or picture of matter, as being made up of numerous particles held together. This will enable the pupil to follow intelligently the reaction and properties of chemical substances, which he will encounter frequently during his study. At the end of each chapter there is a summary followed by questions.

The book abounds in illustrations with reproductions of the photographs of many eminent chemists of the past and present. Plates on many interesting subjects have also been reproduced. On the whole, the book has been written in such a fascinating manner that it will not fail to appeal to the interest and curiosity of the young readers. The author in the preface writes that he has "tried to make the book such that a boy or girl may read it for pleasure, not because he or she has so many pages to get up for prep." The author has certainly succeeded in this object.

P. RAY

A Text-book of Chemistry by H. A. Wootton, M.A., and C. W. R. Hooker, M.A., pp. viii+488. Cambridge University Press.

The book has been written to cover the syllabus for the School Certificate Examination. Theoretical and descriptive parts of the subjects have been dealt together, and the authors believe that introduction to the theory at an early stage is helpful to the student. Many will, however, disagree with this view. Preparations and practical exercises including selected analytical methods have been placed in a separate part (Part II) of the book. Collection of questions from School Certificate Papers finds a place at the end. The book is liberally illustrated with reproduction of many portraits and plates. Emphasis has rightly been laid upon experiments as forming the basis of instruction in chemistry, and the book has been written in such a way as to clarify and illustrate the chemical theories by means of experiments. The book will be quite useful for the purpose for which it has been written.

P. RAY

Elementary Organic Chemistry by B. C. L. Kemp, M.A., F.C.S., pp. ix+356. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

As the name implies, the book is written for the students taking their first lessons in Organic Chemistry. It, therefore, deals only with selected and fundamental topics. Suggestion for practical work has been added at the end of each chapter. The book is written in a lucid style with an attractive presentation and a simple and apparent scheme. Principles of modern and up-to-date industrial methods have been briefly described, and several plates showing manufacturing processes have been reproduced. A short and clear account of the theoretical principles, neatly illustrated with model figures, has also been given in the beginning of the book. All the diagrams are very clear and well-printed. In the opinion of the reviewer, the book may be strongly recommended for the beginners.

P. RAY

A School Course of Chemistry by J. R. Partington, M.B.E., D.Sc., pp. x+388. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930, London.

The present book may be regarded as an abridged form of the author's "Everyday Chemistry." The subject-matter has been arranged in such a way as to suit the school course and to enable the students to follow the sequence of topics without much difficulty. The book has been written in a simple but orthodox scientific style. Like the author's two other excellent

andwell-known text-books, written for advanced and intermediate students respectively, the present volume is also likely to achieve as much popularity.

P. RAY

Byathar Parag (a Bengali Book of Poems) by Krishnadhan De, published by Asokachandra Chatterjee from the Prabashi Office at 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, pp. 81. Re. 1-8.

This is a small volume of lyric poems in Bengali. There are very few writers of Bengali poetry in these days who have not come under the influence of Tagore or of the tradition created by him and kept up by some of his disciples like Datta, Bagchi and Mallik. It is not therefore surprising that these lyrics should bear some trace of the author's close study and imitation of the great poet whose work is marked by a distinct poetic diction and a characteristic type of imagery.

Mr. De says that this is his first effort, and as such this volume is certainly a welcome production. The poems are in the form of complaints —a device which, though not original, is rarely resorted to in Bengali literature, and it is this form which has suggested the title of the book in which flowers unburden their souls in a melancholy strain. Some of the poems carry the mind back to the glory of Ancient India—to the love-episodes of immortal poets like Kalidas,—and some to the moonlit gardens of Iran and Basrah.

The reader, however, feels the monotony of reiteration as he goes through these complaints, but the author has tried to introduce variety as far as possible in his treatment and imagery. It is not always true that one cannot have too much of a good thing ; for even perfection of rhyme and metrical effect may sometimes become wearisome and degenerate into a mere sing-song. While our poet has managed to steer clear of this extreme, the defect nonetheless appears in his work, though in a less pronounced form, and we fail to find there what has been called 'concerted harmony.' It may be noted that what have been called 'run-on' lines are conspicuous by their absence and end-stopt verses, in consequence of their predominance, have grown wearisome and monotonous. The music in some of the poems at least is cloying and one is led to wish that there were at times a more manly note. But Mr. De has undoubtedly the gift of song, though it may require more assiduous cultivation. He has also got a directness of utterance which is not a very prominent mark of current Bengali poetry. Clear thinking never fails him, though at times it is blurred by an exuberant fancy. When all is said and done, we may congratulate our young poet on his first publication, and we hope to see more of his charming work.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

Nirukta (with the fragments of two commentaries of Skandaswami and Maheswara). Edited with variants at the foot of each page by Prof. Lakshman Sarupa, M.A., of the Oriental College, Lahore.

This is a valuable Vedic treatise. But our only regret is that only a fragment has been obtained and published.

The learned editor whose name has already become associated with the *Nirukta* has, after a good deal of discussion, come to the conclusion that of the two commentaries published herein Skandaswami wrote the *Bhasya* on *Nirukta* and Maheswara only commented upon this *Bhasya* for further elucidation of the difficulties. The explanations given in the *Bhasya* appear to be thorough and complete and learned, so much so that such explanation is indispensible for the clear understanding of the subjects dealt with in the *Nirukta* itself, and of the hymns quoted therein.

We only regret that both the *Bhasya* and the *Tika* are fragmentary, but we hope that the energetic editor will one day discover the whole of these.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Mana-meyodaya. (A primer on the Mimāmsā) by Narayana Bhatta. Edited with an English translation by C. Kunhan Raja and S. S. Suryyanarayana Sastri of the University of Madras. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is a good sign of the day that valuable materials for the study of Indian philosophy in its various schools which are contained in the works of *Prakarana* type composed by best scholars who have made their subject their special study, are now and then being published, and their number accumulates as years pass. There are subjects which are not so well known to the reading public, as most of them lie as yet in MSS. and even when some of these are printed, the difficulty is not removed in the absence of explanatory comments. But thanks to the loving labour of devoted scholars hailing now and then from different parts of India we find almost every year works with good English translations which make the path easy for those students of philosophy who take interest in their subjects, enabling them to comprehend the abstruse matters which without such help will remain a sealed book.

One of such works we have got for review. The value of the text can hardly be overestimated. It contains everything useful for the followers of the Kumarila school of *Mimansha*. The valuable information supplied by the work with regard to the collection of facts and criticism, makes it indispensible for students and scholars. Now that the energetic editors have come forward and boldly undertaken the difficult task of presenting this well-known treatise on the *Mimansha* school under an English translation, they have indeed earned the permanent gratitude of Indologists by publishing this priceless treasure. So far as we have seen, the English translations appear to have been executed with a scrupulous care that reflects great credit on the joint editors. As the study of Indian philosophical works is becoming increasingly popular in this country, the publication of such reliable and faithful translation has been most opportune. The book is also calculated to be of great service to all students qualifying for the M. A. degree course of Indian Universities, as it gives a clear and lucid account, in English, of the various topics treated herein, which are not always easily understood by the students of *Mimansha*, far less by the general public. The book will serve as an admirable and very serviceable introduction, as it will initiate the students into the mysteries of a subject, the value of which for a proper grasp of some of the well-known but the knotty subjects and problems, cannot be exaggerated. The supreme merit of the original text is the fact that it avoids controversies for the most part and yet it is neither too brief nor too big. It does not condense things so as to make them unintelligible except to a few, nor does it launch upon long and subtle controversies beyond the grasp of ordinary readers. It has adopted a middle course and is therefore just the kind of work which will be welcome to those who are interested in the subject.

The text is mainly divided into two parts: the first part gives the *pramana*, *i.e.*, the means for acquiring valid knowledge of objects dealt with in the *Mimansha* school. This part contains such means only as are admitted by this school, *viz.*, *pratyaksha* (Immediate Perception), *anumana* (Inference) together with *hetwabhasas* (the fallacious reasonings), *upamana* (Analogy), *arthapatti* (Presumption), and *abhava* (Non-existence or Negation). The second part enumerates and discusses the *prameya* which are the objects of valid knowledge—categories admitted

in the *Mimansha* school. Incidentally, it also deals with the Law of Causality contrasting it with the theories held in other schools, such as *asatkaryavada*, etc. In discussing the nature of Atma, one of the categories, the author refutes materialism here, *viz.*, the theories which hold the views—body is the soul, the sense-organs are the soul, the series of ideas are the soul, etc., etc. • Then the text goes on to review the nature of the theory of *sphota* and examines the views of *Sankhya* and *Sankara-vedanta* on this point. Then discussing the nature of the Genus or Universal he closes his discussion on the Category or Substance. After examining the Quality, Action, Negation, Similarity, Inference and the Category of *Sakti*, the author gives us a clear account of the different sects of the Bauddhas—the *madhyamika* theory of *Sunya* (void) ; the *Yogachara* (cognition) ; *Soutrantic* and *Vaibhasic* theories. An examination of the true character of Illusoriness then follows.

The author has not unnecessarily overloaded his pages with hair-splitting discussion of his subjects but has given, in each case, the most salient features of the topics in hand. He has not forgotten the fact that he was writing a manual for the beginners. The special feature of the work is its comparative study of various important topics. In giving a lucid account and exposition of the leading tenets of the *Bhatta-Kumarila*-school, the author brings under contribution the corresponding tenets of other philosophical schools—*Prabhakara*, *Nyaya*, *Adwaita* and *Bauddha*.

The book is an excellent manual for a beginner and it stands in the same relation to the larger works on the *Mimansha*, as the *Vedanta-Paribhasa* serves for the larger *Adwaita*-works. Towards the close of the translations of the text, the editors have taken care to append some 'notes' which explain somewhat elaborately certain difficult and hard topics discussed in the original, for the better and clearer grasp of those topics. A good Glossary explaining the meaning, in English, of some Sanskrit words is given at the end.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Gleanings

A NEW UNIVERSITY FOR TURKEY

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (London) gives a very interesting account of a new University for Turkey. The whole educational system of Turkey is being reformed from top to bottom. On August 1, the seventy-year-old University of Stamboul, known as the Dar-ul-funun, was abolished and a new University set on foot in its place.

"At one time it had been proposed to erect the new institution at Angora, but it was decided later on that another university should be established at the capital and that for the moment the best thing to do was to destroy and rebuild the Constantinople institution. So a Swiss professor was called in to report, and was finally appointed to the three-year task of creating a fresh university on modern lines capable of giving to Turkish youth all the advantages of an up-to-date world culture.

"The Angora leaders complained that the Dar-ul-funun was not helping in these new times. It was standing apart from the great national changes. It was giving no lead to the youth of the country. The seventy-year-old University had shown itself out of touch with the revolution. It had taken no part in the formation of the new alphabet and language, no part in the creation of the new legal codes, no interest in the new tendencies of Turkish historical studies under the Ghazi, and no initiative in economic reforms. All these matters, which were matters for learning to tackle, had been worked out by the politicians themselves in the midst of State affairs. The University had made no contribution. It was clear, therefore, that an institution so out of touch with the new Turkey must go and must give place to something which would provide living scientific interests to the generations of the revolution.

"The new University has been endowed with four faculties and eight institutes. The faculties consist of literature, science, law, and medicine. The institutes comprise the Institute of the Turkish Revolution, which will be one of the most important sections, and those of national economy and sociology, geography, Turcology, psychology, chemistry, electro-mechanics, and Islamic Studies. It is to be noted that the Faculty of Theology has disappeared and has been replaced by the Institute of Islamic Studies, which will have a wider range and will preserve for Constantinople the possibility of being a true centre of Islamic knowledge. The training of theologians will practically cease, but there will be no danger of Turkey ceasing to maintain at least a scientific connexion with her Islamic past.

"Care has been taken to make the new institution liberal as well as utilitarian and scientific. Ancient Latin and Greek are to be taught for the first time. But there is no doubt that one of the chief results is expected from the section on the Turkish Revolution. This will be largely attended, and will aim at giving to Turkish youth a complete knowledge of the political, legal, and social principles behind the new Turkish State. It will provide the binding element between learning and the Republican ideals. The fact that Ghazi Kemal Pasha is himself the initiator of the present reform is shown by the fact that the first step he took in his holiday was to visit the University, and the chief secondary school at

Constantinople and to examine the students personally in matters concerning the new Turkey and the rationale of her emergence as a National State."

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT: ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The Third battle of Panipat is a theme of peculiar interest to the student of Maratha history and supplies a fruitful subject for historical investigation. It has recently offered an opportunity to Mr. G. S. Sardesai to discuss the causes and consequences of that fateful battle in the pages of *The Modern Review* (Calcutta). In course of his study Mr. Sardesai observes:

"The battle of Panipat is usually understood by most writers to have given a final blow to the rising power of the Marathas. This I think is far from being the case. The loss was doubtless heavy so far as man-power was concerned ; but beyond this, the disaster did not materially affect the Maratha fortunes. A younger generation arose to replace quickly the losses suffered at Panipat and so far as the Afghans were concerned, they did not gain anything by their victory. Ahmad Shah, already worn out by a long and harassing campaign of eighteen months and not caring to trust Najibud-Dowla or his lukewarm allies any longer, took his final leave, early in March 1761, of the Indian plains which had brought him no material profit and no longer sustained his claim to the Panjab, where the indigenous Sikhs were already establishing their sway. The Marathas made good their fortunes ten years later when the next Peshwa and his spirited generals including Mahadji Sindia brought the legitimate Emperor to Delhi and installed him on his hereditary throne under Maratha protection, thus fulfilling to the letter the sacred undertaking of 1752, and indirectly also the grand ideal of *Hindu-Pad-Padshahi* for which the Peshwas had been striving from the beginning of their regime. The crowning and declining point of Maratha fortunes was not the day that brought upon the Marathas the disaster of Panipat, but the day on which their best and most highly qualified ruler, Peshwa Madhavrao (I) died a premature death in 1772. The great Maratha historian corroborates this view indirectly when he writes that 'the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince.'

"Even to-day Panipat stirs the heart of the Maratha as nothing else does. It is the disaster that has invested the event with all the glory and pride of a true soldier. More than once during the long wait of two and a half months when a body of over three lakhs of people were cooped up at Panipat, an escape was suggested by taking to flight and as often was the ignominious idea of saving life either by flight or by capitulation, spurned away equally by the non-combatants including women and servants. Writes Major Evans Bell: 'Even the battle of Panipat was a triumph and a glory for the Marathas. They fought in the cause of India for the Indians, while the great Mohammadan princes of Delhi, of Oudh and the Deccan stood aside intriguing and trimming ; and though the Marathas were defeated, the victorious Afghans retired and never again interfered with the affairs of India.'

"But in a different sense the battle of Panipat did verily prove a turning-point in Indian history. In the middle of the 18th century, there were two strong parties contending for the mastery of India: the rising Marathas and the waning Moslems. A third Power, the British, were just rising on the Indian horizon. The first two so weakened each other by their mutual struggles culminating in Panipat that the field was made clear for the

third. The learned author of the *Origin of Bombay* (Dr. Gerson da Kunha) has fully grasped this point when he says that 'the fall of the Angrias and the disaster of Panipat freed the British from the thraldom of insidious neighbours and hastened their rise.' This is amply corroborated by the easy manner in which four years after Panipat, Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, *i.e.*, practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India. Bengal had then been subjugated by the Bhosla of Nagpur and had the Peshwas been victorious at Panipat, one feels certain that neither the Bhosla nor the Peshwa would have allowed Bengal to slip out of their hands so easily, leaving the situation for Clive to manage as best as he could under the prevailing circumstances."

ASSAM: AN UNTRODDEN FIELD FOR RESEARCH

In *The Journal of the Assam Research Society* (Gauhati, Assam) which is the organ of the recently constituted "Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti" contains an illuminating article under the caption, "Assam as a Field for Research," by Mr. J. P. Mills, in which is put forth an able plea for undertaking systematic excavations in the untrodden surfaces of the province.

"Both the traditions and physical characteristics of some of the hill tribes make it pretty certain that the earliest inhabitants of Assam were of Negrito stock. The spade is not likely to reveal anything of these wandering folk, but they have left behind them an immense number of stone celts, probably the blades of digging sticks. These are found on or just below the surface and differ in a most interesting way in different areas of the Province. Though Negritos seem to have survived till comparatively recent times it is unlikely that any of their physical remains will be found. There is a strong tradition, however, that the remnants of the race were blocked into a cave near Haflong by a Kachari king. The site has never been revealed, but if it could be found it would be worth investigating.

"In dealing with more recent times the spade is an essential aid to research. There are tantalizing stories current of great walled towns buried deep in trackless jungle. Any clue of this kind should be followed up. Even the wonderful monuments of Dimapur lay forgotten for centuries. But apart from unknown sites Assam is rich in ruins which have never been properly cleared. There are, for example, the Kachari sites of Maibong and Khaspur. With spade and axe they could be cleared to enable a survey to be made. Many sites in Assam consist of earthworks only but they are none the less interesting on that account. For instance, there is a chain of immense forts on the Jaintia edge of the high plateau N. E. of Haflong. Who built them we do not know. All sites of towns and forts have rubbish heaps. It is these that should be most eagerly sought, for it is in them that we can hope to find coins, beads and other small imperishable objects.

"An archaeological characteristic of Assam of world-wide fame is its wealth of megaliths. Indeed it is one of the few places in the world where monuments of this type are still erected. Some of the old ones are of great age and interest. So covered with them is the high, sparsely populated plateau N. E. of Haflong that one dreams of a day when some of it may be turned into a National Park for the preservation for all time of the monuments and the wild animals that now roam near them at will. Among the monuments are groups of huge sandstone cists of a type unknown elsewhere. It fell to my lot to discover them. Though they

were visible for miles sticking up out of the short grass, they never seem to have been noticed before—a striking example of how much lies ready to hand for anyone interested in the past. Both on megaliths and rocks in Assam are often found most interesting drawings. The recording of these has been almost entirely neglected. Yet they are of the utmost interest.

"There is another task for which the aid of the camera and pencil is essential. There must exist in private hands in Assam a very large number of antiques of artistic interest,—brassware, silverware, ivory carvings, etc. There is good reason to believe, for instance, that only within the last fifteen years some of the insignia of the Ahom kings were melted down by the person into whose possession they had come. Such a crime can claim no forgiveness, but the loss would not have been so irreparable had a record first been made of these precious relics. I would suggest that the Samiti beg all private owners to allow any antiques of artistic merit in their possession to be photographed and described. There would be no loss to anyone and no expense involved, but a pictorial record of Assamese art would be built up.

"It is time now to turn from the dead past to the living present, not only because the present throws light on the past, but for its own intrinsic interest. For some years now the Government of Assam has financed a series of monographs on the hill tribes of Assam known wherever ethnology is studied. Much remains to be done and will, I trust, be done, till a series of unique value has been built up. But quite apart from research among the wilder tribes there is work of the utmost importance to which I would like to draw the attention of the 'Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti.' Throughout the plains of Assam Hindu ceremonies are performed which differ in greater or less degree from those of other provinces. Kamakshya, for example, is a site regarded as sacred throughout the length and breadth of India. Can we not have a full description of the temple, with the date of the building of each part, and a picture of the ceremonial both past and present? Or again there are the great Gossains of the Majuli. Their disciples number thousands, but nowhere have we a picture of their mode of life, the beliefs they hold, the buildings they inhabit, or the ceremonial connected with them. Offerings have poured in for countless years and one's mouth waters at the thought of the relics of past ages they must have brought. Could not some keen, skilled researchers portray and describe the precious things in their possession? It is not good enough to say, 'It will do later.' Ceremonial changes and antiques are destroyed or lost. Now is the time for study. Similarly with the village festivals throughout Assam. Years go by and they remain undescribed. For such research clear descriptions, photographs and drawings are required to be placed in the safe keeping of the Samiti. It is fatal to wait till there is money available for publication. The first step is to collect and preserve the material. Money for publication will come all in good time."

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON GURU NANAK

Under the above caption Sardar Piyara Singh is contributing an interesting series of articles in *The Muslim Revival*, a quarterly journal of Muslim Thought and Life, recently started from Lahore. In the first instalment of the series the author showed that Guru Nanak was not only a strict observer of *Namaz* (Islamic prayer) but also a preacher of the same. Now he quotes chapter and verse to prove that Nanak was also an ardent advocate of the Islamic *Zakat*, the Fast, and the *Haj*.

"*Zakat* is an obligatory charity at a fixed rate of one's income which, under proper organization and control, is spent on the poor members of society. Among the followers of the Guru Shahib, *Daswandh*, *i.e.*, one-tenth of one's income is the recognised rate of charity under the Guru's orders. Referring to this the Guru says:

1. Earn an honest living of labour. Out of this, spend something with your hand in the way of God. Then can you find the straight path.
2. Only that stands one in good stead in the coming life which is earned with labour and spent in God's way.

"Then comes the Islamic fast. Here again, Guru Nanak is full of praises for this institution. Says he:

1. The pious have cut a sunder the chains of the world and eat and drink very sparingly.
2. Woe unto the sort of life which is nothing but eating and swelling the belly.
3. Make the thirty fasts your protectors and the five prayers your comrade. Otherwise the devil will tempt you and cause your name to be struck off.
4. The mosque teaches love and affection. Prayer teaches righteousness The Quran explains what is permissible and what is forbidden. Following the *sunnat* makes one inculcate modesty. Fasting teaches forbearance. So it behoves you to be a Muslim.

"As regards Haj, the evidence is of the clearest possible nature so that it is agreed on all hands that Guru Nanak duly performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. When on the way, the Guru had some *Mullahs* also in his company. They were ignorant of the true significance underlying the Haj and considered it a sort of atonement for past sins. The Guru's spiritual talks were not quite to their taste and so parting company they went ahead. Guru Nanak perceiving what was in their mind deliberately stayed behind, so addressing Mardana:

Mardana! Let these Hajis go. If it is our *kismat* to perform the Haj of the Holy Kaaba, we will also reach it. Mardana! This is a path such that if we show love and affection and do religious service as we go along, we get blessings. If however we indulge in nonsense, gossip, mockery and mutual ill-will we are certainly no Hajis.

(*Sakhi of Bhai Bala*, page 130.)

"Bhai Gurdas thus describes Guru Nanak's Pilgrimage to the Kaaba:

After that Guru Nanak went to Mecca. Wearing blue clothes, carrying a walking club in hand, slinging the Quran around his neck, having a jug for ablutions and a carpet for prayer, calling out the Azan and saying Namaz, he reached Kaaba and put up at the Kaaba. At night the Guru slept with his feet towards the *mihrab*. At this Mulla Jiwan kicked him and said: 'O sinner Kafir! why are you lying with your feet towards God's House?' Taking hold of his legs, he was going to turn them round but the Kaaba turned along with them. Thus did he show them his miracle.

"These words prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Guru Nanak went to Mecca and with what equipment is also obvious enough. He had nothing with him except what is necessary for a pious, devoted Muslim, *viz.*, the Quran, jug, prayer-carpet, etc. The account also shows that he was not content with putting up in Mecca. He put up right at the Kaaba. As regards the incident of the feet, it is quite likely that it took place while he was asleep. Mulla Jiwan whose name shows he was the typical narrow-minded Punjabi Mulla could not, however, excuse this unconscious sleep and flew into a fit of rage. To disillusion him, however, that God was not in the Kaaba alone, the spiritual phenomenon (*kashf*) of the turning of the Kaaba was necessary. Not that the Kaaba actually did turn round; it *seemed* to be turning round—a phenomenon not unknown to the sufis and known as *kashf*. The idea was to impress upon the thick-skinned Mulla that the limbs of godly people are not their own limbs but are in a way

the limbs of God and as such even the Kaaba turns around them. Mohy-ud-Din Ibn Arbi says, that when he went to pay a visit to the Kaaba, the latter stood up to greet and honour him and went up towards the sky.

"Those who think that Guru Nanak went to Mecca to propagate the Hindu religion are obviously mistaken. If he were against Islam, why did he put on the appearance of a Muslim Haji ? To say that he put on this dress to disguise himself is to our mind an insult to the great memory of the Guru. The truth is that he went there in all sincerity as a true Muslim, at heart as in appearance. If the Muslims call him Haji Guru Nanak (may God bless his soul), they do so as a mark of high respect for him. Rather than resent it, the Sikhs should say that since you revere our religious founder as a great and holy saint, one of the chosen of God, we reciprocate the same sentiments towards your Prophet and revere him as a chosen of God. That will surely foster fraternal feelings between the two communities."

THE REBIRTH OF CHINA

"Things to-day are more stable in China. It is her misfortune that her most important news rarely gets on to the front pages of the newspapers. For nearly two years Manchuria has receded into the second rank among the things that really matter. "Meanwhile changes have been taking place in China," writes Mr. O. M. Green in the *Nineteenth Century* (London), "changes not only political, but psychological. With all the caution that many disappointments have taught us, there is good reason to believe that China stands on the threshold of a new era." This new era dawned after the open strife between Canton and Nanking, the former having always been the stronghold of the *Kuomintang*, and the latter the centre of the Chiang-Kai-Shek government that had been trying to break the *Kuomintang* monopoly.

"Then came the announcement of a new policy which has already meant much, and may, if the fates are kind, mean yet more. The Nanking Government proclaimed that it would fight no more civil wars, except against the Communists; other regions must do as they pleased; it would concentrate upon its own sphere, the Yangtze Valley (which contains some 170,000,000 of the most industrious people and some of the most fruitful lands in the world), and leave the rest to the future. To this resolve it has held in spite of a good deal of provocation, and undoubtedly much practical reform has been achieved. Administrative expenses have been pruned, the conversion of internal loans has saved $100 000,000 a year, and even the army has been rationed. Altogether expenditure has been cut down by $200,000,000 annually; a number of taxes—wine and tobacco, stamps, etc.—have been consolidated into a single administration with great increase in economy and efficiency; and by the end of last year Nanking had balanced its books for the first time without borrowing.

"Not the least important and hopeful part of the new policy is the bid made for the support of that shrewd, sagacious class, the great body of businessmen. while the power of the *Kuomintang* has certainly been reduced. Thus the majority of the Board which, under the presidency of Mr. T. V. Soong, now controls Nanking's finances is composed of leading bankers and merchants. In the provinces the district councils have been replaced by civil governors with plenary powers, and provincial legislative committees are to be elected by the business classes themselves, both to assist the civil governors against the military and at the same time to

prevent the former from abusing their powers. It is true that these committees as yet seem only to have come into existence in Shanghai and Nanking, but the movement towards them appears to be significant. Nothing is more worth watching in China to-day than the growing demand of her businessmen for a voice in affairs of State.

"Everyone returning from the Far East is familiar with the fatuous question, 'Well, and when is China going to settle down?' The only possible answer is, 'Which China do you mean?' Now, counting Manchuria, there are at least five Chinas—Canton in the South; Nanking in the Centre; the North (in a generally fluid state very difficult to define); the huge western province of Szechuan; and the Communists.

"It is an appalling problem to find an order out of this chaos of political conglomeration. Still, a practical beginning has been made. Something has been achieved, and that on the only lines that offer hope of ultimate order, by trying to create an orderly State within a limited area, and expanding its boundaries as opportunity serves. This, too, is the historic method pursued in China by every new dynasty: and such is the force of public opinion that if within the next few years Nanking can show a good record in the Yangtze Valley other districts must inevitably be drawn into its orbit by sheer weight of public demand. The very accentuation of present divisions may be the best augury of ultimate reunion, not on a basis of force, but of reason and mutual advantage. Moreover, an effort by the Powers to lend that help to the Nanking Government which the Lytton Report urged so strongly, and without which it is hard to believe that Nanking can succeed, becomes feasible if it can be applied within a limited area. The problem of China as a whole can only be solved by the Chinese themselves in their own time and in their own way. But the problem of the Yangtze Valley, accessible at every point by its endless network of rivers and creeks, is an altogether more manageable matter.

"In framing an active, constructive policy in China some obvious ideas easily suggest themselves. China is weak in administrative experience. Nanking needs help in building up, as she is trying to do, an effective civil service. A well-organised gendarmerie to police roadways and waterways is most necessary; incidentally, it would form a valuable outlet for China's superfluous troops. There is an enormous field for help in industrial and economic development, road-making, bridge-building, and factory legislation suited to the country's peculiar conditions, all of which are essential to any hope of progress.

"As one surveys the general picture of China, the prevailing feature is incoherence—endless political associations vociferating their own nostrums; departments and bureaux tumbling over each other and stultifying action; feverish imitation of impracticable Western models; regulations which no one obeys; agitators agitating for every reform except the virtues of dull, honest work. Yet, amid so much that is disheartening, false and pretentious, one discerns the growth of something like a steady purpose. No doubt throughout vast tracts of China the present disorder is regarded merely as one of the normal periods of chaos between one dynasty and another; but impulses have been imparted which cannot be checked. New China is becoming more Chinese—as witness the revolt against the *Kuomintang*; Old China is beginning to peep out of its shell. The increasing popularity of motor cars, aeroplanes, radio, electric light and other Western conveniences of life may as yet mean no more than superficial changes, but they cannot fail in time to affect thought and opinion. More and more, one ventures to believe, old and new must tend to draw together for the production of some workable system, moulded by Western example to modern needs, but tested and approved by Chinese custom and instinct.

At Home and Abroad

[A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Cultural and Academic Institutions.]

Bombay wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Bombay University at a recent meeting adopted a resolution which demanded an elected Vice-Chancellor and recommended to the Government of Bombay to amend the University Act so that the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University would be elected by the Senate itself instead of being nominated by the Chancellor. The suggestion caused a lively debate, most of the speakers emphasising the desirability of having an elected Vice-Chancellor as against a nominated one. Mr. H. Hamil strongly supported the principle of nomination, holding that the cordial relations between Government and the University could not be maintained in a better way. The supporters of the resolution wanted a change as they did not want 'the anachronism of a nominated Vice-Chancellor over an elected body (the Senate) to continue.' Dr. B. G. Vad, moving the resolution, said that in many public bodies nomination had been displaced by election. That had happened in the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Councils, and local bodies. It was their desire that the University also should have an elected Vice-Chancellor. An elected Vice-chancellor would further add to the dignity and prestige of the Senate. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, supporting the resolution, said that the Senate had sufficiently advanced to have an elected Vice-Chancellor. The resolution was passed by 38 votes against 24.

All-India Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference—an organisation of scholars interested in history, languages, ethnology, philosophy and other subjects on Indology—have elected Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Patna, as their President for the sixth All-India session. The electoral body consists of scholars from different parts of India. On the invitation of the Government of Baroda, the session will be held at Baroda during the ensuing X'mas week, when His Highness the Gaekwar will be present in his capital.

Rangoon University Convocation

It has been decided to hold the annual convocation of the University of Rangoon in December ; but as the High Court refused to recognise the provisional certificates granted to successful law students, a special convocation was recently held. The members of the Council and the Senate were present and the Vice-Chancellor U Set was specially deputed by the Chancellor to preside at the convocation which was very informal. The recipients of the degree of B.L. included two Burmese lady students while a degree of B. A. *in absentia* was conferred on Ma Saw Yin, another lady student who is away in England at present.

United States Universities

Four of America's prominent colleges and Universities have just named new Presidents, and in all cases have named notably, young men. Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, at 44. will be the youngest man in 175 years to occupy the presidency of Princeton University, and Dr. James B. Conant will be the third youngest man ever to be President of Harvard. He is a little over 30. Hunter College, in New York City, has just named Dr. Eugene A. Collings, President at 45, and Dr. Bancroft Beatty, the new head of Simmons College, in Boston, is 38.

Rangoon University Finance

Financial stringency and the need for rigid economy loomed large in the University administration throughout the year. Many economies were made in the cost of administration. Despite reductions of Government subventions to University and the colleges from 12½ lakhs in 1929-30 to 9½ lakhs during 1932-33 and rising numbers seeking admission, the University surrendered to Government Rs. 47,500 of the annual subvention of Rs. 1,20,000 and reduced its total expenditure during 1932-33 by about Rs. 96,000. Further it made reductions in the proposed expenditure for the year 1933-34 amounting to Rs. 1,10,000. These figures do not include economies effected or to be effected in the internal administration of the constituent colleges which amount to considerable sums.

The number of the students in the University during the year 1932-33 was 1,783 including 284 women distributed in the constituent colleges—University, Judson, Teachers' Medical and Intermediate at Mandalay.

Patna University Convocation

Sir R. P. Paranjpaye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, will deliver the Convocation address in the ensuing Convocation of the Patna University to be held in the Wheeler Senate House on November 25, next.

Gifts for Education

With the consent of his widow, Srimati Katyayani Debi, the endowment created by the late Babu Hiralal Mukherjee of Sridharpore, Burdwan, for Rs. 20,000 will be utilised for the establishment and maintenance of a Sanskrit *tol*.

Babu Jatindranath Ghose has made a donation of Rs. 18,362 for the establishment of a High English School at Burikhali, Howrah.

Education of Muslims

T h Mohamedan Educational Association of Southern India has done much for the educational progress of the Muslim community, and warm appreciation of its activities was expressed at the 31st annual general meeting held recently at the Lawley Hall, Mount Road, Madras. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman, President, was in the chair, and there was a large gathering of members. Mr. Hameed Hassan who moved for the adoption of the Annual Report expressed his satisfaction with the work of the Association during the year and congratulated the office-bearers. He pointed out that during the last ten years the Association had greatly helped in the progress of education among Muslim women and had awarded a large number of scholarships. There was a great need for Muslim school mistresses and women doctors, and applications from women would receive due consideration. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman was re-elected President. He observed that as a result of the good work of the Association, the Government had placed their seal of appreciation on its endeavours and had recognised the body for certain purposes. The Association was now represented in the Madras and Annamalai Universities. Sir Mahomed appealed to the members of the Association to work together in the real

Islamic spirit. To fight their own battle in the political sphere and to take their proper place in the country the Muslim community should equip itself efficiently from the educational point of view. The Association should, therefore, be helped to carry on its activities in an increasing measure, and Sir Mahomed appealed to the community, especially the wealthy members thereof, to help the Association financially.

Assam Sanskrit Association

The Assam Sanskrit Association has been re-constituted with the Director of Public Instruction as President and His Excellency the Governor of Assam and the Hon'ble the Minister of Education as patrons. The large deliberative body consists of 32 Pandits of Sanskrit *tols* of Surma Valley and Assam Valley, 10 Honorary Members, 16 non-official Hindu gentlemen, 9 representatives of different branches of *Sastras* and 12 Government officers most of whom are Professors and Principals of Colleges of both the Valleys of Assam.

The Presidency College, Calcutta

In reply to a question in a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council by Maulvi Azizur Rahaman, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education stated that two posts in the Bengal Educational Service, the posts of the Steward, of the Roll-clerk and of seven bearers in the Presidency College have been retrenched by which a saving of Rs. 15,435 has been effected.

World Federation of Educational Associations

The World Federation of Educational Associations met in Dublin during the first week of August. The idea of the Federation is American. The first meeting was held in San Francisco. It grew out of the decision of the National Educational Association of the United States to examine the possibility of furthering the ideal of world peace through education, and to devise a programme which would emphasise the necessity of co-operation and goodwill among the nations. About six hundred delegates attended the San Francisco meeting, and many of them, specially those from Asiatic countries, came at the expense of their Governments.

" World peace through education " is therefore the fundamental principle of the Federation, which works towards a group of objectives, the underlying purpose of which is that education might render its share of service to a world struggling to lay the spectre of war.

Madras University encourage Vernaculars

The Academic Council of the Madras University in a recent meeting, Sir K. Ramuni Menon, Vice-Chancellor, presiding, considered a proposal to award prizes for approved works on modern subjects in Dravidian languages. The history of this subject dates from the year 1925. At its meeting held in March, 1932, the Senate considered a report of the Syndicate that an annual allotment of Rs. 3,000 be made for the encouragement of the publication of modern works, the amount to be awarded as prizes for approved publications in the Dravidian Languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese—each year's allotment being divided among the four Dravidian Languages. The Senate approved of the proposal to institute prizes for the encouragement of publications of modern works in Dravidian Languages, subject to the understanding that, in framing draft

Statutes required under the Act, the Syndicate would keep in view, as the chief object, the creation of such literature in Dravidian Languages on current thought as might be suitable for non-detailed study in the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. courses and requested the Syndicate to place draft Statutes before the next meeting of the Senate after consulting the Boards of Studies concerned and the Academic Council. The Syndicate drafted a Statute and Rules and feferred them to the Boards of Studies in the Darvidian Languages. The Boards having submitted their report the Syndicate considered them and referred the matter to the Faculty of Oriental Learning for consideration and report. The Faculty again considered the same and made its recommendations to the Syndicate, which accepted them.

Madras University

In a recent meeting of the newly constituted Academic Council of the Madras University Mr. S. Satyamurthy moved that "in and from the public examination of 1937, the examination in non-language subjects shall be conducted in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese or Urdu, whichever of these is the mother-tongue of the candidate, or in English for those candidates whose mother-tongue is not one of these five languages." He pointed out that there was no country in the world, ancient, mediaeval or modern, Occidental or Oriental, in which a foreign language was the medium of instruction. It was an intellectual monstrosity obtaining only in India. Most of the members favoured the proposal, but on a motion of Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the question was referred to the Syndicate for report after consultation with the Boards of Studies.

In the same meeting the Council adopted a resolution moved by Rao Bahadur Dr. A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliyar proposing that a Degree in Veterinary Science called "B.Sc. Veterinary" be instituted in the University.

Lucknow University Convocation

The next convocation of the University of Lucknow will be held on December 9, in the Canning College, Lucknow. His Excellency the Chancellor will preside and the convocation address will be delivered by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Primary Education in Travancore

The Government of Travancore are considering the report of the Educational Reforms Inquiry Committee appointed by them, with Mr. R. M. Statham as Chairman, to inquire into the state of education in the State and to suggest measures to improve it. The Committee has recommended, it is believed, that elementary education be made free and small stipends paid to children who are very poor in order to encourage their parents to send them to school. Another recommendation is to reduce the fees in the Higher Elementary Classes. The Committee does not consider it necessary to maintain separate elementary schools for girls, except for Muslim girls. It is suggested that special attention should be devoted to the admission of depressed classes children to the common schools and to the appointment of teachers belonging to those communities. Schools will have discretion to make the vernacular the medium of instruction. The Committee urges the abolition of the Vernacular Middle Schools and the opening, in their place, of English Middle Schools with provision for industrial training. Another proposal is the establishment of a technological institute, one of the subjects to be taught being engineering.

Regarding the administration of the Education Department the Committee thinks, it is understood, that a Deputy Director and a Financial Assistant should be appointed to help the Director of Public Instruction. In addition to the administration report published annually, the Committee wants an educational survey to be made every five years. It is also suggested that the rules for the recognition of schools should be modified so as to encourage aided schools to institute provident funds and to enforce a prescribed form of agreement between managers and teachers.

Primary Education in Bengal

Six District Boards in Bengal are to initiate an interesting educational experiment from the beginning of the next financial year with the setting up of District School Boards to control primary education within their Districts under provisions of the Bengal Primary Education Bill, 1930. There will be placed at their disposal (a) a grant not less than the grants previously paid by the Government to that district and (b) an amount contributed by the District Board not less than the average amount spent by the Board upon primary education during the last four years. The District School Boards will be constituted according to the Act and will be specially qualified for dealing with educational problems in the district. It is hoped that by their preliminary work in surveying the educational needs of the district and in the making of definite plains for the spread of education, they will make rapid and satisfactory progress when the economic situation of the province improves. The six districts where this experiment will be conducted are Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali, Dinajpur, Pabna and Birbhum. The experience of these Boards, it is expected, will be of great value not only for better control of education within these particular districts but also in giving information as to the directions in which, if any, changes are necessary when a more wi lespread application of the Act is possible.

Indian Education in Fiji.

The following extracts are taken from the Report on Education in Fiji for the Year 1932.

Government Schools

The first Government school for In dians was established at Natabua in 1919. Samabula School was taken over from a local committee in 1929, and Andrews and Votualevu in 1930. Vatuwaqa Indian Girls' School was built in 1930, and Karavi and Waidikora Schools in 1931.

In September, 1930, a secondary department was added to the Natabua Primary School.

The fees in the primary school are 1*s*. a month and in secondary department £2 10*s*. per term.

Agricultural Education

From 1909 to 1911, under the Headmastership of Mr. W. L. Waterhouse, H D.A. (now Dr. Waterhouse, Professor of Agriculture, Sydney University), both technical and agricultural education were carried on at the boys' school, but only to a limited extent, as far as the latter branch was concerned, on account of the limited means and the unsuitable nature of the land.

Two students who had finished their course in technical instruction at Davuilevu were sent to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales. Six Indian Students from Dilkusha were also sent to an agricultural school at Allahabad in India. On the return of these eight students the Mission, with the assistance of the Government, established an agricultural school on the Navuso Estate, recently acquired by the Mission and situated about three miles further up the river than Davuilevu.

Primary Education

In 1932 the number of Government schools increased from six to seven, and of assisted schools from 37 to 41. In addition there were 16 unassisted schools. The total number of Indians enrolled in all schools was 4,684, of whom 3,608 were boys and 1,076 girls, with an average attendance of 81 per cent.

In 1931, 38 per cent. of pupils were in Class 1 and 19·5 per cent. in Class 2.

In 1932 these percentages had fallen to 36 and 17, respectively. The difference between the numbers in Classes 1 and 2 indicates retardation explained partly by understaffing and the consequent neglect of the lowest class. The position will improve each year as the supply of certificated teachers increases. The existence of one-teacher schools will, however, prevent situation improving rapidly. The parochialism of Indians in country districts together with the mutual antipathy of the various races and creeds prevents the grouping of Indian schools which, without any increase in the number of teachers, would allow of proper instructions being given to the youngest children.

Secondary Education

Approved Indian pupils may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School. The fees are £7 10*s*. a year. The average roll is 1932 was 21. The curriculum includes the usual secondary subjects with the addition of agriculture, wood-work, book-keeping and business principles.

Training of Teachers

As part of the economy measures taken by Government the number of teachers in training was reduced from 36 to 26. At the end of the year there were 12 Indians (including one not supported by Government) and 15 Fijians on the roll.

Female Education

There were 21 schools for non-European girls in 1931 and only 16 in 1932 although the number of girls in all such schools increased from 6,508 to 6,599. The difference in the number of schools is not due to the closing of girls' schools but to the admission of boys usually in the lower classes. In 1931, 216 and in 1932, 230 schools admitted pupils of both sexes. Co-education of the sexes does not prevent Fijian girls from attending school. It does, however, partly account for the fact shown in Appendix 6 that Indian girls in boys' schools leave school at about the age of ten. The supply of certificated women teachers is slowly improving, but many schools that are anxious to employ women teachers cannot get any applications. The difficulty of procuring suitable board and lodging in country districts will always deter many women from leaving their homes.

Ourselves

[The Late Srimati Sailasuta Debi—Tagore Law Professor—University Appointments—Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts—Changes in the Regulations—Students proceeding Abroad—. A New D. Sc.—Orissa and Our University—Subjects for Tagore Law Professorship—Jagattarini Medalist—Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer—Government Conference—University Students' Information Bureau—Girishchandra Ghose Lecturer—Law Examinations—Government Servants and University Examinations—Controller of Examinations—Progress of Researches—Our Frontispiece.]

The late Srimati Sailasuta Debi

We regret to announce the death of Srimati Sailasuta Debi, who placed at the disposal of the University in April, 1928, Government promissory notes of the face value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees for the promotion of Scientific and Technical Education and the development of Applied Science and Scientific Industry. The scholarship was created in commemoration of her husband, the late Babu Radhikamohan Ray, who was a Zamindar and a son of the late Babu Mohinimohan Ray who during his days was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Vakil Bar of the Calcutta High Court. On the occasion of the death of the founder of this scholarship we cannot but pay our tribute to her memory for the practical interest displayed by her in the cause of industrial regeneration of this province.

*   *   *

Tagore Law Professor

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Law the Senate has appointed Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Advocate of the High Court and Professor of the University Law College, Tagore Professor of Law for the year 1934. The subject of his lectures will be *The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India.* While moving the acceptance of the proposal before the Senate, Mr. Justice Mitter, Dean of the Faculty of Law, referred to the fact that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered the Tagore lectures thirty-six years ago and added that this was the first time in the history of this ancient foundation that both father and son had been called upon to fill the chair. We offer our cordial congratulations to Mr. Mookerjee on his appointment.

*   *   *

University Appointments

Mr. Jaygopal Banerjee, University Professor of English, has been re-appointed Professor till the end of the current academic session. His term expires on 31st October, 1933.

Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, M.A., a whole-time Lecturer in the department of Sanskrit, has been granted extension of service for one year expiring on the 31st of May, 1934.

Mr. J. C. Mitra, M.A., has been renominated by His Excellency the Chancellor as a Fellow of this University.

* * *

Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts

It would be recalled that Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy was appointed Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts last year. He was placed on deputation for one year and was permitted to spend this period in Europe for further study and research. The period of deputation expired on 15th September, 1933. As the University classes closed for the Puja Vacation from 18th September, Professor Suhrawardy asked for permission to stay in Europe till the end of the vacation. This would not interfere with his studies in Calcutta and at the same time would enable him to complete his work in Europe. This permission has been granted by the Senate

* * *

Changes in the Regulations

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Engineering the Senate has adopted certain changes in the Regulations for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations. These Regulations are being submitted to Government for sanction.

The Senate has also passed certain changes in the Regulations reducing the quorum for meetings of the Councils of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and Science. Under the present Regulations, the quorum was fixed at one-third of the members in each case; it has now been reduced to 15. It may be noted that this is the same number fixed for Senate meetings also.

Another change recently approved by the Senate is with regard to the procedure for temporary appointments in the Post-graduate department. Under the present Regulations, it is not necessary to

appoint a Selection Committee for any temporary appointment. This has now been altered and under the new Regulations, a Selection Committee will have to be appointed with regard to every temporary appointment where the period exceeds one year.

* * * *

STUDENTS PROCEEDING ABROAD

The University has found it necessary in recent years to hold a Special Convocation in August for conferring degrees on those graduates who desire to proceed abroad for further studies. The necessity arose out of the fact that our degrees were previously conferred only at the annual Convocation held in March every year and students who desired to proceed to Europe immediately after graduation could not be supplied with their diplomas but were given provisional certificates. These certificates were not always acceptable to the authorities of some of the Universities in Europe who in the absence of the diplomas expressed doubts as to whether the students concerned were fully eligible for their respective degrees. Our Vice-Chancellor who is now in England discussed this matter with the Secretary of the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire and also with Vice-Chancellors of several British Universities. We are now in a position to announce that it will not be necessary for us to hold any Special Convocation in future; a special certificate has been drawn up which will contain the necessary details and will be acceptable to the Universities in Great Britain; this will entitle the students to the usual privileges and exemptions. For this solution of a matter which gave rise to considerable practical inconvenience in the past, our thanks are mainly due to Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and the Secretary to the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire.

* * *

A NEW D. SC.

Mr. Sukumarchandra Sarkar, M.SC., who passed his M.SC. in 1925 has recently been awarded the degree of Doctor of Science. The principal subject of his thesis was *Investigations on the properties in the Raman Spectra.* The Board of Examiners consisted of four eminent scholars: Professor J. C. Mc. Lenan, D.SC., F.R.S., Professor P. Pringshein, Profeasor Charles Fabry and Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L. Dr. Sarkar has been serving as Research Assistant to the Palit Professor of Physics since January, 1927. We extend to him our cordial congratulations.

* * *

ORISSA AND OUR UNIVERSITY.

The University has recently received a communication from the Secretary, Orissa Committee, which has been constituted to enquire into and recommend on the administrative problems incidental to the creation of the Orissa Province. The Committee desired to know the views of the University on the question of affiliation of the Colleges in Orissa with Calcutta University, and also on the possibility of securing adeduate representation of Orissa on the various University bodies, in the event of the proposal being ultimately accepted. The Syndicate appointed a Committee consisting of the Director of Public Instruction, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. C. C. Biswas and Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, to consider the matter and submit a report. The Committee has reported that if Orissa desires to come within the jurisdiction of Calcutta University, the University should welcome her back. It has also been pointed out in the report that the same representation which has been given to our sister province, Assam, should also be extended to Orissa. It may be recalled in this connection that Oriya is a recognised vernacular for the different Examinations of our University; there are also special arrangements for its teaching in the Post-Graduate classes, mainly due to the munificence of the Maharaja of Sonepur. The report of the Committee has been adopted by the Syndicate and the Secretary, Orissa Committee has been informed accordingly.

* * *

SUBJECTS FOR TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP, 1935

The following subjects have been selected by the Faculty of Law for the Tagore Law Professorship for 1935:

(1) *The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India*

(2) *The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India*

(3) *The Law of Partnership with special reference to British India*

Advertisements are being published inviting applications from candidates for the Professorship. Applications are to reach the Registrar on or before 1st May, 1934. Each candidate is to forward with his application 100 copies of a brief synopsis of his proposed

lectures and if he so desires, the same number of copies of his Introductory Lecture.

* * *

JAGATTARINI MEDALIST, 1933

On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the Syndicate has awarded the Jagattarini Medal for 1933 to Mr. Kedarnath Bandopadhyay for his contributions to Bengali Literature. Mr. Banerjee occupies a recognised position amongst writers of Bengali fiction and is particularly noted for his inimitable humorous style which he has made his own. We offer our congratulations to Mr. Banerjee on this well-deserved recognition of his life-long labours.

* * *

ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER, 1933

Professor Meghnad Saha, D.SC., F.R.S., has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1933, the subject of his lectures being *The Ultimate Constituents of Matter.* Dr. Saha is expected to deliver the lectures early in 1934. It is needless to add that this appointment will give satisfaction to one and all.

* * *

GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE

Government have decided to hold a Conference in Calcutta in November, 1933, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches in Bengal. It is understood the proceedings will be opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. The following members have been nominated by the Syndicate to represent this University at the Conference :—

The Vice-Chancellor
Dr. U. N. Brahmachari
Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy
Mr. C. C. Biswas
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, and
Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

* * *

University Students' Information Bureau

Professor P. N. Ghosh, Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics, has been re-appointed Secretary to the University Students' Information Bureau for the year 1933-34.

* * *

Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer

Mr. Kumudbandhu Sen whose articles dealing with the dramatic works of the late Girischandra Ghosh have won just appreciation, has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1933. The subject of his lectures will be *Girischandra, his Mind and Art.*

* * *

Law Examinations

The results of the Law Examinations held in August, 1933, have just been announced. The percentage of passes at the Preliminary Law Examination is 57·5 as against 59 2 at the last Examination. At the Intermediate Law Examination the percentage of passes is 61 as against 88·2 at the last Examination and at the Final Examination the percentage is 40·9 as against 63·6 at the last examination.

* * *

Government Servants and University Examinations

In September, 1932, certain changes were introduced in the Fundamental and Subsidiary rules of Government, recognising absence of Government servants due to conduct of University Examinations in practical subjects only as absence on duty. Government were not prepared to grant the same facility to those of their officers who were appointed University Examiners in non-practical subjects. The matter was brought to the notice of the University a few months ago and the Syndicate addressed a letter to Government pointing out the undesirability of making any distinction as proposed in the rules. We are glad to record that Government have now agreed to modify the rules and to treat all Government servants as absentees on duty while attending meetings in connection with the examinations,—no matter what the nature of the subject is. Government will not however permit such officers to draw any travelling allowance from the provincial revenues for attending such meetings.

* * *

Controller of Examinations

Rai Narendranath Sen, Bahadur, M.A., has taken leave for two months and three days with effect from 21st October, 1933, and Dr. Binodbehari Dutt, M.A., B.L., PH.D., Assistant Controller, has been appointed to officiate as Controller of Examinations during the period in addition to his own duties.

* * *

Progress of Researches

Department of History

A history of the Maratha Navy has long been a desideratum. Stray articles on the subject have appeared from time to time but as materials for an exhaustive account are not available in any one archive or any one language, no systematic treatise has hitherto been attempted. A fairly satisfactory survey, however, was made by Prof. Surendranath Sen in his *Military system of the Marathas.* He is now engaged on a *History of the Maratha Maritime Activities.* The work will be based on published and unpublished Marathi, English, Portuguese, French and Dutch sources.

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri is continuing his investigations in the political history of Ancient India. He is a recognised authority on the subject. During the past few months he has published three papers on (1) *The successors of Kumaragupta I,* (2) *Some Problems of Pre-Buddhistic History and Chronology* and (3) *The Kardamaka Kings.*

Mr. Indubhushan Banerji is engaged on an equally interesting subject. His *Evolution of the Khalsa* is expected to remove a long-felt need and to throw new light on the history of the Sikhs which forms one of the special subjects in our History curriculum.

Mr. Narendrakrishna Sinha has just completed his monograph on *Ranjit Singh,* which will be published before long, It is expected to supersede all previous publications on the subject. Dr. Amarprasad Dasgupta is now engaged on a critical examination of the *Macartney Papers at the Satara Museum.* He has already published a few papers on the subject. Dr. Narayanchandra Banerji proposes to complete his second volume of *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India* and the concluding volume of *Hindu Polity and Political Theories.* The previous volumes of these two works have been hailed as notable advances on our previous knowledge of the subject. Dr. Banerji also expects to publish a short treatise on *Hindu Economic Thought.*

Department of Applied Mathematics

The staff and the Research students of the Department of Applied Mathematics are engaged in research work in several different subjects. The Ghose Professor with his student Mr. N. K. Chatterjee is at present working the Theory of the Expanding Universe and the problem of the Equilibrium of compressible and incompressible gaseous spheres, which is closely related to the modern theory of Stellar structure. Some of their results have been published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, and one is shortly coming out in the *Zeitschrift für Astrophysik*. Mr. Sisirendu Gupta, Premchand Roychand Student, till lately Ghose Research Scholar of this Department, is working in Wave Mechanics connected with the modern atomic theory; the results of his investigation have been embodied in several papers published in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*.

Dr. Siteschandra Kar is at present working on the application of Group theory to Quantum Mechanics and his latest paper on the subject was published quite recently in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Panchanan Das works on the theory of Vibration and on Wave Mechanics, *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*. Dr. Bratisankar Roy is also interested in Quantum mechanical problems and has published a paper on toplike motion in *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Jyotirmay Ghosh works on the theory of Relativity and has published papers on the equilibrium of spheres in several Journals. Dr. Ghosh edits the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*.

Besides modern theoretical Physics, Mechanics is also studied and worked on by some members of the staff. Dr. Suddhodhan Ghosh studies hydrodynamical problems and also problems connected with the theory of Elasticity. His latest contribution to the elastic theory has been published in a paper in *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Mr. Bibhutibhushan Sen works on the elastic theory. One paper on the subject has been published in the *Philosophical Magazine* and the other will come out shortly in the *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Dr. Nripendranath Sen has published papers on the theory of vortex motion in fluids in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*. Manohar Ray, the junior Ghose Scholar of the department is studying some hydrodynamical problems regarding resistance to the motion of cylindrical bodies in viscous liquid.

Department of Anthropology

At present three lines of investigation are being conducted in this Department, (*i*) a study of the primitive tribes to be found in hundreds in Chota Nagpur and Assam who are fast disappearing, (*ii*) ethnic enquiries into the composition of the castes in Bengal, (*iii*) and Medico-Anthropological investigations into growth problems. Year before last we turned our attention to Assam and began with the tribes of Manipur. Mr. T. C. Das studied the *Chirus* which he followed up by a study of *Purums*.

Prof. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History kindly came forward with financial help of Rs. 1,760 for a research student to work amongst Assam and Burma tribes and to send him some measurements and ethnographic specimens. This enabled Mr. J. K. Bose, who was awarded the research stipend to proceed with the study of the *Aimol Kukis* for which his memoir is ready and also to investigate the matrilineal *Garo* tribes besides some other minor groups in the locality. In other areas tribal investigation is being carried on by some of our ex-students at great personal expense and inconvenience notably by Mr. Prafullachandra Biswas, amongst the *Santhals* and neighbouring tribes. Mr. Nareshchandra Sen has taken up the study of *Koches*. Mr. Sorabjit Singh who helped us considerably in our Manipur studies has prepared a paper on *Meithei habitations*. Mr. J. K. Gan has published a very interesting paper on *Cultural Affinities between India and Africa* in *Man in India*, following the studies of cultural affinities of India and Polynesia by Dr. P. Mitra. The anthropometric studies of Mr. T. C. Raichoudhury amongst the Brahmins of Bengal are well-nigh complete ; he also contributed a paper on *Khasi measurements* in the Science Congress. The studies of Dr. A. N. Chatterjee, specially his analysis of about ten thousand cases of giving us the rate of growth of the Bengali students and corroborating the stature distribution of physical types in this province have been widely appreciated by all.

* * *

Our Frontispiece

The subject-matter of the *frontispiece* of this issue relates to a lore familiar in Bengal. It depicts the wreck-scene of one of Chand-sadagar's boats on the high seas. In Chand-sadagar Bengal found her merchant-hero who crossed the seas with loads of merchandise

and brought back riches in silver and gold that flowed in bounty over the country. Bengal had in those days a considerable shipping and maritime activity which is so faithfully reflected in the tragically romantic story of Chand the merchant-prince and his son and daughter-in-law, Lakhindar and Behula.

The artist of the picture is Mr. Dhirendrakrishna Dev Barman, one of those four young talented Bengalee artists who were commissioned to decorate the India House, London. The picture is his latest production, and shows his artistic ability and skill at a very high level. It has suffered considerably in reproduction, yet it shows admirably well the artist's originality of composition, his sense of colour combination, gift for conception, but more than these his capacity to harmonise a decorative treatment of accessories with an almost realistic presentation of a lively subject-matter.



Born 1st Oct., 1847] ANNIE BESANT [*Died 20th Sept., 1933*

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ANNIE BESANT :
AN INTERPRETATION

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.
Madanapalle, Madras.

WHEN I was saying goodbye to Dr. Annie Besant, on my departure in 1919 for a year's work or more in a Japanese University (by permission of the National University of India of which she was the presiding genius) I put the question to her, with the quizzicality that was our usual approach as Irish to Irish: " What about that thing called Theosophy ?" She thought for a moment, then said: " That thing called Theosophy is all right—in its own place—which is all over the place."

This did not seem to get us (or at any rate, me) anywhere in particular. But taking advantage of the traditional privilege of the Irish to answer a question by asking another, she asked: " What are you going to Japan *as* ? " (Strong emphasis on *as*.)

"Special Professor of Modern English Poetry in the Keiogijuku..............."

(" Spell it," she broke in. I spelt it.)

"...............Keiogijuku University, Tokyo," I finished.

" Then " (no quizzicality now, but deep seriousness) " be the best Professor of Modern English Poetry they have ever had—and that will be as much Theosophy as you need bother about." (Pause, ...a tricky smile.) " Of course if anybody asks you if you know anything about that thing called Theosophy" (pause) " you needn't say you don't."

Some months later, when I had found my place in " Keio," and an unanticipated series of public lectures was drawing a weekly crowd from other Universities, Colleges and Schools (and a few foreigners including a schoolmate of Ralph Waldo Emerson), I was asked by the University authorities to let them have some printed matter concerning the educational principles that I had begun to be suspected of holding. I handed them a small packet of booklets. A few days later they were returned with appreciation, and the remark: " The pamphlet entitled *Principles of Education* by Mrs. Annie Besant is one of the most important documents we have ever seen on the subject."

The connection between these two incidents may not be obvious ; but they emerge out of my memory as examples of life-experiences out of which I learned to look on " A.B." as an individual as far removed in magnitude and quality from the significance of the symbols that she took pleasure in wearing, as life is beyond biology, and a handful of earth beyond a shelf of geological text-books. I have heard her speak of herself as having taken some action "as a Theosophist." But her action was not, as I came to realize, a cold objective adaptation of her abnormal share of the Universal Life to a fixed conception of that Life or a clamped code of personal conduct: it was the spontaneous expression of her own purified, simplified, intense nature. She was not the victim of any system of thought or organization of action, obvious or occult, though she used systems for the intelligible utterance of thought and organization for the effective fulfilment of action. She was the creator of her own Truth. And as her creation of her Truth was progressive—and birth (or rebirth) had planted in her nature a hunger for understanding, for the fulfilment of understanding in action, and for both the contagious and infectious spreading of intelligent action—she moved out of the pinched circle of traditional religious sentimentality of her girlhood into what to her was the larger circle of the rationalist conception of life and the socialist technique of life. But the larger circle soon grew as cramped as the first. She discovered the imperfect rationality of a rationalism that relied only on logic based on

incomplete premises, and the ultimate unsociability of a class-conscious socialism. Thence, *via* W.T. Stead and a book review, she moved to Theosophy, which she discovered to be not a circle, but a sphere in which, like the Spirits of Human Thought of her beloved Shelley, she could

> ....dive, or soar, or run,
> Beyond, and around,
> Or within the bound
> Which clips the world with darkness round ;

and from whose surface she could make the levitation of imagination when not engaged in registering (in a code of thought and speech whose natural limitations she heartily recognized) the Cosmic communications whose physical aspects are now being weighed and measured by Millikan of California and other scientists.

It was this search for reality that was behind her advice to me to fulfil my professional *dharma* (duty) *quâ* professional *dharma*—not as an *ist* ; and behind her exposition of education that was found to excel *quâ* educational exposition—not as an *ism*. It was this intense, sometimes ruthless, sometimes mysterious quest, which is the source of the vast humanity of the great, that moved her to attribute this and that act of hers, at one time to her Theosophy, at another to her Socialism ; and thus to invest her utterances and actions in the eyes of the uncritical among her followers with an artificial rather than a real significance ; and to obscure her own vast originality in the eyes of the world, and draw on herself from the unobservant among those who were not her followers the false imputation of emotional fickleness and intellectual shallowness. It was in reality her privilege as a spiritual creator (which it would not have been as an intellectual formulator) to share the apparent inconsistency of developing life: to fight sturdily for responsibility based on free-will—and to declare that there is only one Will in the Universe, the Will of *Iswara* the Omnipotent.

II

I think, therefore, of the name of Annie Beasant as connoting to the celebrants of her first natal centenary (in 1947, which I hope to attend) the Great Realist of our time. But the title, in order to fit her, will have to extend its significance. She has put her quest for Reality into her self-written epitaph: "She tried to follow Truth ;" and in that phrase has put upon those whose lives

touched hers the duty of interpretation for the better understanding of her life by the future.

To Annie Besant, the Reality, or Truth, that she tried to follow was not to be envisaged in a mental conception or expressed in a phrase or even in a philosophy. Truth, to her, was not an achievement but a direction ; not something to be held but to be aspired towards, that puts " a yonder to all ends." [1] Her strong mentality, reinforced by her remarkable memory and virile alertness, made her a power in dialectic. Yet, while she could be dogmatic, she was not a natural dogmatist. To be merely dogmatic, which is the privilege of enthusiasm, is to express conviction with an earnestness that lifts its language to the height of poetry and symbolism, and speaks with a temporary absoluteness and finality of purely relative and transient matters ; but to be a true dogmatist is to assert the exclusive sufficiency of one's personal or traditional authority ; to make the validity of alleged Truth depend on its utterer, instead of the utterance to depend on its realizable or demonstrable Truth. Annie Besant " tried to follow Truth " : she did not try to make Truth follow her. And this is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that she had struggled out of an unsatisfactory faith through the exercise of a highly critical mentality, and might reasonably have been expected to rest in the logical certainties of agnostic uncertainty. There is a tendency for doubt to become even more intolerantly certain than faith ; to begin merely inquisitively and to end inquisitorially. But Annie Besant never succeeded in being a pontiff : she remained a tireless pilgrim ; and if her path had taken her to the frontier of Theosophy, she would have passed beyond it. I have heard her warn an English audience, to whom her previous " teachings " on Karma were oracular, to be ready to alter their ideas of the workings of that law of life, on the simple, sane ground that nobody knew everything, and that some disclosure of reality in the future might change the whole idea of cause and effect. At a meeting of new graduates which I was addressing in Madras, and over which she was presiding, I felt it necessary to impress on the audience the need for spiritual self-dependence. " If you think I am on this platform," I said, " because I agree with Mrs. Besant, you are mistaken. I am here because she agrees with me." She nodded her head in emphatic approval, and in her concluding remarks dwelt on the fact that the only true agreement between people was that of affinity of ideals, in

[1] *Hymn to Colour* by George Meredith.

the pursuit of which differences of temperamental method would not lead to drastic divisions.

In incidents like these one realized the quality of speed that was ready to assert itself at a suitable juncture in the mental process of " A. B.". In her published expositions—that make her perhaps the world's prolific author—she moves in long and somewhat slow wave-lengths, with verbal simplicity and little of ornament or literary style. But in conversation or platform improvization she could forge a phrase that cut through non-essentials to the core of the matter. In the headquarters hall of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, she had permitted me in 1921 to have a bust of Rabindranath Tagore installed to balance a bust of Giordano Bruno. A member of the Theosophical Society drew her attention to the fact that Tagore was not a member of the Society—with the implication that he had no *locus standi* as a work of art. " Neither is Bruno," said " A. B." Only that—but it was sufficient. Her sense of reality annihilated the sentiment that had justified the presence of Bruno as an assumed previous embodiment of her own ego. Her smile made the rebuke to narrow inconsistency seem a jest. At a Convention of the European Sections of the Theosophical Society in Geneva in 1930, an emissary from another Society using the same name was sent with an offer of unification. Many of the 500 delegates, I among them, suspected the intention of the move of rapprochement. At the opening meeting of the Convention, Dr. Besant, as President, invited the plenipotentiary to the platform, although the meeting was for members only, set him on her right hand, and allowed him to state his mission. She followed with a short speech in which she accepted the broad principle of federation. She made no argument or conditions. She threw her whole reaction into the phrase—" You cannot call yourself a Theosophist if you say: ' I believe in brotherhood ' (then with a stage ' aside ')—except with other Theosophists." Again her finger pointed humorously at inconsistency. And sometimes her humour (which has never been sufficiently recognized) was wholly humurous. During my nine months on the editorial staff of *New India* (1915-1916) she called me frequently to her desk to talk over some problem or idea. On one occasion she asked me where it was that Luther had thrown his ink-pot at the Devil. " At the Diet of Worms," I answered, with unintentional inaccuracy. She pondered my information for a moment, solemnly ejaculated: " Funny diet ! " and went on with her writing. In her leading article that afternoon Luther turned up all right ; but there was no mention of the " funny diet," and I got an

uneasy feeling that I had fallen down a crevasse in her estimation of my knowledge of history.

III

To pass on to the future the idea that Annie Besant was all head and heart would be to deny her title of the Great Realist. It would also obscure the fact that to certain of her contemporaries she appeared as a person swayed by emotion, and not always in what they, in their wisdom, regarded as the right direction. Those of us who had the privilege of camping on the ambit of her life were, at times in the early days of her political campaign, fascinated by the spectacles of her amazing quietness in the midst of swirling emotions that she had herself created. In her immediate company one was in the calm at the centre of a cyclone; but to move away from her one had to cross one or other segment of a circle of storm. This did not mean that she herself was emotionless; or, on the other hand, that she was, as those emotionally influenced by her sometimes concluded, a sharer in the emotions that she stirred up. Just as her thought ranged from cold logic to radiant illumination, so did her feeling range from sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed in all the kingdoms of nature, to the intensity of receptive responsiveness in which the eternal broadcast of Reality is felt rather than cognized. In both phases of her nature she was the master of her powers. Her long and rigorous self-discipline (*yoga*) had, as it seemed to me, removed itself from a fixed time and place in her life to every moment everywhere: beneath each ripple on the surface of her life one felt the presence of oceanic calm.

In other terms, "A.B." had achieved synthesis in her nature. Thought, feeling and action had become simultaneous with her, to the enrichment and strengthening of each. This I believe, is the secret of her remarkable creative power and sagacity, which some have taken to be a gift of necromancy and prognostication. I can recall sentences of hers that became institutions. At the end of a lecture in Adyar, leaning with one hand on my shoulder as I bent down to place her little sandals in position for her to put them on, she said: " We ought to have an art section in the Nineteen-twentyone Club." She had founded the Club in Madras as a meeting-place for free political discussion on the inauguration of the " Reforms," but was not satisfied with its being merely politically minded. The art section was duly instituted. At another meeting she expressed a wish whose

fulfilment was the Brahmavidya Asrama at Adyar that worked for six years and developed a view of knowledge and experience and a technique of study and life which have only begun their beneficent mission. She not only initiated synthetical movements embodying her own completeness, but responded with intuitive alacrity to similar movements initiated by others. The invitation to deliver the first Kamala Lectures of the University of Calcutta in 1924 on "Indian Ideals of Education, Philosophy, Religion and Arts" was intensely to her liking because of its synthetical scope. Her preparation for it was carried out with a thoroughness and concentration that, in other circumstances, would have made her one of the world's greatest advocates. It was my privilege and happiness to collect for her the materials for the art-section of the lecture in order that she might have direct knowledge of authorities on an aspect of India's cultural life whose importance she had intuitively recognized, and to whose qualities she had already responded in the exhibitions of Indian painting which she delighted to have as a part of the Conventions of the Theosophical Society—in Adyar, in Benares, in Bombay, in Geneva, in Chicago. As organizer of these exhibitions I have been deeply moved when she, in the midst of multitudinous demands on her, would herself make demands on other, and, at some five minutes of respite, bring persons of importance to see the æsthetical and spiritual demonstration of India's real quality that needs no argument.

IV

Yes, Annie Besant "tried to follow Truth," and in doing so learned the full meaning of Keats' assertion that "Beauty is Truth"—which is singing in the breath that Truth is Beauty; that Beauty and Truth are merely objectively different expressions of one subjective realization of the vast universal pull towards unification that in our time is so radically threatening the false separations in life which the preliminary egotism of humanity has endeavoured to justify in religious and other sanctities. But "A.B." went a stage further than the poet on the way towards full individual embodiment of Reality, in her insistence on the life-test of thought and feeling. "You cannot say that you possess a truth until you have tested it in action," she once wrote. And the test of thought or feeling in action was, to her, the test of its unifying influence. All separations were, in her view, false. But there was also the possibility of a false unity, a merely mechanical surface unity

which is in contrariety to the obvious delight of life in variety of expression. She repudiated the exclusive claims of Christianity; but she became an apostle of the universality of the love and self-surrender expressed in the life and utterances of Jesus the Christ. She realized that no sacerdotal unit can ever become a spiritual unity. She resented spiritual compulsion save from within. Her technique of life was free association. This implied as free dissociation; and this principle worked itself into both her religious and political activities—in her claim for religious freedom in observance and unity in spiritual aspiration, and her assertion of the right of India to complete self-determination as the basis of a voluntary union with the British Commonwealth which external compulsion prevented.

In a world in which action is confused through ignorance or selfishness, the line of a life drawn directly towards Reality was bound to cross the zig-zags of others in impacts of affinity or antagonism. To both affinity and antagonism she attached the same value, the value of their contribution to her quest—a quest whose line, while onwards in direction was adaptable to immediate circumstances. She realized with the unknown fourteenth century English mystic that " not what thou art, nor what thou hast been, beholdeth God with His merciful eyes ; but what thou wouldest be,"† and this implies a progressive elevation of life. The graph of her life was therefore not only onwards but upwards; and ascension, which requires the discarding of impedimenta, in her case took even the commonplace, though not too common, form of selling her possessions in order to fulfil what she considered her moral, if not legal, obligations to students and others.

" Give, and it shall be given unto you "—or perhaps shall *not* be given unto you ; but at least you will have what you have given ; not in material kind, but in spiritual equivalent. This was, I believe, the rule of her incalculable beneficences. And she died—leaving little in the way of worldly wealth, but leaving to posterity a treasury of spiritual opulence; died, not as rich by making or keeping many poor, but " as poor, yet making many rich."

† *The Cloud of Unknowing.*

DR. ANNIE BESANT:

THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

IN this article, I would wish to dwell upon the one aspect of Dr. Annie Besant's life with which I was most intimately concerned. As a champion of the oppressed and poor I have not known anyone so fearlessly outspoken and bravely successful in her efforts as Mrs. Besant. Whenever the oppression of the poor was brought before her in a way which touched her heart she was like a mother defending her own children from some violent wrong.

The time when I first gained the sight of her character in action was in the year 1913 when Willie Pearson and I visited Madras on our way to South Africa in order to help the indentured Indian labourers in their struggle against the £3 poll-tax which was being forcibly levied from them in Natal. The whole system of indentured labour was an abomination and a curse. Therefore when we had explained the whole matter to her and shown how hateful the wrong was that was being done to thousands of poor people, her heart was won in a moment. From that time forward, she never ceased in her strenuous endeavours to bring the intolerable indenture system of Indian labour to an end, not merely in Natal itself, but also in every colony within the British Empire where it was still being carried on. She summoned all her friends in Madras to a meeting and explained to them the evils of the system as I had previously recounted them to her. I can remember even up to the present time how her eyes burnt with fire as she spoke on the hateful wrong which was being done to Indian women whereby some of them had even been forced to sell their bodies in prostitution.

When later on, I had returned from South Africa the same great cause of the indentured Indian labourers absorbed her whole attention. She was the magnificent organiser of the '*Anti-indenture League*' which had its branches and offices in every centre of South India. The whole country was aflame, being inspired by her wonderful speeches as she went on tour not only in the great cities in South India but also in the villages.

This campaign against indenture had an important place in Indian history. For perhaps more than anything else it awakened the conscience of the Indian Government to an impossible state of affairs whereby women, recruited for the most part by fraud, were sent out in emigrant ships to distant colonies such as Fiji and British Guiana and Natal to endure a life of misery and shame under unspeakably immoral conditions.

The anti-indenture campaign which Mrs. Besant originated led also to extremely interesting political results. For it was out of the experience gained in that campaign that she was able to organise in 1916-17 her great *Home-Rule League* during the War. This *Home-Rule League movement* was probably the original cause of still greater movements which came in later years and indeed of the Non-co-operation movement in 1920. Though she did not share in that movement itself, her heart was strongly stirred towards Indian freedom and her books popularised the cause of Indian Swaraj in the West more than any others that were written at that time.

One other cause was infinitely dear to the heart of Dr. Annie Besant. The uplift of the *Harijans* was a lifelong effort on her part and she spent all the funds and energy which were at her disposal in this work of uplift. Before the *Harijan* movement became a national endeavour under Mahatma Gandhi, the Theosophical Society through Dr. Annie Besant had devoted itself to this work. The society under her leadership confined its actions mainly to education and a marvellous encouragement was given to the depressed classes by means of a series of schools staffed by excellent teachers, wherein the *Harijans* could obtain the very best education possible such as would enable them to become worthy members of society. In the great awakening which is visible on every hand today, owing to the inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi, we must not forget this foundation work which Mrs. Besant began quite early after her coming to India nearly 50 years ago.

In conclusion, let me sketch in a very brief outline some of the characteristics which I personally noticed in Dr. Annie Besant on the frequent occasions when I worked with her in the cause of social uplift and on behalf of the oppressed poor. First of all, her voice and even her manners were masculine in their force and strength, and the manly side of human nature was very evident in her. Yet this in no way weakened the true Woman in her, in its tenderness and emotion for, as I have already said, she was like a mother defending her own children when any wrong was done to the poor and oppressed people.

Secondly her amazing industry and power of work attracted my own attention. I have seen her in a railway carriage get through the heaviest work which would have taken an ordinary person more than a day to carry through in an office. The sternest sense of duty kept this force in her at its utmost tension even in times of physical weakness and in this way she was able to show, in an amazing manner, how the spirit within could conquer the impurities of the human frame. She dominated her own nature by her inner spiritual force.

Thirdly, she was always very human, intensely alive to the cry of the poor and oppressed upon the earth. Suffering came to her more than to almost any woman in her own generation—suffering often entirely undeserved and cruelly brutal. Yet she kept her sweetness and love, true and deep, to the very end and she received unbounded love in return from those who were devoted to her. She leaves behind her a name for courage and wisdom and high faith which will not be forgotten.

Santi-niketan,

THE LATE MRS. KAMINI RAY

By Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

[Mrs. Kamini Ray (*née* Sen), the distinguished Bengali poetess, passed away at her residence at 42 A, Hazra Road, Calcutta, on the 27th September at the age of 69. She had a short attack of pneumonia.

Kamini Sen was born at Basanda in Backergunj on October 12, 1864. Her father Chandicharan Sen was a man of unusual strength of character. He was a daring thinker, spirited and liberal, and his example had a great formative influence in the life of the poet. Poetry came to Miss Sen very early, and she wrote some verses at the age of eight. She continued writing poetry, and became famous by publishing her first collection of poems under the title of *Alo-o-Chhaya* (Light and Shade) in 1889. With its publication she at once took her place among the best literary artists of Bengal. Earlier, in 1886, Miss Sen had graduated at Calcutta University with Second Class Honours in Sanskrit. The same year she accepted the post of a teacher in the School department of Bethune College, Later she was promoted to be a Lecturer in the College. In August, 1894, she married Mr. K. N. Ray of the Statutory Civil Service, but became a widow fifteen years later in 1909. She had a series of sorrows in life, but those she turned into art; a sweet sadness pervaded through her work. The Calcutta University honoured her by awarding her the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1929.

It was not, however, by her poetry alone that Mrs. Ray achieved distinction. Her work for the political and civil enfranchisement of the Bengali woman and the amelioration of the conditions under which women labourers worked in the fields and factories, will be gratefully remembered by her sisters in Bengal.]

ONE day when we were young the fame of Kamini Ray (*née* Sen) as a poet flashed across the horizon of Bengali literature with a suddenness and intensity. At that time the poets in Bengal who could claim recognition were few in number and critics were scarce. The standard of excellence in metre and diction did not reach that general level which could make the poetic technique comparatively easy of attainment. Our poetess travelled almost alone on her path of literary production in an undisturbed serenity of creative mood. The ideals of life which inspired her belonged to the dawn of a new era in Bengal when the atmosphere was pure and the light unstained, when the aspiration of our youth was for high moral altitude and dedication to great causes. Kamini Ray in her own simple manner and womanly faith gave voice to that age which in the freshness of its mind had the vision of a freedom that would rescue her country from the darkness of unreason and social obstructions to the path of progress. She found ready response in the minds of her contemporary readers who had not yet grown critically supercilious and cynical in their cultivated scepticism. Her power of expression matured as she grew older but up to the end she expressed in her works her young faith and unsophisticated spirit of devotion to moral ideals.



Born Oct., 12, 1864] KAMINI RAY [*Died, Sept., 27, 1933*

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE: AN INDIAN VIEW

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, KT.

THE World Economic Conference to which the nations of the world had been looking forward for the discovery of satisfactory remedies for the present economic crisis has met and has broken up. Though some of the statesmen who took part in the conference are unwilling to admit that it has been completely barren of results, there can be no doubt that the general feeling is that the conference has been a failure. The high expectations that had been formed before the meeting of the conference were necessarily doomed to disappointment. Every nation that took part in the conference primarily and naturally approached the problem from the point of view of its own special interests and there was necessarily bound to be a wide divergence of views in regard to the measures to be adopted for the restoration of prosperity. The remedies for any permanent solution of our economic ills must be based upon a correct diagnosis of the causes which have led to our troubles and a recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the different countries of the world. Even as to the causes of the economic depression there have been great differences of opinion among statesmen and economists. While some are disposed to attribute them to the background of the currency and credit systems of the world and to the financial embarrassments bequeathed by the Great War, there are others who ascribe them to the commercial policies adopted by different nations in regard to tariffs with the object of securing a favourable balance of trade or the promotion of industries. Some advocate the stabilisation of the level of internal wholesale prices and others have emphasised the importance of stability of exchange. There are others again who take the view that the deeper underlying causes of the depression must be sought in the maladjustment between production and distribution and between production and purchasing power. The principle of national self-sufficiency has been vehemently denounced as destructive of the trade and prosperity of the world. Yet another view which has been strongly advocated is that the chaotic financial and economic condition of the world can be rectified only by systematic planning, international

co-operation and international organisation. Each of these views contains a large amount of truth, but none of them can claim to offer a complete explanation or remedy. As pointed out by several economists, the crisis is a crisis of plenty. The evils of maladjustment of industries and production have been aggravated by financial disorganisation. One of the most illuminating discussions of the problem is to be found in the symposium of Sir Arthur Salter and others in the Halley Stewart Lectures for 1931. Economists and statesmen have drawn a distinction between the immediate objective and the ultimate objective to be aimed at by those who wish to cure our ills. Sir William Beveridge takes the view that the crisis is essentially monetary. While the immediate problem may be admitted to be of a monetary and financial character, there is far more truth in the view that the underlying problem is, as pointed out by Prof. Clay, the misdirection of the world's industry. A concerted policy of controlled reflation, the cancellation of reparations and war debts and the other remedies advocated by Sir Arthur Salter will do much for the revival of trade and prosperity. But they cannot provide a permanent solution. Cycles of boom and depression were characteristic of trade even before the war and they are bound to recur in the future in a much severer form owing to the greater productiveness of machinery and what has been called technocracy and the international competition for markets. The tendency of industrial organisations towards amalgamation and large-scale production will not necessarily remove the maladjustment between production and purchasing power. The same waste of productive energy and the same misdirection of industry that form unavoidable features of an uncontrolled system of capitalism and *laissez-faire* in individual states are bound to appear in the international competition for world markets. The only possible escape from these maladjustments is by some form of international organisation which would adopt the world as a unit. Here we come face to face with issues of a most momentous character. The ideal of the international organisation of the world may be desirable in the distant future. But it is not merely impracticable, but is full of dangerous possibilities for the development and welfare of the continents or countries which are now industrially backward.

Let me refer to a few of the risks which attend any scheme of international organisation. The planning of production, whether in the field of raw materials or of manufacturing industries, necessarily involves a limitation of the supplies to be produced. Within the limits of any one country such planning is useful and desirable and

though it may involve an interference with individual liberty, would be, on the whole, an advantage to the people of the country. But if the planning is to be applied internationally, upon what principle is the limitation of production to be fixed ? Is the allotment of quotas for each country to be based upon the existing level of production or with reference to the potentialities of the different countries in human and natural resources ? So far as the European nations are concerned, they would probably prefer a scheme under which the other continents would confine themselves to the production of raw materials, leaving the whole field of manufacturing industries to Europe. They would probably make an exception in favour of America which has made such great advances in the industrial sphere, especially during the twentieth century. Will the other countries of the world be content to play the rôle of producers of raw materials only ? Even the Dominions of Australia, Canada and South Africa with their limited populations and vast territories are anxious to develop their own industrial life. Will India and China with their teeming populations and enormous natural resources be content to play for all time the part of producers of raw materials for the benefit of the Western nations ? In the interests of a diversified and balanced economic and social life Asiatic countries are bound to develop their own resources and promote the growth of industries within their own borders. The people of these countries are not lacking in natural intelligence or aptitude for industrial life and it is only the earlier application of scientific invention and processes that has given a long start to Western countries. It is no longer possible to confine a knowledge of manufacturing processes to any one country. The desire for industrial advancement has taken root in the minds of Asiatic nations as the result of the pressure of economic conditions and the re-awakening of national life. India and China are now the largest markets in the world for the manufactures of Europe and they cannot be expected to remain so for all time. On what principle is it to be laid down that India or China shall confine itself to agriculture or to particular industries, or that the output of its industries shall be limited to a certain figure ? Would it be fair or feasible to lay down that Asiatic countries shall not produce more than is required for their home consumption or even all that is required for meeting their internal demands ? Even if Asiatic countries were to limit their production to the satisfaction of their own wants, there must necessarily be a re-direction of industry in the West. The principle of self-sufficiency, if adopted by each nation, would necessarily lead to the disappearance of all trade except in articles

which cannot be produced at home at all, or except under excessively costly conditions. According to the arguments of the orthodox economists, international trade is based upon the recognition of the differential advantages of countries for the production of particular commodities and there is no doubt that from the point of view of material gain, an economic system based upon this principle will add to the material welfare of the world. Apart from the fact that the addition of material wealth is not the sole element to be considered, how are we to ascertain the differential advantages of countries without giving them opportunities for finding themselves ? The present state of industrial development in any country affords no certain indication as to its possibilities of expansion. Any attempt to fix rigid artificial limits to industrial growth, especially in countries which have not yet been developed, must necessarily be resisted. By way of illustration of my remarks, let me refer to the scheme for the re-organisation of sugar production which has been submitted to the World Economic Conference. It recommends, among other things, that countries which have large sugar imports should stabilise their home production at the present level in order to prevent reduction of imports and that countries producing almost enough for their own consumption should undertake not to expand their production beyond their home markets for export. That nations should, if possible, avoid doing anything which would cause a sudden dislocation of the industries of their neighbours may be conceded. But is it right or fair that India, for instance, should continue for all time to import the quantity of sugar which she is now importing from Java and should not endeavour to supply her own home markets ? We do not deny that the competition of industrial nations in the markets of the world may assume a ruinous character and that it may be desirable to adopt some system of quotas for the division of the available markets. But such arrangements should only be of a temporary character and should be revised from time to time with reference to the capacities and needs of the countries. The argument that any country has to depend upon her foreign trade more largely than others owing to its high standard of living cannot be expected to impress other countries which also wish to raise their standard of living. The question which country or countries should devote themselves to particular industries is one which it is not possible to answer, unless they have had the fullest opportunity in the future of discovering their resources and aptitudes.

There is only one other matter to which I should like to refer in connection with the proposals which have been discussed in the

World Economic Conference. Every country which participated in the conference expressed its desire for the removal of the barriers of trade created by high tariffs. But there is no sign that, except Britain and a few other countries, others are willing to reduce the level of their own tariffs. So far as India is concerned, she must continue her policy of discriminating protection which she has been pursuing during the last few years. Even Britain is unwilling to abandon the protection afforded by tariffs against the invasion of her markets by Japan. As pointed out by Sir Arthur Salter, "A tariff to compensate for differences in wage level or in cost of production is mere nonsense. Countries differ in natural advantages, in the scale of industry of their peoples and in the efficiency of their organisation. Of these varying advantages differences in wages and in the standard of living and general level of prosperity are the natural reflection and consequence. Without such differences trade could not take place ; counteract them and it will stop. A so-called scientific tariff usually means one which is based on the principle of compensating for differences in cost of production. This either represents a mere fallacy or it is a policy destructive of international trade." The doctrine of unrestricted free trade has now been ahandoned by almost all nations of the world and every country regulates its tariffs so as to promote its own industrial advancement and facilities for trade. No country has been so foolish as to carry its worship of the doctrine of free trade to the extent of sacrificing any of its own industries or advantages.

It must not be understood from my remarks that I am opposed to the expediency of gradually reducing tariffs and removing the restrictions on the commercial intercourse of the world or to a system of planning production and distribution. But all such attempts at planning must first begin within individual countries before we can venture to apply the policy to the world as a unit with any hope of success. Economists are now settling down to the conviction that the problem of the future is to reconcile the spirit of initiative and enterprise under the capitalist system with the control and collective leadership required to avoid the waste of human energy and capital and the periodic cycles of inflation and depression of trade. Such cycles cannot be completely prevented without a world organisation and industry. But the goal is at present utopian.

THE STRENGTH AND LIMITATIONS OF ECONOMIC JAPAN *vis-à-vis* YOUNG BENGAL

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR
Calcutta University.

Japanese Dumping and Retaliation.

DURING the first period of the Swadeshi movement (1905) Young Bengal used to derive great inspiration from the achievements of the Japanese people. In the course of the last quarter of a century, especially in very recent years, the glass, hosiery, porcelain and other industries of Bengal as well as the big textile industry of India have begun to experience a life-and-death struggle *vis-à-vis* the imports from Japan.

It is to be hoped that a rational planning of export and import relations between Japan and India will succeed in safeguarding the interests of the *Swadeshi* industries, on the one hand, as well as the claims of the Indian producers and consumers to derive benefit from business with the people of Japan, on the other. In the light of pure economic reasoning it is likely to be found, as has been maintained by the present writer on several occasions, that while we have every duty and right to protect our struggling industries against Japanese competition whenever it is possible and practicable, it is perhaps not always safe to consider every piece of Japanese article in India as owing its arrival to an alleged dumping or to conclude that the Japanese threat of retaliation is factually anything more than 100 per cent. bluff.

What is Genuine Dumping ?

In order to prove a case of dumping it will be necessary to demonstrate that Japanese cotton goods are selling in Japan at higher prices than in India. As far as the present writer has been able to obtain information on this item, it points, curiously enough, rather in the opposite direction. It has been found that Japanese cotton goods are being sold in India at somewhat *higher prices than in Japan.* It appears that Indian consumers are prepared to buy Japanese stuffs at higher prices than the Japanese people themselves. This means

that even these relatively higher prices are lower than the prices of Indian *Swadeshi* cottton goods in India. In other words, should this be demonstrated on an extensive investigation, dumping can hardly be proven.

Relative Cheapness not a Case of Dumping.

What is it that renders the relatively higher Japanese prices lower than the prices of Indian goods in India ? It may be due, among other circumstances, to price-cutting, currency depreciation, lower rates of wages and lower standard of living prevailing in Japan, and last but not least, lower costs of production per unit sold. None of these causes of the lowering of prices can be legitimately complained against in economics. Price-cutting belongs to normal economic competition based as it is on the capitalistic system. Currency depreciation began with the United Kingdom's as well as India's getting away from the gold standard and was taken up later by Japan as recently also by America. The prevalence of the low standard of living is Japan's as well as Bengal's and India's chief capital in the struggle for economic self-assertion and can by no means be condemned, at any rate, so far as the present issues are concerned. As for the low costs of production per unit Japan as every other country has to thank technocracy, rationalization and what not. Whenever there is international trade there is bound to be a difference between the trading countries on the score of the costs of production. To condemn the existence of rationalization or better methods of production and marketing in one of the trading countries would be tantamount to penalizing the entire structure of commerce between nations and compelling the consume rsof the world to submit to a system of higher prices.

Protection of National Industries.

The present crisis, such as has arisen between Japan and India, cannot be solved if we approach it from the standpoint of genuine dumping. It is a case of certain foreign industries which have become powerful, no matter for what reason, competing with and likely to weed out of existence certain industries of our own such as for one reason or other have failed to develop the staying power in an open market of free competition. We encounter here a case of "protecting " national industries, pure and undefiled.

Imperial Preference as a New Factor.

From the Japanese side it should be patent to everybody that with the enactment of Imperial Preference on a reciprocal basis the "most favoured nation treatment" between India and Japan ceases automatically to exist. A new convention or treaty more or less on the contingent or quota basis is therefore called for like the ones, for instance, recently entered into between the United Kingdom on the one hand and Argentina, Denmark and Germany on the other. So far as the cotton interests are concerned, on the question of Japan *vs.* Lancashire, the judgment has already been passed and in fact has been effective since 1930. And as regards Bombay, Imperial Preference has served but to cement her alliance with Lancashire *vis-à-vis* Japan.

Autarchy vs. *Boycott in Japan.*

On the Indian side it should be unreasonable to look upon every instance of reduction in Japanese takings of Indian raw produce as inspired by boycott or reprisal. Apart from the question of the universal economic depression which has brought down the trade figures to nearly the third of the "normal" level, we should take due cognisance of the fact that for some long time Japan like other countries including India has been attempting to become "autarchic" or self-sufficient in certain directions. The Japanese demand for Indian pig iron and cotton may naturally be expected to be more and more limited in future by the capacity of regions under Japanese influence in Manchuria and China to deliver the materials that she has up till now been importing from extra-Japanese sources. The ambitions of Japan in regard to this kind of autarchy are no less legitimate than our own aspirations in regard to industrialization and Swadeshi.

Japanese Market for Indian Pig Iron.

And yet it is important to observe incidentally that although Japanese takings of pig iron from Kwantung Province in China rose from a value of 3,155,000 yens in 1923 to 6,515,000 yens in 1929 (the last pre-depression "normal" year) the imports from India increased in a much larger proportion, namely, from 6,740,000 yens to 16,950,000 yens (one yen may be taken for general purposes as roughly equivalent to Re. 1-4-0). In 1930-31, further, Japan took 161,000 tons but in 1931-32 she raised her takings from India to 188,000 tons.

Japan is poor in iron mines at home or in Korea. The new mines of Manchuria such as are coming under Japanese capitalism are reported to contain several hundred millions of ores. But the adequate exploitation of these resources is not yet a question of practical politics.

In other words, it will take Japan, humanly speaking, quite a long time to make herself independent of the Indian source in an effective manner. A fact like this is well calculated to inspire coolness in our judgments while hearing of anti-Indian sentiments in Japan or indulging in anti-Japanese emotions ourselves.

Indian Cotton vs. *Egyptian and American in Japanese Industry.*

The trend of Indian exports of raw cotton to Japan indicates likewise the great hold of the Indian cultivator on the Japanese cotton textile industry. From the pre-war average of 1,012,000 bales of 400 lbs. each the Japanese demand for Indian cotton rose up to the post-war average of 1,540,000 bales, reaching the climax in 1930-31 with 1,686,000 bales. In 1931-32 Japan reduced her takings of Indian cotton to 1,080,000 bales. This reduction can hardly be accounted for by boycott or retaliation of any sort but is an item in the all-round reductions in this epoch of depression.

But on the other hand, it is quite likely and understandable that as a result of previous progress the Japanese textile industry should attempt to manufacture the " quality goods " in the cotton line and thus compete with the British and other continental exporters on the world-market. And since Indian cotton is not of a superior quality adapted to the requirements of better-quality yarns and piece-goods it is not unreasonable to suspect that the Japanese industry should in future look more often to Egypt and the U. S. A. for the supply of raw cotton than to India. Indeed, Japanesec ontacts with these countries have been at least as old as with us. And if from now on there is a partial transfer of orders from India to Africa and America it must not be considered to be necessarily motivated by boycott or reprisal. The development of Manchuria as an eventual source of cotton for the Japanese textile industry belongs of course to the region of autarchistic futurism which has hardly anything to do with anti-Indianism.

Wanted a Bengali Delegation to investigate in Japan.

While the Japanese delegation is at work in India to study Indian conditions on the spot one feels naturally that a batch of

Indian, especially Bengali, business men and economists should visit Japan and explore the avenues to the development of India's opportunities for expansion over there. Economic legislation and the currency and tariff manipulations alone are not likely to place us on our feet and keep us up for any length of time. It is very desirable that we study also the other methods such as have rendered Japan so formidable in Asian as well as in Eur-American markets. We must not render unto politics more than the things that are of politics but should learn to give the other Devils also their dues in the scheme of international trade values.

Industrial Efficiency not due to Individual Merit.

In the first place, we must guard ourselves against committing the fallacy of believing too naively that the Japanese are more "efficient," man for man, than the Bengalis. We must not make a fetish of universal "literacy," which *en passant* is not to be confounded with education, however desirable literacy be on other grounds. Indeed, none of the European races are to be postulated as more efficient than any of the peoples of Asia. Modern industrial efficiency is more a "social" complex than a function of individual merit, skill or character. And in this complex the lion's share belongs to technocracy, rationalization, "scientific management," and business organization. In our examination of the output per head in Japan, high as it is compared to that in India, we should learn to associate it in an adequate manner with the effects of first-class implements of the latest type as well as the cartels, trusts and other associations for the control and marketing of the output.

Agricultural Indebtedness in Japan.

We are apt very often to ignore or overlook the many limitations and handicaps of a serious nature under which the Japanese economy functions. Agriculture is the mainstay of nearly 77 per cent. of the Japanese people (65 millions) and the peasants of Japan carry a huge debt on their shoulders. We in Bengal are living under the perpetual nightmare of agricultural indebtedness amounting to some Rs. 35 per head of the population (51 millions). Last July the Japanese Parliament received a petition from the cultivators to the effect that 5,00,00,000 farmers had to bear a debt of 55,00,00,000 yens.

The debt per head of population appears thus to be Rs. 107, say, three times as much as in Bengal. Now on the strength of the

calculations of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York the Japanese national income per head is somewhat like Rs. 105 whereas the national income of the Indian people is taken to be Rs. 42. In other words, the Japanese agricultural debt is relatively to income higher than the Bengali. It was also a matter of serious consideration that on account of the various reasons including the world-depression, the peasant's total expenses due to cultivation, housekeeping, taxes, etc., averaged 1,030 yens whereas the total income did not amount to more than 917 yens leaving a deficit of some 112 yens.

It is not necessary to be dogmatic about these figures comparatively or absolutely considered. But Bengali economists and economic statesmen should not feel unnerved while posing Japan against Bengal on the score of social conditions. It should be very possible for the Bengali people to attain to some of the industrial glories that are being enjoyed by the Japanese to-day in spite of their preponderantly agricultural character and in spite of the weaknesses associated with the agricultural economy.

Modest Labour Conditions in Japan.

A weakness of the Japanese people in so far as industrial efficiency is concerned must not be lost sight of. The Social Bureau of the Japanese Home Ministry has published a report from which we understand that there are 46,70,000 workers in Japan but that the number of the organized working men and women is nearly 3,69,000. This is not more than 8 per cent. of the total labour force, comprising as it does, factory, mining, transportation and other workers as well as day labour.

The primitiveness of Japanese labour conditions can be appreciated only if we realize that in Germany which possesses the same number of inhabitants as Japan the number of unionized working men is 82,00,000. This is 2,172 per 10,000 of the total population as against 43 only in Japan. Japanese 43 is however to be placed against the Indian 16. While India has still to rise up to the height of the Japanese co-efficient in the trade union movement, Bengali economists and publicists ought to take heart from the Japanese example and be encouraged into the belief that even with modest Asian conditions in the standard of living, labour organization, etc., it is possible to compete with the Eur-American firms in their own markets.

Insurance and Banking Expansion in Japan.

The serious attention of Bengali businessmen and industrialists should be directed to the enormous growth of capital which is the most signal feature of economic Japan in recent years. No consideration would be more telling in this regard than the fact that a single insurance company in Japan, the Nippon Life Assurance Company of Tokyo, commands more policies (6,87,000) than all the Indian and foreign insurance companies in India put together (6,56,000).

The progress of Japanese banking is likewise astounding. Even down to 1907 Japan was rather modest not possessing more than Rs. 11-4-0 per head as bank capital. But to-day it is Rs. 41 as against the Bengali bank capital per capital of Re. 1-9-0. In bank deposits per head of population Japan has likewise been rising very swiftly. While the British deposit per head can be estimated at Rs. 684, the Japanese is Rs. 238 whereas the Bengali is not much above Rs. 10-0-0. An idea of bank facilities available in Japan will be evident from the fact that there are altogether 2,100 banks with 6,000 branches. For every 7,400 persons there is a bank office in Japan. This is a high co-efficient comparable almost to the British 4,700 and American 4,300. The amount of capital at the disposal of the cottage, small, medium and large industries of Japan is something in regard to which the Bengali people can legitimately envy the Japanese.

Japan as Example for Bengal.

Japan has taught Bengal great lessons during the last quarter of a century. Bengal's admiration for Japan has grown from more to more all this time. Even to-day while Bengal has to encounter Japan more as a dangerous rival than as an inspiring guide, the exponents of Bengali industrialism should not fail to detect the thousand and one points of affinity between the fundamental ambitions of Young Bengal and economic Japan on the common platform of the modernization of Asia.

What Bengal needs to-day for her industrialization is more liquid capital to be rendered available per head of population than is at present the case. From now on the Bengali people should embark upon cultivating more intimate and intensive intercourse with the Japanese people even if for no other purpose but that of ascertaining how it is possible for men and women, who by the higher Eur-American standards are used to rather low rates of wages and salaries and

modest ideas of necessaries and comforts, to yet amass huge bank accounts to be mobilized in the interest of agriculture, industry and commerce. Should the present Japanese-Indian crisis in commercial relations turn out to be an agency in the awakening of Young Bengal to the economic realities, a great step will have been taken in the direction of Bengal's autarchy in the realm of Indian industrialism as well as her expansion in the diverse fields of world-economy.

THE TREND OF ASIATIC MIGRATIONS

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THE leader of a great nation and a representative government recently declared that the twentieth century will devote itself to the solution of the problem of race on which will depend whether the world will have peace or war in the future. Yet this very nation has contributed to make the race and colour problems more and more perplexing.

European Mass Migration and its Causes.

The race problem becomes acute during periods of mass migration and conflict of peoples. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Europe entered on a period of mass migration on a scale unique in human history. The population of Europe virtually doubled during the era of expansion of European Powers in Asia, Africa and the Americas, and the surplus millions were absorbed in the colonies and dependencies. Yet it cannot be said that the European migration of the last century was due chiefly to over-population. On the other hand, the European expansion was more or less synchronous with the industrial revolution which created a feverish demand for tropical raw materials and food on the one hand, and overseas markets for Western manufactured goods on the other. The neglect of home agriculture, the concentration on manufacturing enterprise, the change in social organisation and rise of a directive class, the spirit of adventure and conquest, and, above all, the facilities of communication and transport—all contributed to maintain a continuous outward thrust of the European peoples until about eight-ninths of the world's surface was brought under the direct political subjection of the white races.

A Europeanised World.

The result has been that since the middle of the last century there has been a grave maladjustment in the distribution of the world's population and resources. 150 million people of Europe, *i.e.*, less than one-third of the world's population, control roughly approximately 35,000,000 sq. miles or two-thirds of the world's habitable

land area, leaving the remainder of humanity in occupation of only one-third of the area. The whole of the Americas, Africa with the exception of Abyssinia and the Negro republic of Liberia, and Australasia have come under the European suzerainty.

Quite a considerable proportion of Asia, with the exception of China, Japan and Siam, has come under direct European rule or within the sphere of European economic imperialism, which has often neglected the food requirements of the native races in this era of world-industry and trade. In fact, about 900 million Asiatics are confined to only 6,600,000 sq. miles of Asiatic territory. Thus six times as many Asiatics occupy less than twice the land area held by European peoples.

Expansion of Population in Asia.

Meanwhile, peace, order, and sanitation, which have been Europe's gift to Asia, have led to an enormous multiplication of Oriental populations. The population of India increased from 206,162,400 in 1871 to 352,936,500 in 1931—a gain of about 150,000,000 within six decades. It has been estimated that China gained about 76,000,000 people between 1810 aud 1910, and now has a population of 452,000,000. Japan increased her population from 33,100,000 in 1854 to 64,448,000 in 1931, almost doubling since her acceptance of Western civilisation in the former year. At the present moment the pressure of population on the soil in India, China and Japan is enormous, though it is greatest in Japan, which is, besides, relatively deficient in minerals, having little coal, less iron and no petroleum. The flowing myriads of these densely-peopled countries thus cry for the vast empty spaces in Australia, Africa and the Americas.

Asiatic Mass Migration.

Nor is mass migration a phenomenon to which the Asiatics are unaccustomed. Apart from race migrations and conquest of the Mongols from the steppes and grass-lands of Central Asia, which had so enormous political and economic reactions on the plains-peoples of Asia and Southern and Eastern Europe in successive epochs, we have the colonisation of Java, the Malaya Archipelago, and Further India which began in the eighth century and seemed due not to conquests but to settlement of Indian traders along the sea-route between India and the Spice Islands. Similarly, the Chinese were for centuries extending the frontiers of cultivation towards the Mongolian and

Tibetan plateaux conquering and taming the shepherds and scattering patches of agricultural colonies in the grass-lands of the nomads.

Not less significant had been the Chinese penetration of Siam, Annam and Cambodia where for centuries the social and political organisation was modelled after the Chinese pattern. Even beyond the confines of Asia, the East Indian traders were well known on the eastern coast of Africa, long before the advent of the European navigator in these seas. Indeed, it was an Indian pilot who directed Vasco da Gama across the sea to Calicut,—an event which ultimately paved the way for European trade and mastery of the Indian Ocean. No doubt there were colonies of Arabs and Indians in East Africa which followed the merchants from the Indian shores spreading inland as well as northward through the coast towns for well-nigh four centuries.

Indian Contract Labour.

But in the nineteenth century, Asiatic migration was renewed under bad auspices and in evil guise. With the migration of Western capital into the tropical and sub-tropical worlds, there was an imperative demand for labour in outlying settlements and plantations, timber-yards and mining camps. Slavery and subsequently indentured or contract labour were introduced within the British Empire to meet this need, and the two great human reservoirs of China and Japan were chiefly drawn upon. The first officially recorded instance of genuine recruitment for emigration from India occurred in 1830 when the French merchant, Joseph Argaud, carried some 150 artisans to Bourbon.[1] The French possessions in India, Karikal and Pondichery, offered an easy recruiting ground and there was a continuous flow of Indian labourers to Reunion and other French colonies which could hardly meet the needs of labour after the abolition of slavery by France in 1849. Slavery was abolished in the British Colonies in 1830, and this gave a great impetus to the emigration of Indian indentured labour. Between 1834 and 1837 about 7,000 labourers were recruited from the port of Calcutta for Mauritius, which was threatened with ruin on account of the scarcity of labour in the sugar estates. Indian contract labour, regulated by the first Emigration Act of 1837, which provided that contracts should be terminable after five years, thus began to work the plantations of Mauritius, British Guiana, and Australia, where 89 Indians, the first and last batch of direct

[1] *Indian Year Book*, 1930, p. 857.

emigrants to that country, were received. Later, Indian labourers were recruited for Jamaica and Trinidad, since 1844, for Ceylon since 1847, for the French Colonies of Reunion and Bourbon since 1849, for St. Lucia since 1858, and for St. Vincent, Natal, St. Kitts, and the French territories of Guiana, Reunion, Guadeloupe and Martinique, since 1860. The emigration of Indian contract labour to Grenada and to Surinam began from 1869 and 1872 respectively. With the abolition of slavery, contract labour, indeed, became the mainstay of the European organisers of industry throughout the tropics.[1] Indian contract labour thus built up the prosperity of the West Indies, Guiana, Natal, Mauritius, Malay, Ceylon and Fiji where the plantations have been worked by Indians in some cases for nearly a century. The system of indenture was definitely abolished in 1920 throughout those parts of the British Empire directly under the control of the United Kingdom. In Mauritius the system continued until 1922. The following table gives the years of the beginning of indentured emigration from India and the abolition of indenture in some of the important colonies:

	Beginning of emigration of indentured labour.	Abolition of indenture.
Mauritius	1834	1922
British Guiana	1845	1920
Trinidad	1844	1920
Jamaica	1845	1911
Grenada	1846	1917
St Lucia	1857	1917
St. Kitts	1860	1917
St. Vincent	1861	1917
Nevis	1871	1917
Reunion	1860	1882
French Guiana	1860	1877
Guadeloupe	1873	...
Martinique	1874	...
St. Croix	1862	1865
Dutch Guiana	1873	1912
Natal	1860	1910
Fiji	1879	1917
Australia	1837	1901
Ceylon	1842	1908
Malaya	1800	1910 (introduction of dictation test)

1 For the effects of the abolition of slavery and the introduction of the indentured labour system, see Alleyne Ireland, *Tropical Colonisation*, IV and V.

Contract labour still continues in some form in Burma, Malaya Dutch East Indies and the French Colonies though Great Britain has formally prohibited the practice of indenture in the Empire since 1915. Monthly agreements are now usually in vogue ; and both conditions of recruitment and labour are supervised by official agencies. But when the labourer starts on his voyage overseas with a debt to the *Kangani* (labour headman), the protection of the law giving him freedom is nullified. Chinese contract labour still exists in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, French Colonies, Samoa, New Guinea and Nauru. The French Government has recently decided to permit Javanese contract labour in certain of the French South Sea Islands, and it is being asked for by the British planters in the New Hebrides.[1] Australia, New Zealand and Hawaiian islands had similarly used Chinese contract labour during their early stages of development, but abandoned it long ago. For nearly eight decades indentured emigration from India remained in force, and the system was associated with various abuses such as kidnapping, fraud, brutal treatment, and robbery of wages and in fact all the evils of slavery, which led to the appointment of various committees of enquiry since 1838. The semi-servile existence of the indentured labourers led also to certain grave moral evils. In many of the plantations the scarcity of women resulted in sexual crimes, murders and suicides. In Fiji, for instance, the moral conditions under which indentured labourers from India lived in the plantations were shocking. That the percentages of immorality, suicide and murder were much higher than in India left no doubt as to cause and effect. The death-rate among indentured Indians was twice as high as amongst the unindentured. " In India," says Mr. C. F. Andrews, " the abolition of the indenture system is often regarded as parallel to the abolition of slavery, which had happened nearly a century before in the West Indies and in other parts of the British Empire." [2] Whether enslaved or decoyed, encouraged or uninvited, Indian and Chinese labourers have gone throughout the plantation and pioneer belts of the world. Indians, no less than the Chinese, are found, in almost every region of cultivation and civilisation ; they are found in British Columbia, Utah and California as well as in the beaming equatorial forests of Uganda and Borneo. They are as hard-working, frugal and temperate in their habits as the Chinese ; they show great adaptability to climatic

[1] *Problems of the Pacific*, pp. 148, 433.

[2] *India's Emigration Problem*, Foreign Affairs, April, 1930 ; also Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 206.

variation, though in less measure perhaps than the Chinese, whose home environment is much more varied. All these are qualities which have excellently fitted the Indians for reclamatory, extractive or agricultural labour in the pioneer zones of both cold and torrid worlds. In British Columbia and Malay the Indians are employed in the lumber-yards, in Utah and Natal they are miners, they are tappers in the rubber plantations in Ceylon, Malay and Sumatra, while they are fruit-growers and vegetable-gardeners in South Africa and California.

Alien Labour needed.

Whatever the origin of these Indian, Chinese or Japanese settlements—whether state-aided colonisation or released indentured labour as with the Indians in the West Indies, British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, and Natal ; or free migration, as with the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian agriculturists and fruit-gardeners on the Pacific Coasts of America ; or contract labour with the obligation to return after a fixed period as in the case of the Chinese in the Transvaal—there cannot be any doubt that the alien labour was recruited or actively searched for, at great trouble and expense because its services were absolutely necessary.

Economic Conflict develops.

People follow old ruts whether they are stay-at-home or migratory. Accordingly once the migration of the Indians, Chinese or Japanese was artificially encouraged for developmental purposes, the flow from the mother-country continued until there was a large domiciled alien community under the new skies. Meanwhile the settlement itself develops from pioneer conditions to maturity. Population increases and with this the economic competition between the different elements of the population, natives and colonists, white and yellow and brown and black. Thus the attitude of welcome formerly accorded to the immigrants is superseded by one of hostility. Such is briefly, the genesis of the present movement of Oriental exclusion.

Western World's Debt to Asiatics.

It was not until the importation on a large scale of Indian labourers into the West Indies that the labour problem in the sugar plantations, which had become acute on the abolition of slavery, was in a great measure solved. In fact, the liberal conditions of contract and inducements offered to the Indians to settle in the

country saved the West Indies. The Indians similarly built the Uganda Railway, and the wealth of East Africa was largely due to the Indian traders. The coal-mines and sugar and tea estates of Natal were nursed to prosperity by the Indians, who also brought under intensive farming large tracts of land which but for them would have remained barren. The Chinese saved the gold industry of the Rand, the greatest industry in South Africa, and did much of the spade-work on the Pacific coast of North America. In the lumber yards of British Columbia and the orchards of California, the enterprise and skill of the Chinese, Japanse and Indians built up the prosperity of young, sparsely populated regions.

Economic Jealousy.

When it became evident, however, that the Asiatic immigrants were superseding or competing successfully with the Americans or the European colonists and at the same time rapidly multiplying by natural increase and immigration, the cry arose for restriction, and ultimately exclusion. To South Africa the Indian peasant colonist, accustomed at home to intensive farming and tiny holdings, imported his habits and agricultural practices and the European population in Natal, for instance, which had cultivated and had been in intimate connection with the soil, was gradually supplanted. Though the Indian's cheap fruits and vegetables became the envy of the Transvaal, he provoked racial jealousy. Further the Indian everywhere aspired to a higher social position, and became a waiter, a clerk, a skilled artisan (carpenter, blacksmith, mechanic, etc.), a store-keeper, a small trader or even a merchant on a considerable scale, thus competing with and gradually limiting the field of the white man. Formerly, the Europen trader had the monopoly, but the Indian trader and store-keeper gradually began to oust him in the towns, and at the same time continued to extend both the area and the amount of his business among the native population. From the point of view of a young colony, the Indian hawker or retail dealer who could reach successfully the natives and thus create a demand for products of civilisation among them, performed a real public service, but the charge was levelled against him that he competed with the European trader and that he underlived him.

Alien Labour in Australia.

Fifty years ago there were large numbers of Chinese miners, especially in Victoria and New South Wales. In New South

Wales they there were as many as 60,000, representing in 1887 about .15 per cent. of the population, while the Kanakas were building up the prosperity of Queensland in the sugar plantations. But the Australian labourer, accustomed to high wages, feared economic defeat from his Chinese competitor. The Australian ports are within easy sail of the ports of China, while the climate as well as certain branches of trade and industry in Australia, such as the cultivation of the soil for domestic purposes and tin and gold mining, were peculiarly attractive to the Chinese.[1] Therefore the Chinese immigration was restricted by hasty, almost panicky regulation. Similarly, the first Kanakas were introduced in 1863 from the South Sea Islands as indentured labourers to work the sugar estates. They proved satisfactory in the plantations, and, when their numbers increased, they did not confine themselves to agricultural labour but competed with white labour in various arts and occupations. Accordingly Queensland demanded their deportation, and the Australian Federal Government passed an Act in 1901 ordering the Kanakas in Australia back to their island homes. Australia has since remained the white man's reserve in close proximity to Asia's human reservoirs full to overflowing.

Asiatics in U. S. and Canada.

Fifty years ago, at least three out of every four farm labourers in California were Chinese. Both the Chinese and the Japanese have long been the most numerous and most efficient fruit-growers and vegetable gardeners in this area, nor should we forget the Indians, who number about 1,800 in California now compared with over twice the number six years ago, chiefly agriculturists. The lure of gold attracted to California adventurers and speculators of every class and nationality, men who were by disposition unfit for the irksome, laborious work necessary in the early stages of a pioneer settlement. The Pacific Coast thus needed Chinese labour for its economic development, the Chinese undertaking in large numbers the heavy drudging work which the white men would not do. Mears observes: "No doubt the Chinese workers rendered a valuable service to the Coast also by reclaiming swamp lands, by providing labour for constructing trans-continental rail-roads, by building roads, and by promoting agriculture and industry." The first Japanese who came to California, it is admitted, were undoubtedly the best class of labour

1 Lord Cannington's *Reasons for restricting Chinese Immigration*, April, 1888.

that ever reached America. Like the Chinese they specialised in intensive farming, growing green vegetables, fruits and nuts, potatoes, rice and berries which require labour so irksome that the American farmer cannot compete with them economically. For there are branches of intensive industry to which the Orientals have been accustomed for generations in their home lands. But, unlike the Chinese who gradually disappeared from agriculture, the Japanese attempted to ascend the social ladder and compete successfully with the white tenant farmer, acquiring rather rapid control of the small land-holdings. It should be pointed out, however, that "the so-called white labourer in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendents of the white farmers and the Orientals as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals."[1] In 1921 the Japanese numbered about 111,000 in the United States,[2] and produced in California farm products worth 58 millions or 12 per cent. of the total. The actual number of Indian farmers in the United States has not been estimated, since two or more persons co-operate to purchase a farm; the total average of land owned by Indians in California amounted to 2,099 acres, while the number of acres under lease or contract was 86,340. The majority of the Indian residents on the Pacific Coast now work on the farm, especially in rich valleys of California. But, like the Chinese they had also arrived as labourers in the construction of the Western Pacific Railroads, as well as a small number on the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads. Gradually they shifted from the railroad to the farm, and the Imperial Valley and the Sacramènt Valley offered to the pioneer Indian settlers in California rich rewards in the cultivation of cotton, rice and vegetables. Similarly in British Columbia they first worked in the lumber mills, logging camps and on the railroads, but now they have started independent lumber mills and other businesses, while a considerable number engage themselves in agriculture owning the lands they operate. Both the Indians and, in a much larger measure, the Japanese, rose in the economic scale and from farm-operators transformed themselves into owners of land. This raised racial prejudice first among the tenant-farmers, gave birth to the anti-alien land laws, and prepared the whole of the United States for

[1] *Tentative Finidngs of the Survey of Race Relations*, p. 14.
[2] In 1928 they numbered 141,550 in the United States.

an active policy of Oriental exclusion. Similarly the success of the Chinese retail trader in the Philippine Islands and almost everywhere and of the Japanese fisherman in the Canadian and Hawaiian fishing industry, has aroused active hostility of those who have suffered economic defeat and explain the present demand for restriction or complete exclusion.

Racial Passion Contagious.

Racial passion does not arise unless the different races meet in competition for their daily bread. The Negroes do not engender any fear or dislike in Africa or West Indies, but only in the south-eastern belt of the United States, where coloured labour competes with white. Racial passion, again, when once aroused is contagious. It easily spreads from the frontiers of civilisation to old settlements, from the young colony to the mother country and *vice versa*. The resentment felt against the growing Indian, Chinese or Japanese communities spread from Natal to all the States of South Africa, from California to all the States comprising the United States, from North to South America and from Australia to New Zealand. In each case the economic competition and conflict were the chief motives, but these are everywhere rationalised into the demand for the protection of the standard of living of white labour, for the maintenance of purity of white blood, for the preservation of white civilisation as a small minority among coloured humanity. All these demands, often labelled as "reasons" for oriental exclusion whether in America, South Africa, or Australasia, have fed the doctrine of superiority of the white races, of which America stands to-day as the most ardent champion. The intrinsic superiority or inferiority of races is a myth which has been exploded by anthropology and social psychology.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EARLY INDIA AND THE PACIFIC

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WHEN a person is known only in his maturer years with a familiar moustache or a whisker, is it possible to recognise his features from a photograph of his earlier days when he was but a babe in arms? But once we are told of the identification, the familiar lineaments begin to be detected and we recognise a thousand and odd traits of expression which through all the changes unmistakably betray the features of infant days. Such was the first impression that sent a rude shock through me when I came in contact with the real Polynesian through the externals of his modern Americanised or Anglicised habiliments.

When my fairer Sindhi friend and countryman in Honolulu said that with an ukulele (Hawaiian guitar) I would be undistinguishable from the old masters of these Pacific islands, when the liftman would generally take me to be an islander and lastly when I was infinitely amused in the streets of Auckland in New Zealand by an old lady who thanked me for some gifts of some of my countrymen (taking me to be a Maori), I could feel that these impressions of the passer-by were but expressions of the scientific truth of some ethnic similarity between the races of Bengal and Polynesia. No wonder that the hoary scholar of New Zealand, Mr. Elsdon Best subscribed under his autograph portrait a welcome to one who had come from Atia-Te Varingi-Nui, the traditional fatherland of the Polynesians which according to him and the other great scholar Percy Smith lay somewhere on the Ganges.

Leaving the question of the racial correlations between the Caucasic Brachycephals of Bengal and Polynesia to the dull pages of a bulky memoir I would now pass on to another set of feelings that throttled me on my first acquaintance with the Bishop Museum and its unique collection illustrating the life of the Old Polynesians who culturally speaking are no more—all with their lands and belongings having gone to wiser ministrations of the Christian zealots, whose meek and admiring helots they have become.

I had read of the staple food of Polynesians as the *taro* and the breadfruit—imagine my surprise when I could recognise in both but our familiar Colocassia (*Kachu*) and a sort of earlier seedless rounded

jack-fruit not to speak of the familiar plantain and the cocoanut which were still their main sources of agricultural wealth. I was transported naturally in fancy to those times when the rice had not yet been cultivated in India and the plough had not yet come nor the wealth of cattle nor weaving in cotton nor perhaps any pottery, and the foodstuff consisted of these humble produces cultivated by the hoe with nothing but the domesticated hen and the pig. I naturally remembered the finding of ethno-botanists that the taro and the banana as also the domesticated fowl had probably originated in India or more correctly on the eastern borders of Bengal and Burma. Linguistically my Polynesian friends had closer affinities with what are known as the Austric or Pre-Dravidian peoples of India.

So what I am going to speak about should shock nobody for I want to transport the readers in imagination to those times when the Pre-Dravidian and the Dravidian elements had not yet been driven underground though the migration of the Caucasic brachycephals had already begun—times perhaps treasured in the folk-lore of Bengal of its 'Sinhal-Vijaya' or its 'Dhanapati sadagar' when its colonists and traders would be of mingled types.

It was Rivers who had pointed out how we could disentangle the knotty social history of India and China from Indonesia and of the latter place from Melanesia and Polynesia. Radcliffe-Brown had also made the interesting suggestion that the kinship terminology of India, Melanesia and Polynesia comparatively studied would give one the impression that out of a common system these varieties had forked out in the remote past and herein also might lie some clues to the origin of the Indian caste-system.

Thus it is that the comparative studies of the social structures of Polynesia yielded some important clues as to the possible lines of social stratification in the dim past of my motherland. Morgan, the father of social anthropology, had made the great discovery that the terms of relationship of a people often retained traces of its past customs specially of those who possessed what he called the classificatory system of terminology. By that he meant that the term of relationship would not be as amongst us descriptive of the family connection but would stand for a class of relations. An example would bring it home to us. We all know that in the south people marry the maternal uncle's daughter. Now we in Bengal call our maternal uncle mama—the Tamils also call him mamu—but we call our father-in-law *svasur* but to the Tamil generally and potentially the father-in-law and the maternal uncle are the same individual so they have the same word *mamu*

for the father-in-law as also for the maternal uncle. Thus the Tamils have classificatory terminology and we have the descriptive or family system and this in the case of the maternal uncle's daughter marriage or cross-cousin marriage is borne out amply in its relationship terms—the maternal aunt and the mother-in-law bearing the same term, the brother-in-law and maternal uncle's sons being called by the same terms and so on. Rivers showed clearly how this cross-cousin marriage system is distinctly Dravidian. This is however widely spread and is found not only in Central India and amongst Chhota Nagpur and Assam tribes but also in many regions of the Pacific and in primitive Australia.

This is being tried to be linked up to an earlier system of cruder organisation called the dual organisation in which theoretically the society would be divided into two exogamous groups—in our familiar terminology only two *gotras* say in one endogamous group or caste. Ghurye's attempt to prove this as vestige of earlier dual organisation in India (*vide* Journal of the Royal Antrhop. Inst, 1923) is unconvincing as K. P. Chattopadhyay has shown (Presidential address, Science Congress, Anthrop. Section, 1931) in his illuminating paper, trying to show the part played by contact of peoples with different social organisations bringing this about. In the course of a recent communication by our research student Mr. J. K. Bose, M.A., this has been corroborated amongst the Aimol Kukis of Assam. Further he has found amongst many tribes a tri-clan system with remarkably similar method of marriage classes as amongst the Ambrym people of Melanesia.

Thus our present studies go to show the possibility of the existence of very primitive systems of exogamy in India comparable to the dual organisation of Melanesia or the class-systems of the Pacific and Australia. The Melanesian evidence shows that the cross-cousin marriage people were later in the Pacific than the earlier dual organisation or six-class systems folk. In India also such people are found to belong to a much more primitive stratum and may be of earlier culture stratum.

One of the curious features of some types of society in primitive Australia and Melanesia (Dieri and Pentecost for example) would be the grandfather-granddaughter marriage in a classificatory sense. This is found in Type II marriage in Australia with the mother's mothers's brother's daughter's daughter or rather a cousin who is the granddaughter of a brother or the maternal grandfather. The characteristic kinship terminology of this system would be to class the elder brother with the grandfather and the elder sister with the

grandmother as is the cas ewith Bengali terms where also survives the jocose realtionship between grandparents and grandchildren. This is also found amongst many Chhota Nagpur tribes, *e.g.*, Birhors which as S. C. Roy has suggested is due to a previous grandfather-granddaughter marriage now long since extinct. If such people are matrilineal (*i.e.*, counting descent from the mother and not from the father as amongst us) there would be further the marriage with the widow of the mother's brother as in the Garo tract and in Melanesian regions of the Pacific.

Thus we might venture to say with clues from the Pacific that the earlier stratum in Indian society (say Pre-Dravidian) was one with dual organisation and marriage-classes and with granddaughter-grandfather marriage in places. On it was superposed a structure (say Dravidian) with cross-cousin marriage. In the Pacific the still later element was the fairer Polynesian as in India it was the Proto-Aryan.

Now we come to an interesting comparison between the early Vedic Aryans and Polynesians. Shades of Morgan forgive us for to him the Aryan society was just diametrically opposite to what he called Hawaiian or Northern Polynesian.

To Morgan the Hawaiian society was the starting point of social organisation without any family which has now been proved to be absurd. Further the proofs on which he mainly relied, namely the simple classificatory terminology of the Hawaiians, has been shown by Rivers to be a later development.

In any case the close similarity between the two and four caste-groups in India and Polynesia is remarkable. As in India we have the *aryas* and the *dasas* so in early Polynesia we have the *alii* or *ariki* and the common people. Similarly in the later Polynesian society in Tahiti we have the four distinct classes *arii-maroura*, *arii-ri'i*, *hui-ra'atira* and the *manahune*. In both India and Polynesia the personal sanctity of the chief and the important position of the heir-apparent and the succession to the chiefship by the eldest son of the principal wife was common. There was in Polynesia the custom of brother-sister marriage amongst the chiefs but tabooed to the commoner for the same reasons as are advanced in the Pali literature (as pointed out to me by Mr. S. N. Mitra)—'for fear they should otherwise pollute the purity of their line.' According to Karandiker there was absence in early Vedic society of sept-exogamy as was also the case in Polynesia, with avoidance of near kins in marriage. The relatives known as *punalua* in Hawaii, *i.e.*, the husbands of two sisters, and a brother's wife are in jocose relationship in Bengal without

any trace of cicisbeism either in India or possibly in Hawaii and may have entailed some marital preferential claims in early India with levirate (or *niyoga* by which an elder brother's widow could be married by the younger brother) and sororate (by which the wives' sisters were marriageable). Further if, as Mr. Chakladar pointed out to me, there was no term for mother's brother in early Vedic, the word *matula* being later, the terms of kinship in both tracts would be very similar—for the main feature of Hawaiian terminology is lack of a separate term for the maternal uncle which is characteristic of the next succeeding Dravidian (or as Lowie calls it Dakotan) system.

Thus our Indo-Pacific comparisons yield us three distinct strata: one basic Proto-Australoid and Pre-Dravidian, the second intermediate Dravidian with cross-cousin marriage and the third Proto-Aryan or Indo-Polynesian (as Dr. Handy would call it) stretching from India to the Pacific.

HITLERISM:

A GERMAN INTERPRETATION *

By DR. O. URSCHS.

MOST of the articles which have been published in England and America overlooked the basic factor of the present world depression, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty makes two tremendous mistakes, *viz.*, *firstly* that without the least knowledge and consideration of the age-old geo-political facts, inter-dependent trading areas and traffics were broken up and severed by custom barriers; *secondly* that the tributary payments demanded a unilateral flow of gold and goods and in a colossal quantity without any reciprocation on which alone the whole balance of world trade depends.

The generally misunderstood autocratic movements, which became manifest practically simultaneously in all these countries, which gradually came to be the victims of the world depression, extended also into the financial sphere. The exchange of currency notes against gold was curtailed. The hoarding of unused gold in certain countries endangered the currency of other countries; more active in foreign trade; and this brought up for the first time what are known as "frozen credits." The ever increasing custom barriers for instance in the U. S. A. and British Empire after the Ottawa conference reacted in two directions.

1. The firms and industrial enterprises in Germany which were supported by foreign loans and which under normal conditions would have become productive now became unproductive and the invested money went practically into loss, although it is still hoped that if these would some day revive, part of the investments may thereby be recovered.

2. Loans given to banks became definitely "frozen," a term which can he illustratad by a recent example. The German B.N.D.

* [The author read a paper, at the invitation of the International Fellowship, Calcutta, with a view to remove misunderstandings created by current periodicals not in touch with Germany. While putting up in a vigorous defence for the present régime in Germany, the writer was naturally criticised by several learned members of the Fellowship, both from the political and the economic standpoint. The paper being too long for a single insertion we publish below the political section, hoping to reproduce his preliminary economic thesis, in a future issue of our journal.—Ed.]

Bank had to repay in September, 1932 a loan of 25 million dollars. The money was ready in German Market, but as the U.S.A. banks were neither willing to accept this currency nor to buy in exchange for this German goods which could be sold profitably on the American market and further as the Reich Bank was not in a position to give the B. N. D. Bank the necessary dollar currency, the money remained idle in Germany and the American bankers had to consider it as a probable loss.

The financial difficulties, unemployment, trade debacle—all these go back to a common cause namely, the treaty of Versailles which, if humanity is to recover, should be revised the earliest possible time according to *sound commercial* and human principles.

Now what was the development of the German people in this difficult period? The political situation as well as the ethical and moral level on which this development took place is the same which led to the signing of the Versailles treaty. Versailles with its cold and cruel calculations would have been impossible in the middle ages; yet Versailles was not a mere coincidence. Versailles is the inevitable nemesis—the logical working but of the individualistic philosophy—that sponsored the rise and growth of the "Rights of Man" in 1789.

What then is individualism? Tersely put, it is nothing but a philosophic assertion and enthronement of the individual over and against the community. The middle ages were typical for the community doctrine, with a strong metaphysical background and enlivened by a general religious consciousness. It was also the last with universal ideas in ethics and politics. The development of rational philosophy is to be regarded as a natural reaction to the scholastic philosophy of the 15th and 16th century, which became divorced from life and degenerated into formal logic. While Pascal still fought an ethical fight against the psychological tyranny of the degenerated scholastic school, further development again went too far (Voltaire, Rousseau and Locke), until the French Revolution gave the " Rights of Man " a worldwide acknowledgment.

According to this philosophy, the only object of the community is to protect and assure the free development of the individual. Everyone has equal right on this protection, irrespective of the varying intrinsic value of personality. Everyone is supposed to have an equal right to fortune, that is to say, on a good life; naturally because with the increasing alienation from religious experiences the future life does not offer any tangible compensation for the present one. But since human life is short, nobody has time to wait;

everyone must have the means to a good life and quickly. This psychological hankering for quick realisation develops in politics that characteristic shortsightedness, which puts at discount the chance of a consolidated policy pointing to the remote future. The present age has ceased giving us great men as nobody now has got the leisure to become great.

However, the phrase " individual rights " is a contradiction in terms. An individual has no innate rights. Robinson Crusoe on the island had no " rights." For " rights " always pre-supposes at least a second individual. " Rights " therefore is but a set of relations between different individuals. In other words it has its origin and existence in community. Now the materialist of the present age lacks this perspective; our present day ethics is in no better position. This is shown very definitely particularly in the economic life; the producer falls back behind the pedlar ; not the peasant who depends on God and fate for his crops; not the inventor who works for the next generations; not the enterprising man who designs and develops large-scale works and determines the future and gives to thousands the bread and water ; and who consequently serves the community truly. But who rules our to-day's life, but the trader who is in no way connected with the mother soil, who wants only personal gains. He is the principal man of our days. A recent philosopher in Germany, Jung, states: One does not work any more to live, but one lives to make money. The pedlar instinct has been enthroned in all departments of human life.

This outlook on life explains the unhealthy pacifism of our days. As the individual fortune is the only object of live, one is too cautious to put this life on the stakes. To the individualist, the individual alone is the supreme reality; and it must be preserved at all costs. The sacrificial death has lost its vision. Whoever does not possess his own soil, does not die for it. And whoever does not know a fatherland does not fight for its life and preservation.

This unhealthy outlook again is most distinct in the various political parties. More or less all political parties not only in Germany but everywhere else, are in the grip of it. The German National Party tries in a reactionary way to bring back the golden age of Junkerdom and caste domination, but they forget that world history has already moved beyond that stage. The People's Party is said to fight for the interests of the small and big investors. The Central Party with its allegiance to Catholicism endeavours to earn for itself also the secular power through

exclusively directing the schools and other educational departments, Christian Trades Union, etc. The Democrats, the unworthy epigones of the classical democracy of 1848, are nothing but a camaflouged party of high finance. The Socialist Party aiming at the improvement solely of the material life of the workers, fights for higher wages and lesser hours without consideration to the economic situation of the nation, but takes away from its supporters the best of every man's life namely, the noble pride in their own country and nationality, which to build up, these workers have played a most prominent part. The picture of the world is reversed to the slow thinking brains with the help of a pseudo-science. Typical of these so-called scientists is a German author well-known in England and America, named Emil Ludwig. The communist finally is a full-blown materialist. He denies any metaphysical connection with past and future; he denies family and nation, country and law. Paragraph 1 of the civil law in Soviet Russia reads:

> "Right is the system or the regulation of all social relations, which corresponds to the interest of the ruling classes and is protected by its organised force."

Paragraph 3 states:

> "The criminal law of the Soviets has the object to safeguard that system of social relations, which is in the interest of the proletariat, by suppresing whatever may stand against it."

It is superfluous to waste words about this kind of right and law.

Such was the situation in Germany after the war. Peasants against labourers; employers against employees; Catholics against Protestants; Prussians against Bavarians; city against the open country; landlords against tenants; they all fought against each other under the flag of democracy. They all endeavoured to help only their own political parties, tried to get the greatest benefit out of the parley; they all promised their supporters success and rewards, and they forgot their country. Nobody remembered Germany.

To discuss the immediate political results of this situation would lead me too far afield but a few examples may explain what I mean. The pacifism of the Social-Democrats led Germany to accept the Versailles Treaty, although they realised its untruths and the impossibility of fulfilling the obligations solemnly confirmed by their signa-

tures. That a nation which is not afraid to die, is treated differently is shown in the example of Turkey. The greed for material possessions, the endeavour to protect industry of the Rhine valley, brought about the voluntary withdrawal of the passive resistance in the Ruhr valley. And yet the occupation of Ruhr alone had the promise of creating a united Germany for the first time since 1914. The endeavour to give the labourers who were the supporters of the Socialist Party, work and wages, led the men who were in charge during the boom years of 1927-29 to spending of money leading very often to nothing but the erection of a most superfluous and profitless construction. Communities and districts of the various German states were thrown into tremendous indebtedness to alien countries which jeopardised the commercial dignity of Germany in a very dangerous way; and yet the programme could not after all put a stop to the regulary increasing unemployment.

On the other hand the productive factories of the old proud Germany were over-taxed by the Socialist governments well-known for their inimical attitude towards the employers. As a consequence thousands of brain and hand-workers were deprived of their daily bread. The wild hatred of the Social-Democrats against the old army and their representatives induced them to hand over Sch. to the French, who shot the hero of the Ruhr valley ; their pacifism and inexperience in political affairs led them to surrender the voluntary fighters in the Baltic provinces and Upper Silesia, so that the Reich lost valuable provinces, contrary to the intentions of some of the allies, the British and the Italians. It would take many such evenings if I took to marrating this side of suffering the German people went through. It is enough to say that whatever the allies inflicted upon their German foe, it was not much in excess to what the German nation inflicted upon itself.

If one considers that in democracy, the ballot decides ; if one considers further how very rare genial and great men are, one will come to understand that the elects of a real 100% democracy as we Germans " enjoyed " after the war, belonged to the *majority* the other name for inferiority ; democratic principle involves " the rule of the inferior class " says Jung. The rulers of the past 13 years may have been most honourable men in their private lives, but even then, as Shakespeare says, also " Brutus was an honourable man." The short-sightedness of the materialistic politician could not cope with the tremendous problems of the present age—an age that dies to make place for a new one, they did not have the time to do so.

In the midst of this chaos came the Chancellorship of Hitler. Very rarely was a man so misunderstood in the German and foreign press, so untruthfully pictured as he has been. " The Statesman," on Sunday, the 12th of March, pictured Hitler as man below the average intellect. Who particularly is Hitler and what does his movement mean ?

To understand this we must fall back on what we call the " war experience." The allies who had tremendous reservoir of human lives did not realise to such an extent as the German did. Only in Germany existed what we call a war generation which filled the trenches again and again, were wounded 5, 6, 8 times and always went out again, to forget finally all the pleasant memories of a peaceful hinterland. This generation belonged to the youth between 18 and 20, who had not yet the experience of the individualistic life of peace days, as their first awakening into life was in the trenches and unto death. No matter, whether a count, a peasant or a proletarian, all of them had only one single possession, *viz.*, their lives. They did not worry about feeding. clothing and so on. These were given to them automatically if the roads and the shell-fire lying on them, permitted. And in the trenches the uniform and the ration were all alike. The mud in Flanders, the dust in Russia painted the nobleman and the proletarian impartially with the same brush. Death became a matter of fact ; life, the most wonderful gift of the moment, could be withdrawn every minute again. Worries of the daily life which were the subject of bitter political struggles in the home country were absorbed by the drone of the guns. The materialism of the daily life became evident, and the word of Schiller "If you never put your life on stake, you never will win life" was understood with a renewed glory. The community of the field-grey comrades only mattered, one offered his life to save every one of them. They represented the nation and Germany. The young German warriors realised that they stood alone against the whole world and that it was their privilege to die, to let Germany live.

Hitler belonged to this generation. When they came home, the phrases of the politicians lost their value. The answer was "It is all well and good, but where do you speak of Germany ? And again "Who amongst you is going to die for the truth you are confessing?" "No body?". "Then there is no principle amongst you. Behold. We died and have come back to build up our now country."

In the beginning there were only a few who realised this. Most of them were in the graves of France, Russia and other places.

And there were many more who had yet to die in the Baltic provinces, in Upper Silesia and the Ruhr valley. But more and more joined the flag of the new nationalism, which adopted the age-old symbol of sun and life, *viz.*, the Swastika. As they went in 1914 to their regiments, so now they flocked from all quarters, from universities, from factories and offices, from hills and from the open country. Hitler who is called a damagogue gave them one common feeling, *viz.*, the vision of the German Nation. No more divided by parties serving conflicting interests, they endeavoured to build up a new country out of what was left. Their first slogan was "Germany must live even if we must die."

It has to be understood that Hitlerism does not mean a political party but a spiritual awakening. One can compare it perhaps with the wave of nationalism which went through England in the year 1649. The movement started in 1920 and in it joined all the organisations of those days that were unwilling to accept the humiliations inflicted on the central government. This movement deepened and broadened during the years 1920—25, its philosophic principles, analysed and enunciated by men like E. Jung, M. V. D. B., H. Stapel, A. Winning, J. Feder! but it yet lacked political experience. The unsuccessful rising in Munich in 1923 which broke down under the fire of the Bavarian police was a sad example of it. But as soon as the philosophical basis was firmly established, Hitler who gave his word to the court of law to achieve his goal only by legal means, founded in 1925 the National Socialist Party of German labourers. This name was selected because no nationalism can exist without an effective care for the social life of the people and that again no socialism can exist without first being founded on its own nation, before being extended to humanity. As in a democratic state a political goal can be achieved only via the political representation, it was necessary to organise a party. But Hitler was never in a position to go into coalition with any of the old parties without compromising some of his essential principles. This was the reason why in 1932 Hitler has consistently declined to join any government over which he had no control. The events plainly justified his point of view.

His programme in big lines is :

1. The creation of the German citizen, as opposed the hitherto prevailing Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, etc. The protection of an opposition on an honest national basis, but the annihilation of

Marxism, especially communism, the goal of which are in every respect opposed to what is considered as valuable in political, ethical and religious matters.

2. Protection of German economics in its three main representa tatives, *viz.* peasants, labourers and intellectuals. A revision of the current trade treaties which will put a stop to unnecessary imports but will stimulate the vital imports is the first step towards this goal.

3. Recovery of the German currency: (*a*) through strict economy in the administration. A part of this is the reform of the German constitution, which will do away with costly Diets, State governments and their ministers, separate offices, etc., and their replacement by an economical central government. The first step towards this goal have been taken already by appointing central commissioners to the various states like Saxony, Bavaria, etc. It is self-understood that the valuable national properties of the various German clans will be safeguarded.

b. Decrease of the intolerable interests on domestic and foreign loans and the adoption of the rates which are generally current in the worlds money market. (It should be noted that the world market changes now-a-days a discount of 1 to 3%, whereas Germany pays 8 to 10%, on foreign loans). Cancellation of all such foreign debts which are ethically unfounded, *i. e.*, reparations.

c. The state control of such banks which are already subsidised by the government. By an effective control, that part of the German industry which deserves it, can be given greater facilities, thereby leading to the recovery.

4. The creation of a German state which enjoys equal rights with all other countries in a peaceful way.

These short outlines are generally speaking the oft condemned programme of the Nazis. The question whether republic or monarchy which plays such an important part in the Anglo-Indian press is of no importance whatever to the movement itself. As soon as the country gets back its sovereignity, it will decide later on whether or not it wants to be ruled by a President or a Kaiser. For the present difficult times, this question is purely secondary. The programme also does not contain any aggressive war policy. The war veterans who are the leading brains in the movement know from their own bitter experience what a modern war really means and they would never agree to throw their own nation again into such a turmoil unless pressed to it and that also for defending the national existence only.

In our times when there is a continuous babble about service to humanity, about a pan-European realisations, about the overthrow of narrow-minded nationalism, it has to be remembered that with very few exceptions, a single individual cannot do any service to humanity, which, after all, is nothing but a combination of the multitude of all nations on the earth; but that only a nation which develops its particular properties, gifts, etc., can do service to the general humanity.

Humanity is to be compared to a family. If all the sons of a family are efficient men, one a businessman, the other a scientist, the third a priest and the fourth an artist, the family will gain in honour and in wealth. If one of the sons is a gambler and a bankrupt, the fame of the family will dimish. The same applies to humanity in its international relations. Only free nations who can develop their own gifts can carry humanity on to a higher level; but not the slaves, be they individuals or nations. A strong and a proud people will always respect another free nation. And a League of Nations based on equal rights is the only one which will have any prospect for the future.

The misleading articles in the Anglo-Indian press which discuss nothing but the possibility of the restoration of the Kaiser, of an aggressive policy against France, of riots and maltreating of Jews are mostly fed by a general world propaganda against Hitler and his movement, which has its root in the fact that the international high finance and the internationl press are alike controlled by the Jews. The fact that Hitler's programme contains certain antisemitic points, in as much as he wants to put the Jews in Germany in their proper place which they have left after the revolution by gaining an undue control over government, universities, in the press and in the cultural life of the people has given rise to the said propaganda. The anti-semiticism of the Hitler movement is built on the results of a calm racial research and simply accepts the fact that the Jews under the Zionistic movement have declared themselves as a separate nation. If this is accepted, and there is no reason not to do so,then the Jews have to live in Germany like the members of other nations, as aliens; they can safely go after their own vocation, but have no right to control the national life of the country they live in.

Never was peace more endangered than in these days. In the Far East blazes open warfare and the Russian army stands by on the frontiers of Manchuria to safeguard what they believe to be their inherited possession. This gives Poland a free hand against its own old enemy, Germany, and already Polish troops have taken temporary

possession of an essential part of Danzig, which, after all, is still a German town. The French take the opportunity of the rising national movement in Germany to cry out again for their own safety and to declare that the same is endangered as it was in 1914, and their skillful propaganda tries to bring the same nations which joined hands in 1914 again in arms against Germany. It takes a lot of coolness to overcome these days without letting the guns go loose. The world's press should realise the responsibility which is theirs, and reject articles which are prejudiced against a country which, after all, is doing nothing else but putting its own house in order.

I find myself in full agreement with men of the highest repute and ripest judgment in academic circles, when I maintain that the University must be free from external control over range of subjects of study and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from trammels in other directions—political fetters from the State, ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate repressive action of the University itself. University must have the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. There need be no anxiety as to the future of the university if a constitution is wisely planned on these principles, and the exercise of power is entrusted to academic bodies composed of qualified persons—not so large in size as to lose in efficiency, yet large enough to prevent degeneration into intellectual cliques: neither eternnally unchangeable so as to resist all progress, not nor so rapidly changing as to destroy continuity, yet varying sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of personal policies; and finally, representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past, the needs of the present and the aspirations of the future.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1923.

GERMANY THROUGH THE AGES *

By SUDHINDRA K. DUTT, M.A. (Oxon.)

Calcutta.

The rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis has once more drawn the attention of the world to Germany. The publication of Herr Pinnow's work is, therefore, very opportune. It deals with the history of Germany from 911 to 1930 A. D. But it is not a mere political history of the country; the historian is chiefly concerned with the daily life and work of the people leading up through social upheavals and intellectual expansion to the present position of the state. The book, therefore, deals with the economic, social, literary and cultural history of Germany as well.

It is always an advantage to have the history of a country written by one of its own nationals. It enables the historian to appreciate properly the sentiments and views of a country on controversial matters. We in India learn history through English books, and we necessarily imbibe the English point of view. Books like Herr Pinnow's remind us that there are two aspects to every question and that seekers after truth cannot ignore the one and prize the other.

The story of Germany through the ages has been that of a long struggle of an ancient and civilised people for union, which, however, it failed to achieve until 1871. The casual reader may wonder why the German monarch failed to unite the nation while Western Europe (notably France, England, Spain, and Sweden) were welded into powerful states under their respective sovereigns. The answer is to be found in the failure of the kings to check the powerful princes of the kingdom. While Henry VII in England brought the turbulent barons under control, Richelieu in France crushed the nobility and reduced it to complete subjection under the crown, the German Emperors were compelled to make concession after concession to the vassal princes, until they became uncontrollable. In the end one of such powerful princes, the Elector of Brandenburg (later on King of Prussia) overshadowed the Emperor even and finally founded a German Empire under his own suzerainty.

In 911 A. D. Germany liberated herself from the Carolingian empire and a Frankish Duke was elected king. After his death the Saxon Duke Henry was chosen king, and he succeeded in gaining the homage of all the tribes. "These events revealed the will of the scattered German people to form one corporate whole; they laid the foundation of the German State and may be regarded as the beginning of German history." Henry's successor Otto founded a united kingdom by subduing the dukes and forming an alliance with the Church. He reached the acme of his glory when in 962 he along with his consort received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope in Rome. Henceforth the German monarch became also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, *i.e.*, the Western Empire, while the Byzantine Emperor held sway in the East. The Empire of the Caesars had vanished, the Empire of Charlemagne had become a memory of the past, and it was the Holy Roman Empire which

* A Book Review. *History of German People and State through a Thousand Years* by Hermann Pinnow. Translated from the German by Mabel Brailsford. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 12*s.* 6*d.*

now claimed to carry on the traditions of Roman imperialism in Western Europe. The monarchs of such a glorious Empire could not be expected to limit their activities in Germany alone; in consonance with their importance they must wield their influence over the whole of Western Europe. Italy and Rome in particular had formed the basis of the earlier Roman Empire, the acquisition of Rome and Italy, therefore, became the prime objects of the Emperors' policy. This absorption in foreign affairs and the consequent expeditions to Italy necessarily led to the neglect of domestic affairs, so that the princes were allowed to grow unchecked. The process was still further encouraged by the necessity of the Emperors for appealing constantly to the princes for men and money.

"... for centuries German blood was poured out like water upon the Italian battle-fields, while the effort to achieve their distant aims made the emperors incapable of fulfilling their immediate tasks—those of uniting the German people and of obtaining room for their expansion in the East."

This aggressive Italian policy of the German kings was specially ill-considered in view of the dangers that lay nearer home. The barbaric Hungarian hordes were frequently knocking at the gates of Germany, while to the East was rising Poland—a power that was destined to play a large part in German history.

In the 11th century the Empire came into violent conflict with the Papacy. "The papacy and the empire had been raised on the foundations of the Roman world-empire." They had hitherto acted in concert to the mutual benefit of one another. But between the 9th and 10th centuries there was a fervent monastic revival throughout Europe. A wave of religious enthusiasm flowed over the Continent—a movement which finally culminated in the Crusades. The Papacy itself could not remain unaffected. Hildebrand, who was controlling the policy of the Popes, aimed not only at freeing the Church from temporal authority but wanted to place the Church above the State. "In his conception the church was set above the secular power by the same law which makes the soul master of the body." When he was raised to Saint Peter's throne as Pope Gregory VII, he soon quarrelled with the Emperor Henry IV over the question of "lay investitures." Henry took up the challenge in right earnest, but when he found his throne in danger he made the humiliating "journey to Canossa" and made an abject submission to the Pope. The conflict was finally ended in the time of his successor by the compromise of the Concordat of Worms (1122). The king's difficulty was the princes' opportunity, and they managed to increase their powers further at this time.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) of the Hohenstaufen family revived kingly power by re-establishing the alliance with the bishops in Germany and by crushing the rebellious Henry the Lion. But the exigencies of his forward Italian policy made him propitiate the princes. Nevertheless his strong personality held the powerful princes in check and Germany enjoyed a period of unparalleled peace and prosperity. With his tragic death in Cilicia in the Third Crusade this controlling hand disappeared, and though his son was able to meet the danger from a combination of princes and foreign powers, under his successors disappeared "what the Saxon emperors had achieved, the Salians maintained and Frederick Barbarossa worked into new life—the unity of the German people and their importance as a world.power."

The fall of the Hohenstaufen meant the end of the Western Empire. Nations in the modern sense of the word began to rise; France, England, Spain and the Scandinavian countries began to

develop, but in Germany the central government was split up into a number of separate states. The three centuries (1200-1500) have been called the period of disintegration; they were marked by the growth of princely power, the rise of the townsmen, the establishment of the Hapsburgs as emperors and the rise of the Hohenzollerns. The sovereignty of the princes was legally recognised. The seven electoral princes came to be distinguished from the rest and their power was further strengthened by the Golden Bull of 1356. The Emperor gradually lost much of his importance and became *primus inter pares*. "The empire became a federal government; Bismarck himself was to found the empire upon the union of the federal states. The internal government of the German States at the present day has its roots in the thirteenth century, and has been evolved from the sovereignty of princes." The princes however had no feeling of patriotism in them; their self-aggrandisement formed the only basis of their policy, and they thus proved to be the greatest stumbling-block to national union.

The rule of the Hapsburgs in Germany may be said to have begun with the election of Albert II as Emperor in 1437 and the imperial crown became hereditary in the line until the disruption of the Empire at the time of Napoleon. Once only were their claims challenged, *e.g.*, by Charles Albert of Bavaria but the Hapsburgs came out victorious in the end.

From the beginning of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th, Germany was distracted by religious strife. Martin Luther, son of a German peasant, raised the banner of revolt against catholicism and Papacy. His protests had repurcussions not only in Germany but all over Europe. In Germany religious wars broke out and were only ended by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which enunciated the doctrine of "*cujus regio ejus religio*" (He who owns the land owns the creed). Thus in Germany religious differences went still further to strengthen the hands of the princes, who were allowed to dictate religion to their subjects. In other European countries there were one all-powerful state and one religion; dissenters were either not tolerated or, if tolerated, were not allowed to undermine the power of the State. In England Henry VIII and Elizabeth established Protestantism on a uniform basis and rigorously punished any deviation from established religion, in France Cardinal Richelieu razed the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle to the ground and crushed the political power of Huguenots while granting them religious toleration, but the German emperor, Charles V, failed singularly to establish a uniform church under his control.

In the latter half of the 17th century Louis XIV of France held the centre of the political stage of Europe. The aggrandisement of the Bourbons and of France was the mainspring of his policy, and he therefore came into collision with the Empire and other European States. In the several wars German princes fought on opposite sides just as their dynastic ambition suited them. "During the stormy period between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna, the fate of Germany was determined by the ambition of the princes working in concert or in opposition." Of all the States Brandenburg-Prussia came out of the struggle stronger than before and the victory of the young Prussian army over Swedish veterans at Fehrbellin made it deservedly famous. In 1701 the Duke of Prussia was made a king by the Emperor.

The 18th century in German history is marked by the steady growth of Prussia. The Great Elector (in the last century) and Frederick the Great were unremitting in their efforts to consolidate her power. They created a powerful army and made the government autocratic and militaristic. Prussia was able to wrest Silesia out of Austria's hands and she came out

of the ordeal of the Seven Years' War with renewed prestige. The infamous partitions of Poland enabled her to join East Prussia to the rest of her dominions. The Napoleonic Wars had a deep effect on German history. A large number of petty states disappeared, only 39 states survived the struggle. This reduction was highly beneficial to Germany as it made the task of uniting the country easier. The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806 when the Confederation of the Rhine was formed with Napoleon as its protector. Some South and Western German States joined it and they declared their independence of the Emperor. Prussia though severely defeated at Jena and Auerstadt was recreated by the labours of Stein, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. Her humiliation roused a wave of nationalism in the country and Germany fought the War of Liberation which culminated in the Battle of Leipzig. The invincible Napoleon was defeated and the allied troops entered Paris in triumph. At Waterloo it was the timely appearance of the Prussians under Blucher that turned the scales against the French.

The settlement that followed however took no count of the feeling of nationalism. A Confederation of the Princes was established in Germany ; the federal diet composed of plenipotentiaries of the states met at Frankfort under the presidency of Austria. The princes began a mad orgy of reaction in which they were encouraged by the Diet.

Prussia had received large territories by the Peace of Paris and she now became the rival of Austria in Germany. All the efforts of Austria were therefore directed towards checking Prussia and drawing the south German states to herself. Prussia however laid the foundations of her future greatness by forming the Zollverein (customs-union) under her presidency.

1848 was the year of revolutions in Europe and disorders broke out in many German States. The princes were compelled to yield to the popular demand for liberal constituions. Metternich, the high-priest of reaction in Europe, had to flee from Vienna and Berlin also fell into the hands of revolutionaries. A parliament of the German people met at Frankfort to devise a constitution for Germany but its prolonged labour came to nothing.

The German Empire was the creation of Bismarck. His aim was the unification of non-Austrian Germany under Prussia. He dealt a crushing blow to Austria in the Austro-Prussian War and thus definitely established Prussian supremacy in Germany. The first step towards the unification of Germany was the North German Confederation. A federal authority was established with the King of Prussia at its head. The South German states entered the Zollverein in 1867, the customs parliament thus forming the common meeting-gound of the North and the South. In the Franco-Prussian War the Southern states fought side by side with Prussia and by their entry into the Confederation made possible the foundation of the long-cherished united German Empire (1871).

This Empire lasted till the end of the War in 1918. After the abdication of the Kaiser a republic was proclaimed. The Weimar constitution also recognised. the federal principle and rejected the unitary system. There are 2 houses of legislature as of old, the Reichsrat (in place of Bundesrat) representing the States and the Reichstag the people.

Such in outline is the history of Germany. The story of 1000 years has been pressed into 450 pages and facts are necessarily compressed. Thus the Thirty Years' War has been dealt with in 4½ pages in which Richelieu is mentioned only once. But it is the great merit of Pinnow's book that it does not omit a single detail that is important in German

history. The book is an admirable one for general readers as it is not overburdened with dates and the outline is always clear.

The history is of course not free from defects. The effect of the Polish insurrection of 1863 on European politics for example is not properly appreciated. Again, Marshal Bazaine's treachery at Metz is not mentioned ; it is now incontrovertible that Bazaine was more loyal to Napoleon III than to France and that Bismarck exploited the situation and used him for his own purposes.

People would find it difficult to agree with Herr Pinnow's views on the policy of ex-Kaiser William II, but I refrain from commenting thereon as the events are too recent and the passions roused by them have not yet died down.

The book on the whole has been admirably well-written and the general reader, unacquainted with the history of mediaeval and modern Europe, will be able to gain a comprehensive knowledge of German history from a perusal of this work. Miss Mabel Brailsford deserves the thanks of all for placing it at our disposal by her translation. It is no small tribute to her skill that a charming style has been preserved throughout the book and nowhere are we reminded that we are reading a translated version and not the original of the book.

HOW FAR "SESH PRASNA" IS A COUNTERPART OF "GORA"

——*By* RAMESH CHANDRA GANGULI, B.L.
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The genius of Sarat Chandra, the delightful story-writer and author of those inimitable little sketches of Bengalee life *Ramer Sumati*, *Bindur Chele* and *Candranath* flowered into a robust and yet challenging romanticism in his bigger volumes, *Caritrahin*, *Debdas*, *Grihadaha*, etc. Without leaving behind the real, his penetrative vision and sharply analytic intellect have pulled out of the compl ex heap of social phenomena that which obstructs the ideal in its process of being the actual. Like Tolstoy and Hamsun his courageous mind received the actual in its sterling nakedness from which others would easily shut their eyes away and looked for the beautiful and peaceful amidst the uglinesses and defects of human life. His spirit is essentially scientific in this respect, fearing nothing in the bold search for the truths of the human mind and his giant heart has gladly shared the sufferings of his creations.

The epoch-making *Charitrahin* saw him spread himself on a larger canvas and rap at the door of the literature with a bold, persistent and, after all, overpowering knock. The agreeable and modest story-writer of early days thumped himself rather forcibly on cultural Bengal and turned the currents of thought by the impulses of his own mind and the magic of his writing. He laid himself inside out on the pages of his novels and crammed them full with his own observations and experiences and brought along a trail of sensuousness in them, out of his own hyper-sensitive and subtle imaginative nature and presented to society nice little problems for solution, by setting up his doubts and questions against some of its age-old conventions. *Caritrahin* marks the advent of a series of complex novels by Chatterjee and in its wake, after an indicative flutter in *Pather Dabi* comes in a sudden break his new sensation, *Sesh Prasna* with its probing analysis of the accepted fundamentals of society.

It is now sometime back, I secured a copy of the book and went through its entertaining pages. The academic discourses running at times to tiresome length on ethical questions hold you interested and afford you a treat of intellectual fare. The ancient conventions of society, more particularly of the Hindus, are brought out and ranged and made to stand a rigid test of strict ethic as to their real worth or otherwise. The story moves slowly under its domination and the characters are there, more for the purpose of stretching the ethical principles to their utmost, for affording a fuller debate and a more elaborate and assiduous test, than for anything else. They congregate and discuss and make a perfect debating club to establish the primary truths of life's pervading ethics. A nasty expression that—"a debating club"—but yet that sticks to the group most happily, much in the same way as it is applicable to the other intellectual group that constitutes Rabindranath's novel *Gora*.

And for the matter of fact, to my way of thinking, *Sesh Prasna* bears an unmistakable family likeness to the great *Gora*. I do not

mean to minimise in the least the gigantic powers of the author of *Sesh Prasna* when I say that to me the book appeared to be to some extent a counterpart of the other, with, of course, minor differences of details. It has been represented on behalf of its author that he bestowed his very best care and thought in bringing it out. The book certainly does reveal the clever artist at every turn and whatever truth there might be as to whether or not it has any basic resemblance with another gem of Bengalee literature, its excellence is both impressive and striking.

And yet the perusal of *Sesh Prasna* recalls rather forcibly the memory of the other book. It is unavoidable, for it forces itself on you with the logic that underlies all literary production. Both have common characteristics. In both the fabric employed is the primary truths of social ethic. The little love-plays are overshadowed by an over-zealous effort at arriving at the great principles. This forms the *modus operandis* of character representation in both instances, while the two authors simply stride through the pages fearlessly, on accepted conventions of life, with a confident foot and a scarcely hidden sneer, and mock and preach for the benefit of society in vigorous, forceful and analytical language.

The *Sesh Prasna* is by no means the last, final, culminating question that might worry mankind for a true solution of life's primal problems. It is, in fact, a set of questionnaire on proper conduct in society, a disquisition into its accepted practices by the beautiful and mocking, free-thinking and shrewd little heroine Kamal by all her talks and doings. It is this dominating little personality that mocks at society's conventions and exposes their innate and meaningless stupidity and sets out her own canons of ethic for better guidance and culture.

And yet she looks in broad details but a counterpart—a female counterpart—of the hero in Rabindranath's novel. Much of the innate and offensive obduracy which gives a peculiar grace to Rabindranath's hero, is of course palliated in his female replica.

A certain bluntness and a wholesome disregard for cheap formality that give a distinct trait to Gora from the others are mellowed down to fit in his female counterpart. Both alike have an unlimited fund of courage to speak out their conviction, while the uncompromising vigour in Gora is reflected in Kamal in a proportionately steady placidity, which makes her as supremely unbending as the other, so that nothing—neither love nor self-interest—can make her budge an inch from a position she takes. A woman's instinct—always a subtle thing—is her own natural asset and sets her off at a decided advantage over the mere male. Kamal in reading the peculiar humour of a situation strikes you as a shrewder judge but there is not much difference in their methods when they feel inclined to pique the vanity of a fellow being.

Gora's first visit to Paresh Babu's house is poignant in its interest. He had warned his friend Benoy against its poisonous influence. The free association with girls who do not fail to tinge the atmosphere there by their own personal attraction of both appearance and accomplishment with a superintending mother overhead, is very much after the manner of white people and as such is loathed by the aggressively Hindu mind of Gora. He chooses a deliberate make-up for the occasion and looks as though he is an embodiment of rebellion against the very times and by his manners he makes them all feel it. He holds his own by the curtness and the uncompromising character of his argument and shatters the tender aristocracy of the place ruthlessly and mops its "cob-webby" refinement by his cutting sneer against anti-Hinduism.

It did not take long for Kamal to scent an air of superior aristocracy in Monorama when she was playing the hostess to her when Kamal was directed into their household after a heavy drenching outside. The embarrassment was obvious in Monorama and she was at a loss how properly to accost her beautiful guest, the wife of the cultured Shibnath and the widowed, illiterate daughter of a maid-servant. Kamal's vulgar pose as an uncultured, low-class woman with shockingly bad manners, was as deliberate as it was roguish and is reminiscent of Gora's insolent entry into Paresh Babu's house. Saucily she demands for a new cake of soap and, with no decency about her, tells to the face of her hostess that she cannot accept her used soap,—that she feels a wholesome loathing against such an article—and clinches the whole thing by saying: "That way you bring on ailment."

Both hold truth very dear to their heart and nothing galls them more than a lie. The sorest grief with Kamal when Shibnath deserted her was that he feared and avoided truth. The scene when Shibnath was feigning illness and was lying at the Asram and Kamal had gone there with a view to nurse him may be recalled here:

".........After a long silence Shibnath asked 'Who did you learn from that I bear no relation to you? Do people report and put it down to me as having disclaimed any?' Kamal made no answer. Presently she broke her silence as she herself put the question—'Even though I could not believe that you did not marry me, you certainly knew that you did not: why then did you not tell me so when you left me? Is it because you apprehended that I might hold you on to me and create nuisance with my cries and entreaties and would dash my head against the floor by way of a final beseeching supplication? You knew right well that, that was not my nature.'"

Gora felt immensely hurt and mortified when he found his friend avoiding simple truth and seeking to hide his clandestine visits to Paresh Babu's house. The whole was altogether too much for him and although his heart bled, he would not see or have any thing to do for days together with his dearest pal, who was more than a brother to him.

Kamal's passion for truth made it easy for her to disclose to the listening Ajit her own shameful genesis in simple naivety and naked revulsion. The sympathetic words of caution of the materialistic Abinash drew out from her a blunt response which had about it a scarcely disguised cloak of righteous indignation. She felt palpably provoked and turned suddenly to Ashu Babu and spoke rather petulantly, as though she was making a passionate appeal to him:

"Look here now and see how grievously wrong it is on the part of Abinash Babu." She pointed to Shibnath and continued on— "And he would go the length of disowning me and, on my part, would I have, perforce, with a strangle-hold on his throat, make him own me up? Is it that truth will get drowned? And shall I, who flatly refuse recognition of a mere convention, have it employed as a string to hold him with? And me to do all this?" Her eyes were glowing as she spoke."

There are various other traits of character common to them both, altogether too numerous to enumerate them all here. In the assiduity of their purpose, both do not in the slightest brook any hardship and physical discomfort. About them both there is a certain fearlessness and a spontaneous and live sympathy for the suffering poor. Kamal, tender and beautiful as she is, causes genuine concern in the minds of her friends by the way she applies herself in tending to the sick in the squalid *bustees* while Gora undergoes a term of imprisonment for fighting against the

injustice done to poor people. In them both there burns a genuine fire of patriotism. Kamal does not in the least fear harbouring a selfless youth—a suspected revolutionary—whose steps are dogged and shadowed by the police in their best approved fashion when the Asram doors are shut on him.

The external environments of the two also bear a remarkable similitude. To start with, in either case the father is a white man and the striking attributes of the two have been sought to be traced to the European blood that coursed in their veins.

The rebel in Kamal against society's accepted conventions has been explained in more places than one, mainly due to the foreign blood in her and her whole character is the direct and natural upshot of her early training at the hands of her father and her own position in society. It is this foreign blood which helps them both to dominate over the others.

Brought up in a Hindu home, under the fostering care and indulgence of a generous and kindly lady, who in the literal sense is more than a mother to him, Gora is made to betray the trait of the European blood that is in him by his robust and unflagging loyalty to the institutions which he believes to be his own, his general forceful bearing and by the fact of his being a mighty man of action, while other indicative factors in him pointing towards the same thing are his peculiar build and features, the unredeeming whiteness of his complexion and his bodily prowess which measured well in excess of the average in a Bengalee.

Kamal imbibed all the iconoclastic influence of his Christian father and, picking up her experience from an early age from life's treacherous shoals, developed a spirit of cynicism and so mocked all arrangements and make-shifts by society however old and trustworthy they might be, as being too deceitful to command respect. She was no nursery-product and did not grow up in the ordinary way with a load of ready-made set of ideas and beliefs. She came to know her world in a realistic process in many a hard encounter against it. A whimsical fate had brought her into the world and made her confront stern life quite early and with it face grim truth in all its overpowering realisation. The unmitigated practical character of the Westerner whose blood runs in her veins, helps her realise her own philosophy of life which she propounds as follows:

"Neither happiness nor sorrow is real, the only reality lies in their quivering moments and in the rhythm in which they depart. True possession consists in accepting these both heart and soul."

This philosophy of the flux—the constant change in which the world is presented to us—is as old as Buddha and Heraclitus, and revived by the French Philosopher Bergson. The real challenge is to find out the actual amidst the hopeless tangle of the everchanging—permanent or transitory whatever it might be—the sum total of which makes the reality of existence. Philosophers vainly tried to catch it and to preserve it before them, but such is the nature of the real that it constantly transforms itself into the past and lives only in memory. Kamal's difficulty lies in diagnosing the ever-shifting elements of truth in the lap of the real. We understand it when we see it as a whole in the unity of the manifold colours and constituents of the Universe and that whole view is Philosophy. Parts may deceive us, yet when we can survey the totality in its unbroken, undissipated wholeness, we may get a glimpse of truth and there lies peace for the restless spirit of mankind. Perfection we can never attain to but the spirit of perfection is our salvation.

The European blood has in either instance been sought as being responsible for all that helps Gora and Kamal to dominate over their

colleagues—mere children of the soil. I do not know if the reader suspects in these efforts a touch of inferiority complex that the White must as a rule prevail over the Coloured and must of necessity be the emporium or treasure-house of all that is bold and dashing, good and sterling and have brains that are more incisive and clear in the expert divination of truth and altogether show a character more lovable and overpowering than could be accommodated in a coloured frame.

I do not know if these instances serve only to remind him of the cheap sentiment of the rather meek Indian, serving out his life's tenure as a bondsman, clustering round the white man in simple adoration, and whether if they make him think of the crowd that collects on a public street when a European is involved in a motor-car break-down and each and every benevolent man becomes mighty anxious to receive a little behest from the white god and feels flattered beyond himself over his stroke of good luck should any come his way.

The notion, the critic might argue, is getting simply opprobious and he might jolly well wring his hands in despair if he finds that the best writers in the country suffer from the same obsession as the modest commoner and as a consequence mould their heroes and heroines in the damning casts of foreign superiority. The critic will have his own justification if he makes a show of the other product of the Christian home, Mrs Robinson and people of her ilk, who trade and swell upon the natural gullibility of wealthy Indians.

Neither do I know, if the reader feels inclined to be indulgent in the case of Rabindranath, as he is the produce of an earlier age when English education and culture had swept many a brilliant man off his feet. But even then the domineering hectoring Gora at times heeded a little check but what of Kamal ? Nothing bides with her. She is too placidly unbending.

How would her readers approve of her author in these days of national consciousness? A daughter of a European planter and an unchaste but beautiful Bengalee widow, herself the widow of an Assamese Christian and later on the consort of Shibnath—a professor dismissed from service for low morals—her heretical dissertations against society's accepted usages might again appear to some as trifle too baffling. The little she had by way of an early training from her father and the biological principle of blood giving shape to character, have been sought to explain for the evident miracle in her. But does that carry conviction? And again a critic might feel inclined to ask—"Is it that the Westerner does not believe in the social institutions like marriage? Evidently, Kamal goes one better and is assuredly an improvement on even Lord Henry Wootan in Oscar Wilde's, "The Picture of Dorian Grey." What is the natural secret in her? Does Biology throw any light on the innate tendencies of a hybrid?

But this is all simple deviation. To continue on with our theme—*The important group that hems round Gora is the girls in the Brahmo home of Paresh Babu and his boyhood chum Binoy. The ring round his female counterpart, must of necessity be menfolk. Broadly speaking, the incident, acknowledging it to be an accident, is somewhat striking.*

With Gora's own advancement in the story, the poor old Binoy recedes away. Shibnath, like Benoy, introduces the story in a quite pleasant fashion. They both introduce the principals on the stage and then, gradually through stages, sink and lose ground.

At their first meeting, Gora by his manners and arguments raises a feeling of mighty revulsion in the cultured and intelligent Suchorita who

despite this, felt attracted towards this stranger youth. In the case of the cultured Ajit, the same remark applies when he was confronted by Kamal in their first two meetings. Suchorita yields to Gora eventually and so does Ajit to Kamal. The sedate, inoffensive, accommodative and indulgent Ashu Babu reminds one of similar character-traits in Paresh Babu. Monorama is as keenly hostile to Kamal as Lalita is affectedly unconcerned over Gora. Monoroma seeks to gall her rival by winning her husband over, while Lalita seems to spite the vaunted friendship between Gora and Benoy by capturing the latter. Viewing broadly even the boorishly blunt Akshay has something in common with the blustering Panu Babu. The others congregate and feel helpless before the force of Kamal and Gora and the end comes in a mighty jerk in total dissolution in both instances.

The Brahmo Rabindranath brings them all into the common fold of the universal Brahmoism which rises above everything sectarian and ends all conflict of blood and descent, of convictions and usages of society thereby. The heretic in Sarat Chandra against society's accepted codes of living brought his story to a close by making her heroine prevail over the others who are forever badly shaken in faith.

Abinash takes on another wife, Harendra closes down his favourite Asram, the robust loyalty of Ashu Babu to his dead wife receives a rude shaking up, while even the incorrigible puritan in Akshoy undergoes an internal melting and betrays a colossal change and startles Kamal herself by making a piteous appeal to her to pay him a visit if ever she came back and to kindly remember him. The poor fellow is mightily humbled and presents his catalogue of utter helplessness with a wife with no pretensions to either beauty or culture, who at the age of nine was introduced into the family on the choice of her husband's father and has applied herself wholly to the daily cooking and the odd religious little functions that go on eternally by the dates on a calendar month, her own worship and prayer, and for ever looked upon her husband as the god of her life and beyond and refused taking any medicine when sick and argued that the water with which she bathed her husband's feet was good as a cure in all cases and if it failed, explained it by saying that the wife was destined to die. He cannot help disclosing to her the distressing feeling of wretched loneliness that possesses his mind at times.

In broad outlines and in the general framing up the two books show plans that lap and cover each other rather remarkably and if there be prominent deviations they serve to heighten the likeness all the more.

Anandamayee has no replica in the latter book while Nilima is a clear deviation and as a problem is an old favourite with Sarat Babu, who more than anybody else, has exposed the many outrages that woman have for long been suffering at the hands of society. The widow certainly presents a throbbingly delicate problem and betwixt her niche of respect in the family and the helpless status of a parasite living in squalid misery, neglect, ignominy and humiliation, with hope and all prospect of anything sweet shattered completely out of her the distance is not great.

Nilima is a hopeless tangle and while everyone will be acutely touched by the tenderness of her problem, her startling love for the decrepit and middle-aged Ashu Babu is more like an aberration than an ordered result of nature and is more strange than Harry Esmond's union with the mother of his jilting sweet-heart Beatrice.

After all has been said, it still remains for the critic to bring himself before those forces and cross-currents of culture that have formed the spiritual background of these two great creative artists of Bengal and also the manifold reaction of their titanic minds together with their own

interpretations of them. The old-world Shastric injunctions were seen by both to have lost their hold on the rising generation in whom the ever-lasting interrogation of irreverently curious youth tried either to discover the rock-foundations of social authority or to pierce the veil of the mystery that shrouds the sexual relation between man and woman. The conservatism in Gora in accepting the mould of the environment in which he found himself placed by circumstances is left behind by Kamal who never shrinks nor stops before anything as the very incarnation of feminine intrepidity. One is thus a psychological study and the other an analysis of ideals.

Rabindranath and Sarat Chandra are both high priests of rebellious innovation in some form or other, while the synthetic attitude of the former is contrasted by the love of unshackled freedom of the latter. In surveying the intellectual march of the nation, Sarat Chandra has successfully disturbed the placidity of the national mind over questions of intrinsic importance, his rude shaking meaning the birth of the new mind with new ideas.

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR *KURKUTCH* IN BENGAL

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In an article under the above heading published in the October issue of this journal Mr. Binaybhushan Das Gupta observes that the statement of Mr. Pitt made in his *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal*, 1932, Chapter II, para. 7, *viz.* " Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation," is probably incorrect.

In the record room of the Collector of Cuttackt here are 24 volumes of Salt Department Letters issued between 1806 and 1866 (the number of letters being 5,709) and 29 volumes of Salt Department Letters received between 1806 and 1859 (the number of letters being 4.694), in that of the Commissioner of Cuttack, 13 volumes, and in that of the Collector of Balasore, 23 volumes, relating to the manufacture of salt. I examined them casually and took only stray notes, and from these I am giving the relevant information in this note.

In Vol. IV of Letters, letter No. 574, dated the 28th March, 1816, there is a reference to the claim of the priests of the sanctuary of Jaggernaut for *kurkutch* salt produced from the Chilka Lake. In letter No. 664 there is a reference to " the exportation of Cuttack salt from the Chilka Lake to Sulkea." In a letter (serial No. 883) dated the 12th May, 1820, addressed to the Commissioner, the Salt Agent reported that " the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at Lake Chilka was obstructed by the fullness of the Lake and consequent flooding of the salt *char* owing to the shallowness of the bar " and recommended the opening of the old bar at Manickpatan.

In a letter (serial No. 1336), dated the 15th December, 1823, the Salt Agent requested his assistant, T. Becher, at Pooree to proceed to the Lake to attend to advances to the *Molunghees* and persuade them to adopt the *abrah* system in preference to the present mode, " for although their salt is whitish, yet as it contains sand, only the lowest class use it in food—salt of the colour of common earth is preferred and purchased at an advance of 25%" " ask them to avoid sand in preparing the *keearees* or evaporating pits—let them use dry-sifted earth or common ashes in beating and priming these pits instead of the present method of sprinkling dry sand over the clay—our *kurkutch* is only inferior to Madras Permit salt."

The substance of a letter (serial No. 1513) of the 23rd April, 1825, may be given thus below: Government did not like the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at the Lake on account of its sandy character beyond the demand of the district and Sambalpur market. Mr. C. Becher, Salt Agent, submitted a proposal advantageous to Government without sacrificing the interests of thousands of poor *Molunghees* who had no other mode of obtaining livelihood.

There is a reference to *kurkutch* salt in a letter (serial No. 2465) of 21st April) 1832.

In a letter (serial No. 3182) of 1838 to the Commissioner the question is discussed " whether the discontinuance of the manufacture of *Abra* evaporation salt would promote the consumption of *Punga*."

In letter No. 1157 is mentioned a salt named "Cuttack Juggernaut Pershaud *kurkutch*," *haul* "*dooyam*" (first and second qualities.)

Letters received, serial No. 595 of 27th July, 1819, has a reference to *kurkutch* salt.

Serial No. 4012 (letter No. 60) of 5th August, 1854, para. 7: "Chilka Lake *aurungs* situated on north-east, east and south sides of the Chilka Lake—Bhoosandpore and Hurridoss have, I believe, always produced *punga* salt, but in other *aurungs* between the Lake and the sea down to the Ganjam boundary the produce was generally *kurkutch*. *Punga* manufacture was introduced with difficulty by W. Dent in 1826, on the special condition that fuel and pots should be supplied by officers of Government...."

In the copy of a statement of salt sale in November 1834 at the Presidency we find mention, among other salts, of *abra kurkutch* and Gangasagore Solar Evaporation salts.

In the Balasore Record Room Vol. No. 22A (letters received by the Salt Agent, Northern Division, Cuttack, 1823-24) there is a copy of the statement of salt sale signed by R. Saunders, Secretary, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in September, 1824, in which we find the following :

	Quantity sold in mds.	Amounts produce in Sicca rupees.
Cuttack *punga* salt	53,000	1,99,800
Cuttack *kurkutch*	17,000	32,520

From the foregoing account it appears that in Orissa salt was produced by solar evaporation, and it was called *kurkutch* or *abra* (or *abra* evaporation salt) or *abra kurkutch*. At Gangasagore also salt was produced by solar evaporation. Owing to its inferior quality, the quantity produced was smaller than in the case of other kinds.

Miscellany

[*Italian Institute for Industrial Reconstruction* (B. K. SARKER)—*Land Reform and Cultivator's Interests in Germany* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Soviet State and the Problem of Disarmament* (B. K. SARKER)—*State Planning in Nazi Economy* (B. K. SARKER).]

ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers held under the Presidency of the Head of the Government, a scheme, containing provisions for the establishment of an Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (*Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*) was approved.

The new public corporation consists of two sections, the section for the Financing of Industry (*La Sezione Finanziamento Industriale*) and the Section of industrial demobilization (*Sezione Smobilizzazione Industriale*). The first of these supplements the work of the National Credit Institute (*Instituto Mobiliare Italiano*), by carrying out longer date operations in favour of private undertakings of Italian origin and solely for purposes of their reorganization on the technical, economic and financial sides. The second takes the place of the Institute of Liquidations (*Istituto di Liquidazione*), which is now suppressed. Each section has a legally independent existence, keeping its own accounts and owning separate funds.

The capital of the " *Sezione Finanziamento* " amounts to 100 million lires subscribed by the Deposits and Loans Bank, by the National Fund for Social Insurances and by the National Insurance Institute. This section has also the power to issue either inscribed or bearer bonds for a period of not less than 15 nor more than 20 years, repayable in proportion to the amount of the loans granted.

The Head of the Government and the Finance Minister have the authority to grant a State guarantee—though special decrees to be deposited with the Registration Court—for special series of bonds issued by the Institute whenever the Council of Ministers recognized that the corresponding operations effected thereby are of exceptional public interest.

The " *Sezione smobilizzazione industriale* " is successor in law to the *Istituto di Liquidazione*, now defunct. Hence there are transferred to it the original capital, the credits, the guarantees, the subscribed shares, the fees, the contributions, and all the privileges, rights and other prerogatives attaching to the Institute, as also all its liabilities. In addition, this section receives an annual subvention amounting to 85 million lires a year for a period of 20 years, beginning with the financial year 1933-34 —*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

LAND REFORM AND CULTIVATOR'S INTERESTS IN GERMANY

Socialists as a rule are more interested in industry and industrial workers than in agriculture and the cultivating class. With Hitler the attitude is quite the reverse. In his analysis the foundation of *Kultur* is to be found in the farmer and his activities. One of the most basic pieces of legislation under the Hitler regime has sought to protect the rights of the *Bauer* (cultivator) in the soil inherited by him. The taxation

on agricultural estates has been reduced. The farmers are thereby enabled to keep to their holdings. The sales of lands by cultivators which used to be a regular feature in the social economy of Germany under the previous regimes have automatically diminished in number. An important provision of the new Act, which for the time being is binding on Prussia, runs to the effect that no ancestral property can be sold on account of debts due to taxation. It is further provided in a general manner that no farm can be mortgaged beyond a certain measure. Besides, the hindrances to the sale of inherited holdings are defined in a positive manner. An item that has bearing on the profitableness of agriculture as an occupation is furnished in the Act by which the middlemen are forbidden to enjoy more than a fixed percentage as profits on the sale of agricultural produce. Cultivation has thus been rendered economically more worth while to the cultivator and he has greater interest in clinging to his soil than heretofore.—*Voelkischer Beobachter* (Munich).

THE SOVIET STATE AND THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

On the 19th September, 1927, M. Stalin, talked with a delegation of American workmen. Answering a question in respect of possible forms of economic collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other countries, M. Stalin said, "We are following a policy of peace and we are ready to join in an agreement on disarmament going as far as the complete abolition of permanent armies as we stated before the world at the Conference at Genoa." On the 5th August, 1928, M. Tchitcherin, Commissar of the People of Foreign Affairs, said to representatives of the press, "The fundamental object of Soviet international policy is the maintenance of peace. The proposition of our Government in respect to disarmament is a clear manifestation of that policy."

In an address on the 10th of December, 1928, M. Litvinov, now Commissar of Foreign Affairs said, "We are following this policy of peace not because of our weakness nor because of a feeling of sentimental pacificism, but because it is inherent in the very nature of the Soviet policy, because it corresponds to the interest of the masses of workers of the whole world."

On the 4th of December, 1929, M. Litvinov in a speech at the central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. explained the foreign policy of the country as follows: "The basis of that policy today, as twelve years ago when the Soviet State was born, is the defence of the accomplishments of the revolution of October against foreign aggression, the intention to guarantee peaceful conditions for the development at home of socialism, and to preserve the workers of the world from the horrors and the burden of war. The Five-Year Plan is an additional and entirely objective evidence of our pacific tendencies. We want peace to carry it through."

Since then the U. S. S. R. has carried out its first Five-Year Plan of socialistic reconstruction and is going ahead with the Second. The principles of this plan were explained at the last session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union by the President of the Council of Commissars of the People, M. Molotov. In that portion of his speech of the 23rd of January, 1933, which he devoted to the international relations of the U. S. S. R., M. Molotov recalled to his hearers "the special attention and the peculiar sensitiveness" manifested by the U. S. S. R. on questions of peace and disarmament. After mentioning the efforts of the U. S. S. R. at the Conference of Geneva, and especially

its propositions in February, 1932, the chief of the Soviet Government concluded: "In this proposal of the Soviet delegation was contained the expression of the aspiration toward universal peace not only on the part of the peoples of the Union but also of the peoples of other countries."

A last question is that of the practical value of the steady pressure of peace of the U. S. S. R. during the fifteen years of its "militant pacificism." The best answer to this question was given by M. Litvinov in his address on the 10th December, 1928, "The Government of the Soviets has rendered great services to the cause of peace since, thanks to its initative, the problem of general and complete disarmament has been placed before the world for the first time. Although the problem has not been solved as yet, the fact that it has been clearly stated will stimulate enormously both the will for peace of the peoples and their efforts to assure it."—*International Conciliation* (*Carnegie Endowment*), New York.

STATE-PLANNING IN NAZI ECONOMY

1. *Restriction of Machinery.* The campaign against unemployment has led economic statesmanship naturally also to combat the sinster aspects of rationalization and technocracy. Machinery, labour-saving as it is, has never been an unmixed blessing from the standpoint of workingmen ever since the epoch of the "first industrial revolution" in England. The intensified use of machinery and the inventions of super-machinery and higher class tools and implements such as constitute the chief element in the rationalization effected during the epoch of the "second industrial revolution" through which the capitalistic adults of the world and along with them the entire world-economy are passing, are responsible in a great measure for the world depression and international unemployment. The measures calculated to rationalize the rationalization process itself, *i.e.*, to slow up the pace at which improved machineries are to be introduced have therefore been known for some time to be an effective remedy for the present ills.

One such measure is embodied in the Nazi legislation in July 15, 1933, which forbids the installation of further machineries in the cigar industry. The installation of new machineries has been saddled with restrictions. It is to be observed that this prohibitive and restrictive legislation has reference to those undertakings only which in the course of the last few years have, cn account of mechanization, succeeded in weeding hand-work or cottage industries virtually out of existence. The losses to which the mechanized undertakings are likely to submit on account of the restrictions and prohibition are to be made good by the Government.

The Hitler measure, promoting economy as it does in the use of machinery, is not intended to be an item in the campaign of boycott against machinery, inventiveness, engineering skill, technology or industrialisation. As indicated above, the legislation is designed simply to cry halt to the break-neck speed and the reckless manner in which machineries were being introduced in certain industries without reference to the social economy of the regions or classes affected thereby. Neither scientific discovery nor technical invention is in danger, nor is Nazi Germany going back to "pre-industrial" modes of production and distribution. The control of machinery or introduction of economy in the application of inventions by the combined industrial intelligence and will of the people is itself a factor in the latest phase of industrialization and

technocracy. It is as an index to this phase that Hitler's restrictions are to be understood.

2. *Trusts Curtailed.*—It is with the same object of rationalizing the rationalization process that the Hitler regime has commenced curbing the excessive consolidation tendencies embodied in the latter-day cartels and trusts. On July 15 the law has been modified in a manner that enables the Government without reference to the Indiciary to declare whether the concentration or amalgation desired for in certain undertakings is prejudicial to the interests of workingmen or consumers. In every business enterprise the limit is being thereby set to the size which it may be permitted to assume. Big " department stores " have already felt the pressure of the law and have been compelled to curtail their ambitions in regard to the enlargement of or addition to their different sections. In the interest of smaller restaurants, cafes, groceries, etc., which were being weeded out by large encyclopaedic establishments like the Wertheim, Tietz, Kadewe, etc., the latter have been deprived of the priviledge of running the halls for food and drink. In all these instances the motive of Hitler statesmanship is not to penalize "large-scale production" as such but to proguratically hit upon just that size in business organization which is likely to yield the maximum of collective social welfare (*Gemeinwohl*) according to the circumstances of the moment or the region or the trade. One understands also that the abuse of over-capitalization or wastage involved in maldistribution of capital in diverse lines of investment is likely to be prevented by such a measure.

3. *The Control of Earnings.*—Indeed, the restrictions in regard to the use of machinery, the curtailment of the right to cartellize and amalgamate at one's sweet will, the limitations imposed on the size of undertaking and amount of capital to be invested,—all these interferences with *laisser-faire* economy are to be taken together as one complex in the comprehensive campaign against unemployment. As parts of the same campaign are to be taken the compulsory dismissals of married women from their posts and their replacement by unemployed husbands. Reduction of overtime work, the establishment of the 40-hour week and so forth belong likewise to the same complex. It is in the same spirit of finding employment for every able-bodied person that nobody is permitted to have more than one occupation. " Multiple earnings " have been abolished by law. Persons are even compelled to retire from their posts when it is found that they belong to families whose different members earn collectively more than is necessary for their total subsistence. The law against multiple earning is comprehensive enough to include earnings from annuities, pensions, subsidiary occupations, etc. Persons possessing such incomes, should they be substantial enough, are not permitted to enter the employment market as wage-earners.—*Technik und Wirtschaft* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKER

Reviews and Notices of Books

Amen: the Key of the Universe, by Leonard Bosman, The Dharma Press, 16, Oakfield Road, Clapton, London, E. 5.

This is a little book of a mystical type in which the author seeks to explain the fundamental principles of the Universe from the teachings of Eastern and Western philosophies, with special reference to the doctrine of Trinity as symbolised by the Egyptian Hebrew word *Amen* and the Sanskrit mystic syllable *Aum*. The one undifferentiated divine substance polarizes itself into the active principle of Life or Spirit and the passive principle of Matter or Nature. These two polarised factors are linked up again or "affinitised" by the original divine substance. Hence we have a factor expressing Power or Energy symbolised by God the *Father* and another factor corresponding to Passivity and Plasticity appropriately expressed by a feminine symbol, the Virgin Mother. These two factors of one indivisible Reality are brought in *relation* by a third factor symbolised by the *sonship* of Christ Jesus. These three factors of the primordial Trinity may be slightly differently conceived. For instance, the third factor, *viz.*, the *Relation* may also be conceived as the Holy Ghost of orthodox Christianity, or as the *Fohat* of the Buddhist.

These three factors of the Trinity are symbolised by the three mystic letters A M N of the Hebrew word *Amen* and A U M of the Sanskrit syllable of *Om*. The author adduces an array of facts mainly philological in support of the above interpretation.

A mystical vein runs throughout the book. Mysticism is somewhat dogmatic: it may explain but never cares to argue ; the mystic illumination is the personal inalienable, incommunicable possession of the mystic soul and can only be understood by another soul sympathetically attuned to it. What we appreciate in the author is his freedom from the narrow grooves of certain sects of Orthodox Christianity and consequently his better understanding of the wisdom of the East. Thus he shows a deeper penetration—deeper than perhaps Maxmuller—into the inner meaning of the mystic syllable *Om* as unravelled in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

The Story of Oriental Philosophy, by L. Adams Beck (E. Barrington) Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York.

In this charming volume the author presents the elements of enduring value in Asiatic culture in language which is perfectly clear and at the same time faithful to the spirit of the great seers of the East. Written primarily for the readers of the West, the book will prove of absorbing interest and possibly of much instruction to many educated readers of the East. The author writes from first-hand knowledge of his subject, and his personal realization of the value of Oriental Philosophy is noticeable throughout the volume. The discrimination and critical insight

he has shown in his choice of material and the subtle, intellectual sympathy which underlies his mode of presentation will be envied by many expositors of Oriental Philosophy. He has the rare psychological gift of viewing his subject from the standpoint of the consciousness of the East and has consequently immensely succeeded in his task of evaluation of the culture evolved by that consciousness.

The first eight chapters deal with the germs of Indian Culture as latent in the *Vedas* and developed in the *Upanishads*, culminating in the Vedanta System of Sankara which is the highest stratum of thought attainable by human speculation. In this connection the author gives his personal appreciation of the *Yoga* Philosophy and concludes with some of the finest passages from the *Bhagabad Gita* or the Song Celestial, passages which embody spiritual truths of the deepest moment and attainable only by the higher consciousness.

Chapters IX-XII give an account of the life of the Buddha and his Great Teaching about the way to Salvation. The trend of this philosophy, *viz.*, the emphasis it lays on the ethical aspect of life, is well brought out. The author finds that in fundamentals, the philosophy of the Buddha is not different from that of the *Upanishads.*

Chapter XIII gives a very interesting account of Tibetan teaching on Life after Death. It illustrates how the thought-forms originated by our *Karma* in this life determine for us the kind of future existence which is in conformity with those thought-forms. It presents, in a way perfectly rational, the occult side of the Buddhism.

Chapter XIV presents the emotional mysticism of Persia, *viz.*, the idealistic system known as Sufi-ism whose deepest conclusion runs parallel to that of the *Vedanta.*

Chapters XV-XVIII are devoted to the Philosophy of Chinese thinkers and the Social Organisation of China. The philosophy of Confucius was of a practical type concerned with social and political ends. Based as it is on the reverence for ancestors and on the necessity of conforming to the right observances in all social intercourse, the philosophy of Confucius has been responsible for the stability and conservation of the social organisation of China through long ages. In this connection the author instances two Chinese thinkers, Lao Tse and Chuang Tsu, who reached, probably quite independently of the Upanishadic thinkers, the mystical heights of the *Vedanta.* Chapter XXIX dwells upon Buddhist thought and art in China and Japan.

The concluding chapter entitled "Prophecy" gives a forecast as to the influence of Asiatic Culture, particularly the Culture of India—on Europe (Europe including America). The prophecy runs thus:

Europe will never profess one of the great Asiatic faiths, *e.g.*, Vedantism or Buddhism. Such labels will probably disappear even in Asia, and the human mind will become more and more eclectic assimilating the best from all. "But since these great faiths are bridges, not barriers, I believe, they will encourage the passage of the thought of mankind across all the frontiers of faith."

"In all such matters India must lead the world for she made spiritual exploration her chief pre-occupation, and knowing where others guessed, charted the ways. Now that the narrow theology of the Jews is passing away, and a new aspect of Christianity developing in the West, I believe it will tend more and more to identify itself with the great Vedantic teachings, and the Utilitarian philosophies of Europe will plume themselves with the wings of the Himalayan eagles."

But no analysis, however detailed, will give an adequate idea of the contents of this book. It must be read very carefully and also sympathetically if the reader would understand and appreciate it. We

therefore heartily commend the book to the notice of all serious students of Oriental, particularly Indian, philosophies.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum, by T. H. Gravely, D.Sc., and T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., of the Government Museum, Madras: being Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Pt. 2: Madras Government Press, 1932, Royal 8vo, pp. 144+32 half-tone plates. Price Rupees Five and Annas Eight.

Making images in metal is one of the distinctive artistic crafts of India which has had a vogue practically all over the land, although it was only in the extreme north, Nepal, and in the extreme south, in the Tamil land particularly, that this craft attained the dignity of a major art, rivalling stone and wood sculpture as a medium of artistic expression. Nepalese and South Indian metal images undoubtedly stand in the front line of Indian artistic achievement, and they hold the leading place beside the analogous metal work of Tibet (which is entirely of Nepal and old Bengal inspiration), Cambodia, Siam and Java, and of China and Japan, and can be compared with both the bronzes of ancient Greece and Rome and the bronzes and brasses of medieval Europe. South Indian bronzes however have a unique character of their own. The greatness of Gupta and early medieval art of Hindu India is continued with undiminished vigour in the South Indian bronzes, particularly of the Chola period (900-1300), and the tradition has not been allowed to die out even in our day. The mysticism of Hinduism, the cosmic and abstract as well as individual and intimate conceptions behind the figures of the Hindu deities, may be said to find their culminating expression in some of the South Indian bronzes. The depth and the sublimity, the strength and tenderness, the symbolism and the personal character that are present in the figures Siva and Uma, of Vishnu and Sri as outlined in literature—Sanskrit and Tamil—have been worthily rendered in form in these South Indian bronzes, after the stupendous sculptures of the Gupta period and those at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta. Nothing finer and nobler than some of the South Indian Siva and Vishnu figures, and figures of South Indian Saints, can be imagined, and one great gift of South Indian bronze work to the artistic heritage of man is the perfected figure of Siva Nataraja—Siva the Dancer —as for instance in the well-known Madras Museum image—the figure which drew the admiration of Rodin and which has obtained such a high place in the estimation of all cultured men.

These bronzes are quite numerous, and in addition to the representative collections in the Madras and Colombo museums, hundreds are found in South Indian temples and in private collections. The literature on the subject, however, is not so extensive, and, with the exception of O. C. Gangoly's well-known "South Indian Bronzes" (Calcutta, 1915) there is no work giving an exhaustive treatment of it.

The present work forms a valuable addition to the small literature on an important branch of Indian art, and is sure to be received with welcome by all students and lovers of the art of our country. It is a monograph of importance, ably written and well-illustrated, for which the authorities of the Madras Museum can be congratulated, as much as the general public which will be using the work. Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran have done their task with befitting efficiency and thoroughness. The latter scholar is a young archaeologist who has already made his mark as a writer on Indian antiquities. The monograph of pages 140 is full of

important information, and forms a good handbook to the art and iconography of South Indian Hindu images. After dwelling upon the history of the Madras Museum collection which is described in the book, and touching upon previous writings on the subject, the authors have described the iconography of the images as well as their archaeology. Following the iconographic sequence noted by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the stone images of the Tamil land, Messrs. Gravely and Ramachandran discuss in detail the question of a similar sequence or development in the bronze image also, and present their conclusions in tabular form, where the historical development can be seen at a glance. After discussing the Polonnaruwa images from Ceylon which belong to the Chola period, the authors give an account of the images and their find-spots district by district, and this is followed by the descriptive catalogue proper, in which the images are fully described with reference to the plates illustrating them. These plates, although executed in half-tone, naturally enough, form a main attraction (with many people the chief attraction) of the book, and here one will find reproduced some of the masterpieces of Indian bronze sculpture. We may mention particularly the following as being perfect specimens of their kind: Vishnu (Plate I, Plate II, 1), Srinivasa (Plate III, 2), Yoga-narasimha (Plate V, 2), Hanuman (Plate VI, 2, 3), Rama, Sita and Lakshmana (Plate VII), Venugopala with consorts (Plate X), Chandra-sekhara (Plate XII, 1, 2), Somaskanda Siva (Plate XV, 1), and the famous series of Natarajas (Plates XVI-XVIII and Plate XXI, 2), besides a few more, including the charming Parvati illustrated on Plate XXI. An interesting group is the series of images of Venugopala with his two consorts Rukmini and Satyabhama. They have been discovered comparatively recently, and are not so widely known: in the tall *svelte* figures of Krishna and his consorts, in some points of dress and ornamentation, as well as their general style they appear rather different from the common South Indian images we know. They have been found in Guntur district, which is within the Telugu country, and were evidently executed by Telegu-speaking artists. The contribution of the Telegu people (whose ancestors created Amaravati) to the art of India in general and of South India in particular has not been enquired into, and we hope some scholar in the Andhra-land will take up the question soon.. Some fine old paintings by Telugu paintersa re among the artistic treasures of the Madras Museum, and in all likelihood in these beautiful Venugopala images we have to note a distinctcontribution of the Andhra people to the medieval art of India.

This Bulletin adds to our knowledge of Indian art, and provides us with a very acceptable series of reproductions. We hope it will have its proper recognition among scholars and art-lovers, and we look forward to similar other bulletins coming out of the Madras Museum in the near future, enhancing the reputation of its officers in the scientific world.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The Garden of the East, by N. V. Thadani. Published by the Bharat Publishing House, Karachi, pp. 127.

In this volume Mr. Thadani has tried to reproduce the spirit of Persian poetry of a glorious epoch in English verse composed by himself. There are great names in the history of Persian poetry and, though their works are not quite similar in all respects, there is nevertheless a well-recognisable under-current of thought and feeling in most of them. Their literary devices, imagery and *motif* are almost identical in consequence. The arrangement of a book of verse or prose into a series of 'Gardens,' for example, was common amongst Persian writers;—Sa'di's *Gulistan*

(Rose Garden) and *Bustan* (Orchard), Mu'in-uddin Jawini's *Nigaristan* (Picture Gallery) and Jami's *Baharistan* are well-known illustrations, and Mr. Thadani is probably indebted to this tradition for this title of his book of poems. But apart from extrinsic matters like this, the soul of a large body of Persian poetry of this age is to be traced to the form of mystical philosophy called Sufism. Mr. Thadani has attempted to introduce to readers of English poetry the best of the Sufi poets—Rumi, Hafiz, Jami and Zeb-un-nissa, a daughter of Emperor Aurangzebe, but he has not forgotten the philosophical sceptic Omar Khayyam, the great epic poet Firdausi, the romantic story-teller Nizami, the greatest dialectic poet of Persia, Sa'di, and the two famous Indian writers of Persian verse, Amir Khosrou and Urfi.

Mr. Thadani's pomes are not, as he himself points out, translations. He has tried in his own way to recreate the spirit and the outlook of each of these poets. He has certainly a grasp of the technique of versification and the ample variety of his verse-structure is highly creditable to him. Clearness of thought and an easy flow of expression are his most remarkable characteristics. He has also the poet's ear for music and a genuine poetic faculty. The difficulties he had to contend with were considerable, and it is no disparagement of his abilities to say that he has not been able to overcome them all. The range of poetry he has tried to revive for the modern reader is considerable and the main note of no two poets is ever the same. There are suitable and nice distinctions between poets of the same school and there is also difference between the styles and thoughts of the same author at different stages of his literary career. To take the case of Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the greatest Sufi poet of Persia, the gulf that separates the *Masnavi* from the *Divan* is wide enough. The former, as has been pointed out by critics is like a majestic river, calm and deep, while the latter is a foaming torrent that leaps and plunges in the ethereal solitudes of the hills. Again, Rumi has to be distinguished from Hafiz, another great Sufi poet who is described by Fitz Gerald as the most Persian of the Persians, the most intensely lyric poet of Persia whose style is flawless with its music, delicate rhythm and the beat of the refrain. It is impossible to reproduce such suitable distinctions through the medium of a foreign tongue and Mr. Thadani is here certainly entitled to indulgence. What he has achieved is not inconsiderable and has laid lovers of poetry under a deep obligation to him.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

The Text-book of Modern Indian History, by S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Dip.Ed. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of Indian History, Patna College, and K. K. Dutta, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer, Patna College. Demy 8vo, xvi + 227 + 176 and *f.* in two parts. Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932.

This volume of nearly 400 pages, divided in two parts, written by Dr. S. C. Sarkar and Mr. K. K. Dutta proposes to give us an account of the great happenings in India during the period which extended from 1526 to the administration of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal. The first part divided into four chapters, each one divided into several sections, discusses the beginnings of the Modern Age in India, the political condition of India at the time of Batmis invasion, the rule of Sher Shah, the consolidation, expansion and the zenith of the Mughul Empire, Mughul Imperialism, the relations between the Mughuls and the Marathas, Sikhs and Jats. In the second part we have the account of the advent of European traders in India, the history of the rivalry of the

English and the French, the break-up of the Mughul Empire and the gradual rise of the East India Company as an Indo-British power.

The object of the authors in writting the book has been to draw up a college text-book of Indian History 'comparatively free from inadequate documentation,' 'persistence in formal chronological presentation of matter' and the 'neglect of critical historical judgment.' In respect of the first two objections they have been eminently successful. The average student would get useful information within the narrow compass of this volume and an amount of material which can only be obtained in voluminous treatises which describe in detail the events of a particular reign or centre their attention upon one particular topic or event. The innumerable references to original works at the bottom of every page, helps the more intelligent or inquisitive student to go to the original sources or the most up-to-date contribution of recent researchers. In regard to critical judgment much is to be said in favour of the book, though there is room for differences of opinion on many topics. Thus the attempt to regard 1526 as a landmark in Indian History and to mark the dawn of the modern age in India and to find a connection between the activities of Indian religious teachers and the teachers of the Reformation, is rather unsubstantiated by facts. In regard to the estimate of Sivaji (pp. 194-198) the authors' summing-up is unbiassed and fair, though this cannot be said to be the same in regard to that of Aurungzeb. The authors have carefully pointed out the merits and demerits of that great Emperor but while they describe him as a 'colossal failure' or the 'worst terrible ruler of an empire composed of many creeds and races,' they got out of their way to denounce a man without enquiring into the real causes of the downfall of the Mughul Empire. Similarly in their estimate of Warren Hastings, the authors are to be complimented when they point out the absence of foresight in him and his lack of scruples, but much of the value of their criticism is taken away when they attempt to justify his action on the ground that 'hardly a dominion was built but by some measure of it.'

On the whole, the book is well written and will serve the purpose of those for whom it is intended. The reader gets a fine narrative written in a clear style and in easy language and we recommend it to every student of Indian History.

N. C. B.

A Brief History of Sanskrit Literature (Vedic and classical) by Kokileswara Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A., published by U. N. Dhar & Co., 58, Wellington Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee one and annas eight only.

We have read this book with great pleasure. Though it professes to be a summary of the standard works of Macdonell, Keith and Winternitz and others on the subject, it gives much new information and is quite up-to-date. Not only does the book give a birds'-eye view of all the departments of Sanskrit literature, but it has separate chapters on Foreign Relations and Dynasties of India and a brief account of Ancient Indian Dynasties which will be read with pleasure and profit by students and laymen alike. In the chapter entitled Chronological Notices of Sanskrit Authors and their Works, all the important authors and their works from the second century B. C. onwards have been mentioned. This book written in a very clear style, avoiding needless controversies and presenting only the salient facts of the History of Sanskrit literature—classical, epic and Vedic—is eminently fitted to be prescribed as a text-book for the B.A., candidates of the Indian Universities. Prof. Sastri deserves the thanks of the student community for this excellent

volume aud we are confident this book will be extensively used by those for whom it is intended. In the next edition, which, we have no doubt, will be .soon called for, we hope the learned author will make use of diacritical marks which will be of immense help to the reader in pronouncing the names.

K. C. CHATTERJEE

Gleanings

THE ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRATIC CIVILISATION: THE PRIMARY CAUSE

Democracy to-day seems to be on its last gasp. An extraordinary slump has overtaken not only Liberalism, but individual liberty and democracy. They have been replaced over a large part of the world by the very essence of barbarism and dictatorship. What is the reason of this violent reaction of the present? How is one to explain the sense of frustration which has come over the democratic world at the very moment of liberty's greatest victory? The Marquess of Lothian makes an illuminating attempt in the pages of the "Contemporary Review" to find out a probable reason of the eclipse of democratic civilisation.

"The ultimate cause of these things, I venture to think, is just one thing—international anarchy. It is not that the principles of liberty are wrong or out of date, that mankind has outgrown them, that they are not the best foundation for human progress, but that at present it is impossible to develop or even to apply them either in politics or in economics, because of anarchy among the nations. Most people, no doubt, will give a formal assent to the thesis that our troubles are largely caused by the anarchy of the modern world and by the excessive nationalism, political and economic, to which it gives rise. But I am not sure that everybody realises how far-reaching are its effects and that it is impossible to get rid of our troubles until it is overcome. Liberty and anarchy have always been incompatibles. Anarchy has always meant the temporary triumph of violence or dictatorship. We see it in the rise of violence and dictatorship on every side to-day. Liberty has only flourished as anarchy has been replaced by the reign of law.

"But why, it may be asked, has international anarchy suddenly become so much more fatal to a free civilisation than it was in the nineteenth century? It is partly, of course, because of the prodigious shrinking of the globe since the beginning of this century, through the motorcar and the aeroplane and wireless, so that the consequences of anarchy for the world as a whole are as fatal to-day as were the consequences of anarchy for America between 1781-1789, for the British Isles before the Unions, and for Germany before Bismarck. But it is mainly because during the Victorian era there was a peculiar combination of circumstances, which temporarily obscured the effect of the underlying anarchy and gave the post-Reformation world a temporary respite from war. These circumstances were exhaustion after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the extraordinary predominance of Great Britain as a world power, and world free trade—circumstances which made both for international peace and for unprecedented world economic expansion. But this

condition was an inherently unstable equilibrium. It has been gradually undermined by the rise of rival world powers, by new methods of transportation and communication and by the growth of national protection. It crashed in ruins in 1914, as every system, ultimately based on anarchy, is bound to crash in ruins.

"The Great War was the inevitable consequence of international anarchy, and it is that war which has been the immediate cause of the intensification of nationalism both in politics and economics, the excessive burden of debt, the decline of democracy and liberty, the rise of the dictatorships, the nightmare of fear and resentment which broods over the world. And it must be perfectly obvious to every thinking person to-day that if the present anarchy continues the competition in armaments will revive, military alliances will replace covenants to renounce war, democracies will increasingly give place to dictatorships, domestic freedom will more and more disappear under the pressure to be prepared and powerful in case of war, the international obstructions to trade and intercourse will multiply, and that war, made far more terrible by aeroplane and gas, will eventually break out both in Europe and the Far East, and gradually engulf the whole world.

"This is not said in any spirit of pessimism. Quite the reverse. We are slowly being driven, by suffering, disaster and frustration, as well as by foresight and wisdom, to see that the only way in which nations can avoid constant and recurrent war and preserve a free civilisation is by ending international anarchy, and that means bridging nationalism with some new form of federation. Nothing short of the principle of federation—the creation of a common government for common purposes—will end in anarchy. Nothing short of it will end that malaise which exists to-day in the conflict of loyalties which finds expression, for instance, in the famous pacifist resolution of the Oxford Union—a conflict which will only be resolved when pacifism is seen to mean. not a mere negative opposition to the bloody and senseless destruction of war, but positive loyalty to world law and world government, complementary to, and not conflicting with, loyalty to national law and national government.

"I do not mean by this that world federation is in sight to-day. What I mean is that we shall only begin to escape from the paralysis in which we stand when we face the fact that the League of Nations, good as it may be as an interim step, is not and cannot be enough, and that the essential and vital step out of anarchy, is that progressive and democratic nations should be prepared to federate with other like-minded civilised nations, pool their armaments, and create a common economic system within the union. Then our thinking will become really constructive once more. M. Briand, and many others, have thought that a federation of Europe was the only cure for Europe's ills. It may be that the free nations may be forced to some form of federation as the only method of resisting a continuation of dictatorships. It may be that the British Commonwealth or the English-speaking world may point the way. It may start large or small and grow by accretion. The vital condition is that the union should not be based on religion or race, but should include nations which have been sovereign and diverse races and peoples."

MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST AND INFLUENCE ON HINDUISM

In a monograph on India included in " The Open Court " (devoted to the science of Religion, Religion of science and the extension of the

Religious Parliament Idea) appears the following on the *Influence of Muhammadan Conquest on Hinduism.* In a brief compass, the author brings out very ably the religious action and reactions following the Muhammadan invasion.

"Islam never uprooted or transformed Hinduism, and Hinduism has never been able to absorb Islam. Islam was forced, against its declared policy of giving no quarter to the Infidel, to compromise with Hinduism. Except in the case of Sikhs no real fusion ever took place between Islam and Hinduism. The Sikhs, who number about three millions, began in the Punjab as a puritanical, reforming religious sect whose doctrines contained both Hindu and Muhammadan elements. Theistic in tendency they rejected image worship and caste and the Brahman priesthood, they refused to accept either the *Koran* or the sacred books of the Hindus, and compiled a sacred book of their own, the *Granth*. Muhammadan persecution transformed them into an armed sect, a church militant, and eventually into a nation and a political power. They have always remained independent of Islam and of Hinduism, but with increasingly greater leanings toward Hinduism than towards Islam.

"Large numbers of Hindus, many forcibly, were converted to Islam. Islam is strongest and most vigorous in the north-western part of India, although more than half of the population of Bengal is Muhammadan. The policy of forcible conversion seems to have been stronger there than anywhere else. In the Deccan where persecution was particularly severe, in spite of frequent attempts by the Muhammadan ruler to exterminate the Hindu population, the population continues to be Hindu in the main. It is doubtful whether more than ten per cent. of the present eighty million Muhammadans are descendants of Muhammadan invaders. Hinduism has always maintained an intransigent attitude towards Hindus who have been defiled through conversion, even though that defilement was involuntary. Only recently has there developed a more liberal policy which might allow converted Hindus to be received back into the fold.

"The three centuries of Muhammadan conquest resulted in great destruction of Indian art and architecture, and of Hindu and Buddhist manuscripts, and the virtual annihilation of the old Hindu nobility and ruling class except in Rajputana. The four centuries of Muhammadan rule left little that was really constructive. Moreland remarks of the Muslim empire in India, " Its worst incidents were the repression of individual energy, and the concentration on a barren struggle to divide, rather than to increase the annual produce of the country. This was the '*Dramudra Hereditas*,' the legacy of loss, which Moslem administration left to their successors, and which is so far from final liquidation." Lane-Poole remarks that the most important effects of Muhammadan rule have been the formation of a new vernacular (Urdu which is a fusion of Hindi with Persian and Arabic and Turki elements), a new architecture and art, a few provinces which are still under Muslim rule, and a large Muslim minority which forms such a difficult element in the present political situation."

AIR TRANSPORT AND SPREAD OF DISEASE

Julian Huxley, the celebrated scientist, contributes to the pages of "The Modern Thinker, " a timely and provoking article on the above

subject. The applications of science, he seems to say, need not always benefit us. Sometimes the changes they bring about may lead to serious harm. Improved methods of transport has facilitated the growing spread of diseases, and airplanes in particular is a menacing carrier of such calamities. "Too often the harm is not recognised until after the event, but sometimes it can be foreseen, and then it may be possible to guard against it. The only trouble is that the people who foresee the harm are generally not the people whose business it is to guard against it." He continues:

"The spread of yellow fever is a case in point where we can see possible harm ahead. Pure medical science, just over thirty years ago, showed that yellow fever is transmitted by a particular brand of mosquito. Applied medical science, aided largely by Rockefeller funds, proceeded to take advantage of this knowledge and clean up a number of the world's yellow fever centres, banishing the disease outright from some, and reducing it in others. Now comes another branch of applied science, in the form of improved transport facilities in general and airplanes in particular, and threatens to spread the disease to regions which it has never yet reached, but where all the conditions are set for its blazing through crowded populations like a flame through dry stubble. But meanwhile the knowledge supplied by medical science has made it possible for us to foresee the danger and, if we choose, to prevent it.

"So far it has not managed to gain a foothold in the great continent of Asia. But that it might manage to do so is the danger now threatened by the improved methods of transport. All that is needed is the introduction of a few human beings carrying the parasites in their blood. The other link in the chain of the disease is already there; the yellow fever mosquito abounds through the warmer parts of the Asiatic continent. If the parasite once gained a footing, conditions are appallingly favourable for its rapid spread. For one thing, it has now been discovered that other creatures besides man, notably many kind of monkeys, can take the disease. Then the human population in many parts, such as India and China, is much denser than in the original home of the diseases; most of the people are illiterate, live unhygienic lives, and are full of superstitions and prejudices which would make quarantine or any proper measures of mosquito-control extremely difficult. Asia, in fact, is rather like a powder magazine waiting for a spark. If the disease did arrive, and began to spread, it is hard to see what would prevent its causing one of the most devastating epidemics in human history, before which the Black Death and the Spanish influenza might well come to look insignificant. Luckily the sea voyage from any infected area is too long for patients to remain infective to mosquitoes, and on modern ships water is no longer carried in open butts where mosquitoes can breed. The chief danger seems to lie in the possible spread of the disease across the African continent from west to east and thence by easy stages in native vessels along the coast to India.

"The greater degree of human movement due to the encouragement of trade, is already having its effects. In the years since the War, yellow fever has already spread about eight hundred miles further inland from the west coast. There still remains a huge tract of jungle for it to pass before it reaches the more populous open country of East Africa; but motor roads and air lines are coming into use everywhere, and these are a real danger. Not only do they make it much more likely for human yellow fever carriers to get across, but they give new opportunities to the mosquitoes. Mosquitoes like shady places and the interior of a closed car or an airplane offers an attractive refuge.

"It is worth trying to imagine what might happen if yellow fever really got a hold in India or China. The disease seems to be at its most virulent when it attacks a population which has not previously been exposed to it. It is not uncommon for four out of every five patient to die, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1898, out of every twenty who took the disease, only one escaped. Proper treatment can reduce the danger, but proper treatment is not likely to be available in remote Asiatic villages. Strict quarantine can prevent it from spreading, but, in many parts of Asia it is not likely that rigid quarantine would be either enforced or obeyed. It has been suggested by some authorities that the tropical fever called dengue, which is rather like a mild yellow fever in some way protects against infection with yellow fever ; but recent research gives no support to this idea. This disease would in all probability spread over tropical and sub-tropical Asia, especially round the coasts and up the rivers, flaring up into violent epidemics in favourable years, smouldering dangerously at other times. Millions of people would die until, after some centuries, selection would have left a race of survivors somewhat more resistant to the parasite. Meanwhile trade would be disorganized, and white men would venture there at their peril as they did to Sierra Leone and other parts of the west coast of Africa in the bad old days when this was called the White Man's Grave, before science and sanitation had got to work. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude, and would divide the world into two sectors—a plague-stricken East and a West striving to protect itself by isolation and quarantine."

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Lt.-Col. H. St. Clair Smallwood, F.R.G.S., contributes to the "Asiatic Review" (October, 1933) a brief article on Japan's foreign policy which will provide a useful summary on the subject.

"The countries with which Japan's foreign policy is chiefly concerned are China, Russia, America, and Great Britain.

"With Russia in the recent past there has been the narvousness engendered by Japan's fear of Bolshevism and a few incidents chiefly connected with the Chinese Eastern Railway. Negotiations now proceeding will probably result in the Chinese Eastern Railway becoming the property of the Manchukuo Government or the South Manchurian Railway.· This will probably remove the most fruitful source of friction. One of the results of these negotiations will be that Vladivostock as the terminus only of the Ussuri-Amir Railway will lose its importance and South Manchurian and Korean ports gain correspondingly. It is reasonable to expect that the wide gauge of the Chinese Eastern will be altered to conform to the standard gauge of the South Mauchurian lines. It is also likely that Harbin will become less Russian and more Japanese. Land purchases by Japanese in Harbin have been made for some time past. Perhaps the foregoing may be rather outside Japanese foreign policy, but they may be amongst the results of Japan's influence on the Government of Manchukuo. If Japan's interest increases in Manchukuo one feels she will regard with complacency the downward thrust of Soviet Russia into Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

"Japan's policy in China in surely one of peace; she cannot regard with indifference the loss of her markets there. True these have been largely replaced by her successful penetration into other Eastern spheres, particularly India and the Dutch Indies, but China's four hundred millions of people, with their immense potential purchasing power, must be ever

present in the mind of commercial Japan. Peoples cannot be forced to purchase goods presented to them on the end of a bayonet, and trade must follow the flag of friendship rather than the flag of war. There is in China a movement to bring about a cessation of the strained relations between the two countries, and when these efforts bear fruit Japanese trade will no doubt revive in China proper. A suggestion has been made that Japan is prepared to give up her extra-territorial rights in exchange for a guaranteed ending of the boycott. If this happens it might create an awkward situation for those Powers who still have extra-territorial rights.

"In North China, where many of the inhabitants have relations and friends in Manchukuo, the enmity for Japan is giving way to understanding and an appreciation of the more settled conditions obtaining in that country. This feeling may be gradually extending to the centre and south of China, but it must be remembered that for the Kuomintang to stretch out the hand of friendship to Japan would involve a violent change of policy and consequent loss of face. I have no doubt that there is a section of the Nanking Governmant who would welcome a *rapprochement* with Japan, and which Japan urgently desires, but as against this there is a political group which maintains itself in power by appealing to the patriotism and anti-Japanese feelings of the people ; also there are professional propagandists and employees of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Japan's policy is to arrive at a peacful solution of their disagreements with China by direct negotiation. It has long been my view that " assistance " rendered in negotiations between these two peoples is a hindrance rather than a help. These two great Oriental peoples can surely more easily understand each other better than can we Westerners.

"There is no doubt that Japan means to uphold the independence of Manchukuo. Though it has so far failed to absorb Japan's surplus population, it certainly continues to supply Japan with the essential raw materials of coal, iron, and soya.

"Japan's policy in Manchukuo was summed up for me the other day by a Japanese official in the words, " Peace and the open door." Peace is most certainly the spear-head of her policy—if such an expression is not a contradiction in terms—but there is an uneasy feeling abroad that the door to trade will be held a little further open to Japan than to other nations. Though Japan has never made any official pronouncement to the effect, it seems probable that business will largely be conducted in Manchukuo through the Japanese as intermediaries, rather on the compradore system as in China proper. It is, however, difficult to be didactic on this point while the presence of banditry holds up the development of the country and the increase of trade.

"In 1935, when the revision of naval pacts must come up for consideration, there is no doubt that Japan will voice her dissatisfaction with the ratio of 5:5:3. How America will view the naval parity proposals that Japan is likely to make, it is difficult to say, but it is reasonable to suppose that naval parity is likely to meet with less opposition in England than in America. America may look forward with uneasiness to the time when she abandons the Philippine Islands to Philippine self-government, but it appears clear that Japan will be content with nothing less than parity.

"Japan's policy with relation to the mandated islands is quite firm in that she contends the mandates were given to her by the Treaty of Versailles and were only confirmed by the League of Nations. It is by no means certain that the League contemplates a change or removal of mandate, but it is certain that any such *dèmarche* on the part of the

League will be strenuously resisted by Japan, who will contend that her mandate can only be terminated by a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. It is not easy to foretell what the attitude of the League will be to a mandatory country which ceases to be a member, as will be the case with Japan in 1935.

"It may be said in conclusion that the more one studies the foreign policy of Japan the more reasons there are for believing that her future policy must be a peaceful one. The only way she can keep her teeming industrial millions employed is by devoting her attention to her growing markets. A warlike policy cannot help her in this direction, and her present undoubtedly increasing success in the world's markets is likely to convince her of the extreme importance to the economic life of her country of peace and industry. In order to keep the peace of the world a sympathetic understanding of Japanese difficulties in England is most desirable. Japan's statement of her own case is not always well put. The Japanese are a proud and reticent people ; facile speech and easy propaganda are not their strong points. Commercial competition does not oil the wheels of understanding, and the present loss of British markets to the Japanese is bound to make for hard feeling."

RECENT COLLECTIONS IN THE ORIENTAL SECTION: BRITISH MUSEUM

We call the following from the latest issue (Vol. VIII. No. 1) of "The British Museum Quarterly."

Two Indian Pointings.

"The National Art-collections Fund has presented to the Oriental section of the Department of Prints an Indian painting of the Mughal School. This represents the Emperor Jahangir sitting in a small pavilion in a courtyard, and giving audience. He is embracing an envoy, an elderly man, who bends to kiss his hand, At the left is a group of people, among whom a man in European dress is noticeable. Miniatures of the time of Jahangir are comparatively rare, and this, though unfortunately damaged in the lower right portion, is a welcome addition to the small series in the Department. Its interest is heightened by the introduction of the European, whom it is tempting to identify with Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from James I who was first received by Jahangir in January, 1616, and who remained in India till February, 1619. The only known portrait of Roe, in the National Portrait Gallery, was painted many years later, some time after 1636 (he lived to 1644) ; and allowing for the difference in years and a different fashion of wearing the pointed beard, one can see a real resemblance in the shape of the face and a certain spirited carriage of the head. As in the other portraits in the miniature, the artist has set the eyes a little obliquely in the face. The blond colouring precludes the Portuguese ; and though this might possibly be a portrait of William Hawkins, an earlier envoy, not from the king but the East India Company, it seems most likely that it represents Roe, who was so frequently and favourably received by Jahangir.

"Another Indian painting has been acquired as a gift from the Keeper of the Department. The subject is a 'Prince visiting a holy man among his disciples,' and the painting presents some unusual features. While the landscape back ground shows conventions of the early Mughal School and reminiscences of Persian painting, the figures are in Rajput style. It seems to date from some time late in the seventeenth century."

A Sculpture from Indo-China.

"The stone sculpture illustrated on Pl. V has been presented to the Museum by the National Art-collections Fund. It is part of a many-headed statue of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, commonly known in Indo-China as Lokesvara (Lord of the World); and it can be identified as such by the small image of Buddha in the tiara of the topmost head.

"There are five heads on this fragment, and it may be that the tale of them is complete as there is a five-headed Avalokitesvara in Buddhist iconography. On the other hand, the more usual number is eleven when the Bodhisattva is represented as many-headed.

"The sculpture is of sandstone. The facial features are characteristic of Khmer art in its mature period, about the twelfth century. Its provenance is not known, but persons familiar with Indo-Chinese sculpture regard it as a provincial piece, perhaps from Eastern Siam, and not as an example of the metropolitan art of Angkor."

Two Illustrated Assamese Manuscripts.

"Two Assamese manuscripts which have been lately acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts are of very considerable interest. The older of the two is a copy of the *Dharma-purana*, a metrical manual of Hindu religious doctrine and practice according to one of the churches which worship Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna. It is written on thin smooth sheets of wood, 23 inches in width by 6¾ inches in height, the borders being coloured red, and was copied in the Śaka year 1657, corresponding to A.D. 1735-36. The folios run to 179, but a few are missing. The book is profusely illustrated throughout with coloured drawings in a local style of art. Most of these are of somewhat mediocre quality ; but a few of them, obviously by a different master, are of real merit, and are designed to illustrate not themes of Hindu religion but the life of the patron of the book, who was no less a personage than Sib Singh (Śiva-simha), the contemporary Ahom King of Assam. The reign of this monarch lasted from 1714 until his death in 1744. During the life of his first queen, Phulesvari, he achieved a rather bad eminence by persecuting the worshippers of Vishnu-Krishna, both he and his consort being ardent devotees of Siva. Phulesvari died about 1731, and Sib Singh then married her sister Ambika. During the latter's reign, which ended with her death about 1738, more tolerance seems to have been shown to the church of Vishnu-Krishna. Our *Dharma-purana* bears evidence to this change of attitude. A manual of Vishnuite religion, it explicitly claims as its patrons Sib Singh and Ambika. On fol. 2*a* we have a picture of Sib Singh on his throne graciously receiving a copy of the book ; and on fol. 179*b* we see him on his thorne 'examining the *Dharma-purana*,' as the title below tells us, while behind him sits Ambika with the heir-apparent on her knee. Fol. 173*a* (Plate VI) presents the royal pair riding in procession. On fol. 2*b* (Plate VII) is seen a dark handsome woman, with her hair dressed in the high chignon (*jata*) affected by holy persons, who is seated on a couch, and holds in her lap the heir-apparent , she is Rajapatesvari, 'Mistress of the King's Diadem,' the guardian genius of the throne. She reappears on fol. 3*a*, where she is seen sitting, again with the young prince in her lap, and conversing with Sib Singh.

The other book is also an extremely rare religious poem, written on similar sheets of wood, which are 25½ inches wide and 8⅞ inches in height ; the date of copying is the Śaka year 1758 (A.D. 1836). It is the *Brahma-khanda*, the first section of the *Brahma-vaivarta-purana*, which is an

Assamese metrical adaptation by one Durgacharya, who seems to be otherwise unknown to fame. It is likewise abundantly illustrated with coloured drawings of a local Eastern school. These, despite their crudity, have some merit and more interest, as they show a slight but distinctly recognisable influence from Burma. A quaint anachronism in them is their frequent representation of the troops of soldiers attending upon kings, who are clad not in the garb of ancient Ind but in uniforms faithfully copied from those used by the British Army at the time, with shakos and muskets.

At Home and Abroad

Dutch Universities

Henceforth, foreign students will be forbidden to enrol in Dutch Universities and technical schools as a result of a Government Bill passed by the Lower House.

The purpose of the measure is to ensure that Dutch students are not crowded out by foreigners.

Allahabad University

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has accepted the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to address the convocation of the Allahabad University this year. The convocation will be held on November 25.

Italian University Delegate

Professor Father Don Giuseppe Capra, Professor of Political Economy and Geographical Exploration, at the University of Peruja and Rome, arrived in Mandalay in September last. He has been sent by the Italian Government for studying Burma and her resources and for securing closer relationship between Burma and Italy.

He visits Bhamo, Maymyo, Shan States, Siam, Indo-China and Singapore, *en route* to Italy.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

On January 15, next year, the Asiatic Society of Bengal attains its 150th birthday, and arrangements are now being made to celebrate the event in a befitting manner.

At 5-30 in the evening of January 15, there will be a *conversazione* in the Indian Museum to be followed by a banquet in the Hall of the Society. At the conclusion of the banquet a special meeting will be held for the election of 150th anniversary honorary members, and to receive addresses from learned societies in various parts of the world.

In connection with the centenary celebration in 1884 a volume depicting the progress of Letters and Science, during the preceding 100 years, was published, and it has been decided to undertake the preparation of a special volume on similar lines covering the period of the last 50 years. To give effect to the wishes of the Council a number of sub-committees have been appointed to arrange details connected with the various items of the celebration.

Education in London

About a quarter of a million Londoners mostly, but not all of them, young, recently resumed studies under the extremely comprehensive system existing in the Metropolitan area for providing for continuance of education. The winter programme, mainly organized by the London County Council, offers a choice of no less than 20,000 classes on almost every conceivable subject. Most of them deal with languages, branches of science, and art, handicrafts, professions or trades, but the syllabus is sufficiently broad to include such subjects as lip-reading for the deaf and a cure for stammering. The importance of these classes is indicated by the fact that, during the current year, 65,000 boys and girls are leaving the London County Council schools and evening classes to enable them at a trivial cost to specialize in subjects helpful to them. There is no age limit to the classes and, in one instance, a grandfather aged 70 is studying in company with his son and grandson.

Agra University Elections

A piquant situation has arisen in the Agra University due to the recent ruling of the Vice-Chancellor. Ever since the right of electing their representatives has been confined to the staff of colleges, all of them, without exception, including demonstrators have been participating in them and voting in them. This was also the practice of the old Allahabad University. On a reference from some colleges the Vice-Chancellor has ruled that demonstrators and those teachers who are connected with the practical work only on the science side cannot be considered as imparting instruction and are not entitled to vote along with other members of the staff. This decision has caused consternation and dissatisfaction. A protest was made and the Vice-Chancellor was asked to reconsider and revise his decision. But he refused to do so. An appeal to the Chancellor under Sec. 35, Agra University Act, is considered inevitable.

Education in Ajmer-Merwara

It is distinctly unsatisfactory that about 50 per cent. of the tax-payers' money in Ajmer-Merwara should be utilised in providing higher education to the select few in urban towns, while the illiterate masses have largely to go without the knowledge of the three R's and the education of girls on which the future advance of the people, social, educational and economic, depends should be allowed almost to starve. It is necessary that the position should be reversed before long, says the quinquennial report on education in Ajmer-Merwara for the period 1927-32 compiled by the Rev. J. C. Chatterjee, Superintendent of Education for the centrally administered areas. The report says that out of the total expenditure of Rs. 3,39,399 only Rs. 1,67,697, a bare 14 per cent., was being spent on female education in 1931-32. Similarly the expenditure on primary education was only Rs. 2,13,900 in round figures which is just 25 per cent. of the total expenditure, in spite of the fact that about 60 new Government primary schools were opened in the district during the quinquennium. As the net result of labour and expenditure of the past decade, Ajmer-Merwara had added only 1·8 per cent. to the population of male literates and 0·9 per cent. to female literates and the total literacy percentage is still as low as 10·6 per cent.

Indian Academy of Science

A society for the promotion and advancement of scientific research in India is expected to be established shortly in Calcutta. A meeting of Calcutta scientists under the presidentship of Dr. U. N. Brahmachari was held in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, Calcutta, when it was decided that a central body, capable of co-ordinating research and safeguarding the interests of scientific workers, should be organized in Calcutta. It was agreed that the institution should be known as the Indian Academy of Science, and all departments of science, both pure and applied, such as mathematics, physics, meteorology, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany, medicine, anthropology, psychology, agriculture, forest research, engineering, veterinary research and geography—should be included in the scope of the proposed Academy and allowed effective representation in its constitution. The Academy, it was proposed, should encourage scientific research in all its aspects by holding meetings, publishing results of research of outstanding merit, providing suitable library facilities and by such other means as might appear conducive to the advancement of science in India. It is also to be an object of the Academy to stimulate research in less developed sciences and to arrange for provision of equal facilities for research in all the departments of science included in its scope. With a view to ensuring co-ordination of research, it was decided that the existing scientific bodies in India should be represented on the Academy. This, it was suggested, would enable scientific knowledge in the country to be pooled and applied to the practical needs of the people. The meeting agreed that the institution should be so designed as to command the greatest respect and influence both in India and in international circles. It was, therefore, considered desirable to associate the Academy, when founded, with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has already given birth to an active scientific body, namely the Indian Science Congress. The whole scheme regarding the foundation of the Academy will be placed before a special meeting of the General Committee of the Science Congress at its forthcoming session at Poona for full discussion.

Lucknow wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

For some time now the Act Revision Committee appointed by the Court of the Lucknow University has been sitting and it is understood that it held three meetings. It is learnt that one of the important recommendations that had been made is about the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. According to the present Act the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor after considering the recommendations of the executive council. The amendment recommended is that the Vice-Chancellor shall be appointed by the Court from among three names recommended by the executive council. This will be subject to confirmation by the Chancellor. Another important recommendation appears to have been made to the effect that the Vice-Chancellor should not preside at meetings of the Court but a person elected by the Court as chairman from among members of the Court who are not either members of the executive council of the university or members of the teaching staff.

Patna University Convocation

The annual convocation of Patna University for conferring degrees will be held at Patna on November 25.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, has been invited to address the convocation.

Carnegie Scholarship

Dr. A. Subba Rao, University Professor of Physiology, Mysore, has been awarded the Carnegie Fellowship Scholarship by the Executive Council of Universities of the British Empire. He will sail this week for London further to specialize in physiology.

Kayestha Pathsala Jubilee

The Kayestha Pathshala, which has grown from a modest school with 20 students and two teachers 60 years ago to one of Allahabad's leading educational institutions with university college, intermediate college and junior school and over 1,000 students on its roll, celebrated its diamond jubilee recently. The celebrations began with a session of the College Parliament followed by distribution of prizes by Mr. Pannalal, I.C.S., Commissioner of Benares, who paid a high tribute to the founder of the institution. Munshi Kaliprasad thanked the Minister for Education and the Director of Public Instruction for their sympathetic attitude towards the institution and called on students to qualify themselves in order to solve the big problems facing the country, chief among them being the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturist, alleviation of distress among the uneducated and the unemployed and the future of women. The Educational Exhibition was opened by Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, who said that as an educationist he wanted to see in students initiative, courage and self-reliance. The Kayestha Pathshala, he said, had always co-operated with the Education Department and had contributed not a little to making the Allahabad University what it is.

" University in Exile "

A " University in Exile " is to be opened in New York this month staffed by members of the German Faculty who have been driven from their country by the anti-Jewish and anti-Liberal stand of the Hitler Government. The professorial staff will be an independent, self-governing faculty teaching political and social science.

The University is made possible from funds raised by a national committee, headed by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court. Announcement of its opening is made by Dr. Alvin Johnston, Director of the New School for Social Research. He has just returned from London, where he made arrangements to bring 14 exiled German scholars to the United States, as a first contingent.

The sponsors hope the plan can be expanded ultimately to include other faculties. Dr. Johnson says they can make a distinctive contribution to American Scholarship. He emphasized that the " University in Exile " was to function purely as a centre of scholarship, instruction and research, and not as a point of dissemination of anti-Nazi propaganda. An agreement on this has been reached with the professors, he said, on the ground that their work was " too serious to admit of political by-play."

Nagpur University

Nagpur University is both an examining and affiliating institution. The two directions in which the development of the University may be

expected in the immediate future, says the annual report for last year, are the organization of the Honours Courses and the introduction of Technological Training in the University. The Colleges have commenced the teaching of the Honours Courses from July, 1933, and the result of the University's scheme of Honours Courses, which in many respects are different from that adopted in most of the other Indian University, will be awaited with interest by the University educationists.

As regards the introduction of the technological training made possible by the magnificent bequest of the late R. B. D. Laxminarayan, a committee appointed by the Executive Council is working out the details and it is hoped that it will be possible to establish a Technological Laboratory without undue delay. Meanwhile, it is hoped that the annual allotment of Rs. 10,000 which the Executive Council has decided to make from the funds of the bequest for scholarships for technological training, grants for research in Applied Science and Chemistry and the purchase of books on Technology, will give some impetus to Technological studies in the Provinces until it is possible to carry out a more comprehensive scheme for the purpose.

Travancore Education Scheme

The committee with Mr. R. M. Statham as chairman which was appointed to study the existing educational system in Travancore and to report on the best method of making education progressive in the State has, it is understood, completed its report, which will be published shortly. According to the recommendations, it is understood, primary education will be compulsory and there will be no separate schools forboys and girls. Teachers will also be recruited from both sexes. From the next stage boys and girls will be educated separately. Separate schools are recommended for boys and girls in the High School course. The present Vernacular and English Middle schools will give way to Anglo-Vernacular schools. The two Colleges in the State are recommended to be amalgamated and the Women's College to be made a second grade one. The salaries of teachers are to be revised, the minimum being Rs. 25 and the maximum Rs. 125. The committee anticipate a saving of Rs. 5 lakhs if the two States of Travancore and Cochin adopt the recommendations.

Andhra University

The Gazette of India announces that the Governor-General in Council has authorised the Andhra University, under section 3 of the Indian Medical Degrees Act of 1916, to confer, grant or issue in British India degrees, diplomas, licences and certificates with effect from April 1934, stating that the recipient of such degrees is qualified to practise in western medical science.

Theosophical College, Madanapalle

The Theosophical College at Madanapalle has been asked by the University of Madras to show an increase of a lakh of rupees in its accounts, if it is to be allowed to retain its status as a college.

The Theosophical Education Trust was formed at Madanapalle to provide education to students of all faiths, with religion as an integral

study. The Trust took over an existing educational institution there as its first unit and called it the Theosophical High School. This was raised to the status of a second grade college in 1915, and two years later it was made the central constituent of the National University which was subsequently suspended. The institution was raised to the status of a first grade college and affiliated to Madras University in 1925.

Punjab University Jubilee

In commemoration of the Punjab University Jubilee Celebrations which have been fixed for December 4, 5 and 6 next, the Senate has decided to confer honorary degrees of D. C. L., D. Litt. and D.Sc. on some of the distinguished personages who have been directly and indirectly connected with the Punjab University including Sir Shadilal, Mr. A. C. Woolner, Sir Fazli Hussain. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the Nawab of Bahawalpur. On this occasion, the Syndicate has decided to hold an exhibition of old manuscripts and historical documents on Dec. 5 and 6. States, institutions and individuals possessing valuable collections are being requested to lend them for exhibition. Manuscripts should be sent to the Secretary of the Manuscript Exhibition Committee.

Lucknow University

The Executive Council of Lucknow University have made several appointments to the teaching staff. The temporary lectureship of Commerce, due to the absence on leave of Mr. Gupta, has been split up into two posts, Mr. Maqbool Ahmed being appointed to teach purely commercial subjects and Mr. A. Loomba as junior lecturer to help the Politics Department. Owing to the increase in the number of Politics students, a lectureship has been created for the rest of the session and the Council has decided to appoint Dr. B. N. Sharma to fill the new post. Dr. Dorothy Speer has been appointed to fill the new post of part-time lecturer in German. The University has nominated Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, as its representative on the Inter-University Board.

Proposed Palestine University

Some 800,000 Moslems in Palestine have subscribed £250,000 for the establishment at Jerusalem of a Moslem University and centre of learning. The organizers of this scheme aim to collect £1,000,000 for the realization of their ideal of not only setting up a world centre of Islamic learning and culture, but also of bringing about the rehabilitation of the Arabs in Palestine. To further the prosecution of this object His Eminence Syed Aminul Hussaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, accompanied by Muhammad Ali Pasha, ex-Minister of Waqfs in Egypt, is touring India, interesting his co-religionists in the project and eliciting their financial support. Committees have been established in almost every province for the furtherance of the scheme, while an all-India committee has been recruited from the provincial bodies with Alhadi Nawab Bahadur Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi as President.

His Eminence is gratified with the support he has received in India.

Benares University

Following are the extracts from an appeal recently issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, for Rs. 50 lakhs for developments that are urgently needed:

"By the grace of God a crore and a half of rupees has been collected for the Benares Hindu University in the course of twenty years. The University has built a new town, two miles long and one mile broad; laid about 20 miles of road; built large colleges and science laboratories; established thirty-two departments of learning including colleges of Sanskrit learning on one side and those of mechanical and electrical engineering, and department of mining, metallurgy and industrial chemistry on the other. It has built seven hostels which accommodate nearly two thousand students and 110 residences for members of the teaching staff. It has provided extensive playgrounds for athletics and sports. Students flock to it from all parts of India, including Indian states. Their present number is nearly 3,500. It is open to students of all castes and creeds and of both sexes.

"Fifty lakhs more is now immediately needed for urgent developments; ten lakhs for a marble temple; twelve lakhs for hostels to accommodate fifteen hundred more students: classes of arts and science; five lakhs for the college of engineering; ten lakhs for a Polytechnique Institute for the further development of the teaching of applied science; five lakhs for the University Library; three lakhs for the University Press. Every Indian has reason to feel gratified at this achievement of his people. I therefore appeal to every Indian, particularly to every Hindu, to contribute his or her quota to the further growth of this great institution. Every one may give at least one month's income, if necessary by convenient instalments, or may help to build a room or endow a scholarship of fifty, thirty, twenty, fifteen or ten rupees per month in honour of his or her mother or father or any one else whom he or she loves or adores, or in his or her own name, or may give a donation ear-marked for any of the many needs mentioned above.

"I also invite all who can to pay a visit to the University. I promise they will find much to interest them."

Indian Educationists for Kabul

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, and the other Indian Educationists invited by the Afghan Government to advise on the proposed Kabul University and reorganization of the Afghan Educational system left for Kabul on 21st October last.

Oxford University

Lord Irwin, Minister of Education, has been formally nominated as a candidate for the Chancellorship of Oxford University, rendered vacant by the death of Viscount Grey.

Ourselves

The Late Lady Suhrawardy

We are deeply grieved to record the death of Lady Suhrawardy, the wife of our Vice-Chancellor. She was keeping indifferent health for some time past but none thought that her end was so near. The tragedy of the event is deepened by the fact that at the time of her death her husband was in Europe and her daughter, her only surviving issue, was at Nagpur at her father-in-law's house. Lady Suhrawardy came of a distinguished family ; she was a lady of culture and deep piety. We offer Sir Hassan Suhrawardy our sincerest sympathy at his bereavement.

* * *

The Late Mrs. Annie Besant

By the death of Mrs. Annie Besant, India has lost a talented leader who possessed power and influence not only within the limits of this land but also outside it. Mrs. Besant will be remembered not alone for her contributions to the cause of political regeneration of this country but also for her distinguished services to education. She was one of the finest speakers of her generation ; her oratorical powers were strengthened as much by a voice that was deep and sonorous as by a diction that was brilliant and masterly. While mourning her loss we cannot but recall the illuminating lectures which she delivered at this University in 1925 as the first Kamala Lecturer. Her health had at that time been on the decline but her silvery voice was not yet a thing of the past and it gladdened the hearts of thousands of men who had thronged in the Senate Hall to listen to her lectures. Mrs. Besant had dedicated her life to the service of India, a cause for which she fought valiantly and suffered courageously. May her great example inspire others in the discharge of their duties to their motherland which in her case was India.

* * *

The Late Srimati Kamini Ray

We have also to mourn the death of a distinguished Bengali lady, Mrs. Kamini Ray who was recognised as a poetess of great renown. We publish in this issue a short appreciative note of her genius from the pen of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In recognition of her contributions, the University awarded her the Jagattarini medal a few years ago. Her death is a great loss to the cause of Bengali literature. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

The Late Nawab Abdur Rahaman

We have also to lament the death of Nawab Abdur Rahaman, Khan Bahadur, who was for many years a Judge of the Calcutta Small Causes Court and a Fellow of this University. He took a keen interest in the work of the University during the years he was associated with it. He was also a champion of Mahomedan education and rendered valuable services to its progress. His charming manners attracted everyone towards him and he was loved and respected by all who came into his fold. His son Mr. Latifur Rahaman is also a Judge of the Small Causes Court and a Member of the Senate. We offer him our condolences at the death of his distinguished father.

* * *

The Late Mr. Patel

The death of Mr. V. J. Patel at Geneva has removed a great Indian patriot. Mr. Patel's services to his motherland will long be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. He was one of those men who possessed indomitable will and energy, one of those who had the courage of their convictions, and could cheerfully suffer for the attainment of their ideal. Mr. Patel was the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. During his days the Swarajists were in the Assembly which included giants like Pandit Motilal Neheru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Patel's work as President challenged the admiration of one and all ; he established conventions of abiding value and conducted the business of the House in a manner which was in accordance with the best traditions of any progressive Assembly. His mortal remains are being brought to Bombay for cremation. We mourn with the rest of the country the great loss which India has suffered by his death.

* * *

DEBATES WITH BRITISH STUDENTS

Three students of British Universities are now visiting India and taking part in debates at the Indian Universities. They are:

(1) Mr. W. Greenwood who was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at Balliol College, Oxford. Mr. Greenwood studied Economics, Politics and Philosophy at Oxford and is now reading for the bar.

(2) Mr. J. C. McGilvray who is a graduate in Philosophy in the University of Manchester where he is now preparing to take the degree of Master of Arts.

(3) Mr. Jack Jones who entered University College, Aberystwyth, in 1931 and is now studying Law under Professor Levi.

Arrangements have been made for a debate in Calcutta on 1st November. The subject chosen is "*The World owes more to its poets than to its politicians.*" Four students belonging to this University have been selected after a competitive test held before the Puja vacation. The Indian students selected are :

(1) Mr. Dwarkanath Chatterjee—Presidency College.
(2) Mr. Sachindranath Dasgupta—University Law College.
(3) Mr. Sivaprasad Mitra—University Law College.
(4) Mr. S. Jah—David Hare Training College.

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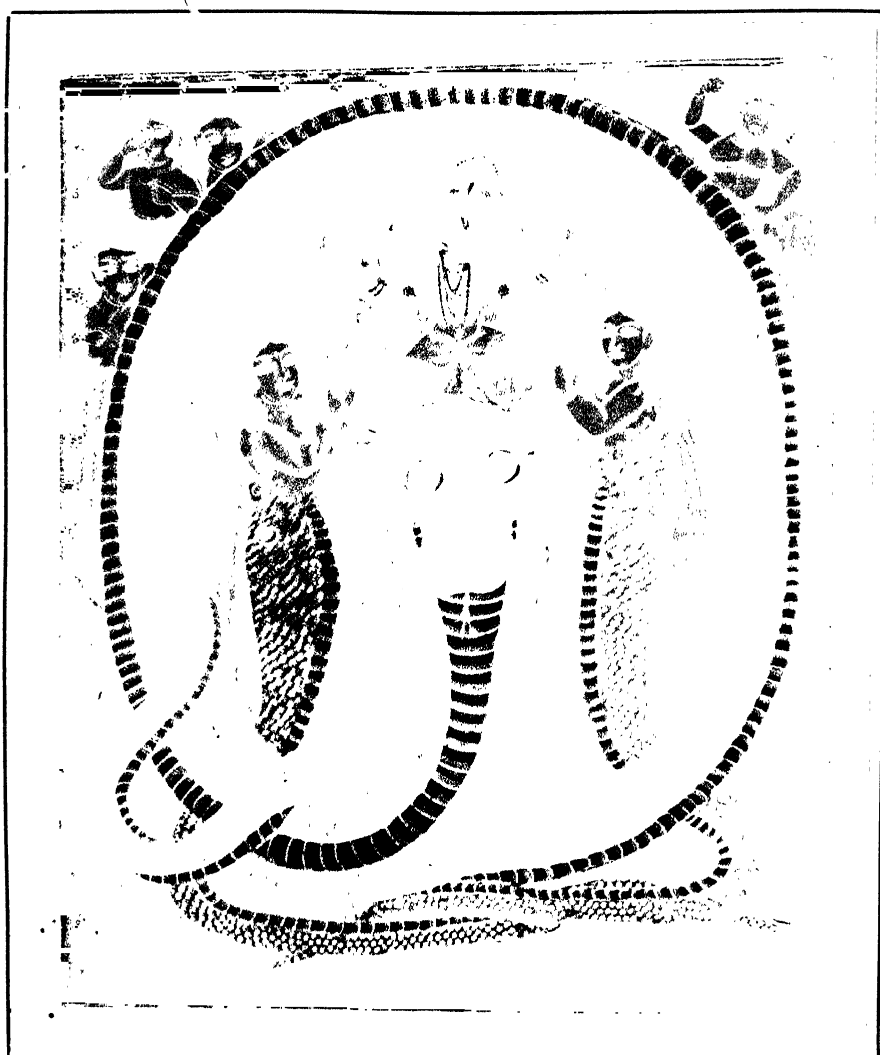
DR. SYAMADAS MUKHERJEE

Dr. Syamadas Mukherjee who is now in Europe as a Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellow has been touring various Universities on the Continent. The energy and enthusiasm which he has displayed at his age are indeed remarkable. Information has reached us that he had recently read a paper on his new methods in Geometry at the *Henri Poincare Institute* at Paris. The paper was written in French and was greatly appreciated by well-known French mathematicians who attended the meeting. He also spent some time at Hamburg where he was given a most cordial welcome. After visiting several Universities on the Continent Dr. Mukherjee proposes to spend sometime in Great Britain.

* * *

M.A. AND M.Sc. EXAMINATION RESULTS

An analysis of the results of the last M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations shows that out of 495 and 172 candidates who actually appeared in the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations respectively, 358 and 106 came out successful as against 254 and 90 respectively in 1932. Of the successful candidates of the present year 59 have been placed in the First Class in different subjects in the M.A., and 21 in different subjects in the M.Sc. Examination as against 38 and 16 respectively in 1932. It is gratifying to note that 5 lady-students have secured positions in the First Class in the M.A. and 1 in the M.Sc.; indeed in Physics, Philosophy and Ancient Indian History and Culture (Gr. A) they have topped the list of successful candidates.



" *Kaliya-Damana* "

(Srikrishna subduing the serpent *Kaliya*: being a scence from *Krishna-lila*)

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



ARTISTIC RENAISSANCE IN INDIA

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.
Calcutta.

WHAT is somewhat loosely described as an artistic renaissance is really a renaissance, not of art itself, but of the spirit of a race expressing itself through the medium of art. The spirit achieves a renaissance by obtaining a fresh accession of inspiration and then expresses this renaissance through all aspects and spheres of life including that of language. The language through which the renaissance is expressed may be in the form of literature or of art; for art is in essence nothing but a form of language.

Being a form of language art is essentially a race-mode or a racial way of expression. Each race tends to develop a mode of expression which is its own art vernacular and which embodies in it the distinctive harmonic grammar and idiom and the aesthetic rhythm of the race-spirit or race-genius. It is only through this distinctive race-vernacular that the race-spirit can make its characteristic

contribution to the synthesis of world culture and find its culminating development in aesthetic expression.

This has now been acknowledged in the sphere of literature; but in the sphere of art this truth is not so fully admitted. On the other hand, there are many people, including Indians of eminence, who believe that art speaks through a universal language and, as a result, we find today in India numerous self-conscious attempts at the production of an eclectic art bred of an international cosmopolitanism or of an esperantist art without reference to any particular race traditions. This passes by the name of modernism. There is also another school of art in India which seeks to speak in what I may describe as a Sanskritic art language or an archæological, antiquarian and iconographic art language. It follows the cult of classic revivalism and aims at reproducing the old classic Indian forms, formulas and motifs which were developed in certain past ages of ancient and mediaeval India for expressing modern Indian ideas and ideals.

The so-called artistic renaissance in India is an exhibition of these two unnatural tendencies and movements in varying degrees of intensity, with the result that this renaissance has been mostly a misdirected, unreal and artificial one and does not represent an organic growth of art from living roots. Both the above tendencies involve a denial of the law of growth of art as well as of other forms of expression from living roots in contemporary life; and both of them result in the production of unnatural and artificial creations devoid of the vigour and energy of life and out of touch with, and unrelated to, the life and ideals of the people belonging to the race from which the artist springs and to the harmonic mode and rhythm in which they spontaneously express themselves in their common pursuits and crafts of life.

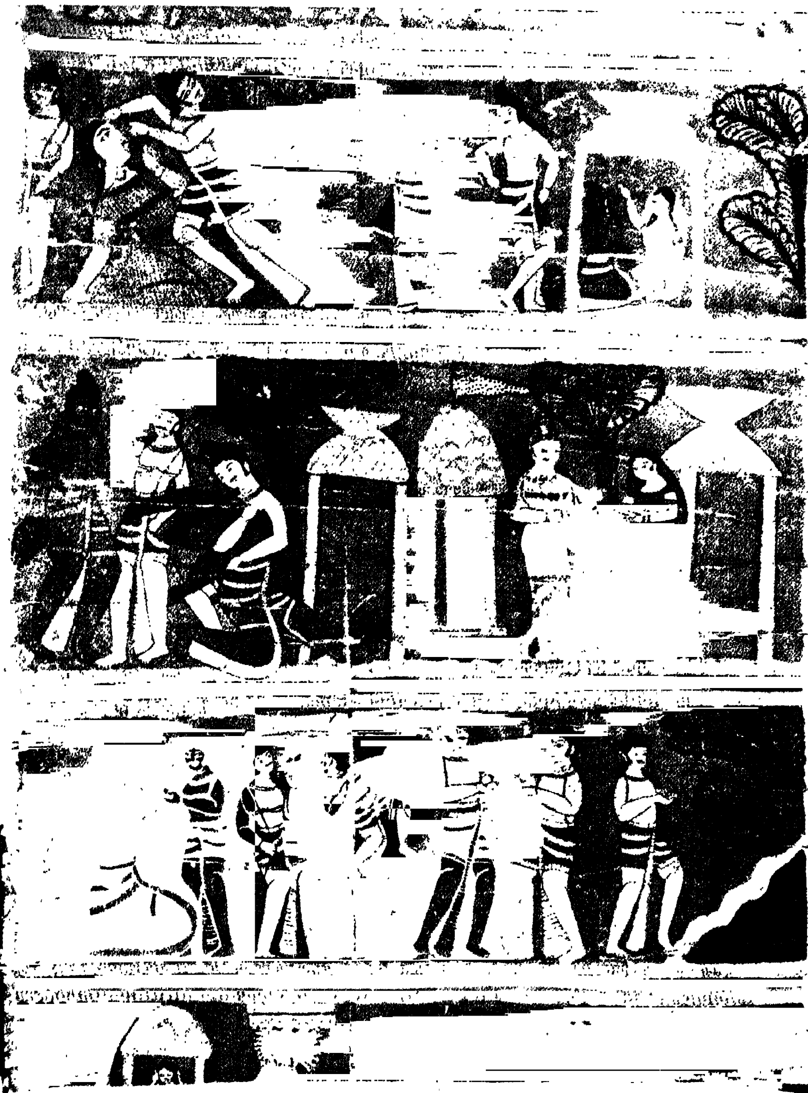
So we see a very curious spectacle. On the one hand it is now admitted that there is no such thing as a single common Indian modern language or a common Indian modern literature but that there are several Indian modern languages and several Indian modern literatures, each representing the spirit and culture of a distinctive race-group forming part of the political Indian nation. In the sphere of art, on the other hand, attempt is being made, through the ill-concealed prompting of a political motive for symbolising an all-Indian political unity, to create a make-believe all-India art-Sanskrit or art-esperanto irrespective of the distinctive racial traditions of the component races which have handed down the traditions of ancient Indian culture, each in its own way, modified in accordance with its

own distinctive race genius as moulded through its special geographical and other environmental influences as well as by special degrees of its race-admixture and other influences of a historical and cultural character. Time has come to frankly recognise the fact that modern Indian art cannot be represented by one particular form of expression based on a classic revivalism or on a particular stereotyped anatomy or style derived from archæological relics or iconographic literature, but that it really consists of a number of distinctive art languages or art vernaculars each developed by a distinctive race-unit as in the case of literary expression. These may have deep mutual affinities or resemblances by virtue of the history of their origin and cultural contacts, but they are none-theless distinct organic entities each with valuable distinctive characteristics of its own specially adapted to the race-group whose evolutional life and character are reflected in them. The time may come, ultimately, when through racial fusion the various races inhabiting India, which have come to develop distinctive race languages, may become one homogeneous race with one mother-language but that time is not yet. In the meantime it would be as foolish to try to make-believe that there is only one single literary language for this vast continent as that there is only one art-language for the various races that today comprise the Indian nation.

What I wish to emphasise here is the fact that if we only care to look beneath the surface we shall discover that each distinct race group in India has its own distinctive living art tradition and that this distinctive living art tradition is the living art-vernacular of that race-group, just as the Bengali language has at last been accepted as the recognised living literary vernacular of the Bengali people. This living art-vernacular may, and will no doubt be, gradually, continuously and progressively enriched by organic assimilation and subconscious imbibement from outside influences with which the race comes into contact in the course of its evolution ; but it will not do to ignore it or to supplant it either by phantoms of classic forms and styles or by a rootless and mechanical conglomeration of the styles of other countries at the mere dictates or the whims of particular individuals or groups of individuals.

Let the Bengali, Madrasi, Mahrathi and Gujrati, who has already discovered and adopted his literary mother-language, now look for, discover and learn his own form-language or mother-language in art which is still used by vast sections among the rural population of his province as a distinctive spontaneous mode of

rhythmic and harmonic expression and let him express his creative genius in a natural, spontaneous and unaffected manner through the medium of that art-vernacular. Let every Bengali, Madrasi, Mahrathi and Gujrati child be given the opportunity of imbibing, like the milk from his mother's breast, not only the spoken language of his race but also its own distinctive art tradition. It is by this means only that a Bengali will grow up to be a true Bengali and a true Indian, a Madrasi will grow up to be a true Madrasi and a true Indian and so forth ; and by this means alone will he be able to make his most valuable contribution to the synthesis of Indian culture. The attempt on the part of the educated sections of different provinces of India to create a composite eclectic style by indiscriminately copying each other's styles or by adopting the styles of a past epoch is bound to prove disastrous to the genius for creative expression of the people of each province and even to their basic character ; for art has a very subtle and irresistible effect on character; and affectation, make-believe or insincerity in art tends to produce a corresponding affectation, make-believe and insincerity in national character.. Is it possible to imagine Shakespeare, who gathered his inspiration from every European country, achieving his inimitable artistic expression in Italian or Norwegian or Greek or Latin or esperanto or in anything but his own current racial English ? The appeal of his art was universal but his medium, mode and rhythm of expression was his own current racial vernacular. Unless, therefore, they establish touch with the current racial art-language practised in the rural areas of their own province by the common folk of their own race, it will be impossible for the modern Indian artists to achieve true artistic expression. Could any one, for example, imagine Rabindranath achieving his supreme literary expression if he had spurned the language of Chandidas and other Vaishnava poets and if he had not the good fortune, through a lucky accident, of being thrown into intimate contact with and filling his soul with the language, the tunes and the rhythm of the *bāul*, *kīrtan* and *bhātiāl* singers of Eastern Bengal ? Could he attain this supreme aesthetic expression if he spoke and wrote in a language which was a mixture of Manipúri, Malabari and Gujrati or of Sanskrit, Pali and Persian ? And yet this is exactly what is being attempted today even by distinguished men in India in the sphere of art, namely, an attempt to impose upon the Bengali people traditions of dance imported bodily from Malabar, Manipur and Lucknow; traditions of painting imported



Chopping off of Surpanakha's Nose
(A scene from the *Ramayana*)

from ancient Indian caves and from the courts of mediaeval Rajput and Moghul princes: and types of architecture consisting of "elegant extracts" imported from Madura, Mahavalipuram, Ellora, Agra and Delhi. Thus art and dance have been hopelessly confused with archaeology and antiquarianism and with the aspirations for an all-India political union on the one hand, and with mere prettiness, sensuous refinement, novelty and elegance on the other. The result is a plethora of pose and posturing, of affectation and aristocratic ornamentation, and of insincerity, make-believe, stage-acting and a striving for spectacular effect as well as an atmosphere of effeminacy, sensuousness and mysticism on the one hand, and on the other hand, a craze for affecting the suave and sophisticated curve and semi-nudity of Ajanta and Sigiriya, the sensuous diaphanousness of mediaeval Rajput courts, the soft effeminacy of the Manipuri female dance and the mystifying mimicry of the *mudrā* dance of Malabar—a craze for appearing oriental at any cost before Western eyes. If the traditional dances which are danced by real live Bengali men and women in the rural areas of Bengal have not got the suave "oriental" curve of Manipuri and the mystic *mudrās* of the *kathakāli*, then the latter must be imported into Bengal to supplant true Bengali dances! The result is a complete abandonment of all fixed standards and racial traditions and the production of a rootless and anchorless babel of art language which is tending to change the very character of the people of modern India, to disintegrate their souls and to destroy their originality and creative genius. To those people I would say: If your object is to earn the approbation and the money of Europeans and Americans, do so by all means by exhibiting these eclectic compilations or these pageants of pseudo-classic revivalism as "oriental" art in Europe and America; but do not unsettle the basic character of the Indians, do not disintegrate their souls and do not destroy their originality and genius for creative expression by holding these up before the plastic minds of the youths of India as models for copying in the garb of their national language of emotional self-expression. I believe that the real art of the people of modern India belonging to the various races is the very reverse of these effeminate, pseudo-archæological and insincere creations.

So far as Bengal itself is concerned, I know that the real art of the Bengali race is characterised by a simplicity and sincerity, a spontaneity, a clarity, a robustness, an innate insistence on design in

line and colour and a fitness to the practical purposes and uses of life which is the very antithesis of the academic and purposeless art which is being introduced and admired in our cities. The result of this complete ignoring of the indigenous art-vernacular of each race and province, whether out of ignorance or contempt, is a state of rootlessness, anchorlessness and spinelessness. Acting in an ancient style may be all very well on the stage or in a pageant; and esperanto may be useful in the field of commerce, administration and politics; but these have no place in the sphere of emotional creative self-expression of the spirit of a race which is a very different affair altogether, affecting the very quality of its soul. Here continuity of living race traditions, spontaneity, sincerity and unself consciousness are of supreme importance to the healthy development and the faithful expression of the spirit. You may, with impunity, change even the religion of a people but not its innate and spontaneous idiom of life and self-expression which is only another name for art.

This criminal ignorance and neglect of, and contempt for, the art-vernacular of each province by the universities and educated classes is unfortunately fast leading to the disappearance of priceless race traditions and race forms and to the drying up of the fountain heads of national art in India. The disappearance and destruction, through neglect and contempt, of race forms created by race culture and race tradition often means an irreparable national loss to a people for centuries to come by taking away living roots from which, and genuine foundations on which, to build up and develop national character, national ideals and a truly national system of education, just as in the sphere of sociology, loss of a valuable traditional form of national organisation and expression, namely, that of the Indian village community, has left Indian rural life adrift for centuries and is proving an insuperable obstacle to the reconstruction of genuine organic life and to the building up of a strong and stable civic structure in India to this day.

I propose to show you today by means of actual examples that there is a distinctive Bengali art-language and art tradition which has hitherto been despised and ignored by our universities as well as by our artists, art critics and art pundits; but that just as Calcutta University has at last accepted Bengali as the medium of linguistic expression, so time has come when the Universities of Bengal and its educated classes should accept this indigenous Bengali art tradition as the basic art-vernacular of the Bengali people. It



Scenes from *Krishna-lila*

is only by rescuing this art-vernacular of Bengal from extinction and by its adoption as the foundation of art teaching in Bengal that the spirit of the Bengali race can retain its distinctive characteristics, regain its power of creative expression and achieve its culminating development in the sphere of art. For the reasons explained above, the art of the Neo-Bengal urban artists is not the real national art-vernacular of Bengal. In its archæological, antiquarian, sentimental, historical and literary preoccupation in subject and in technique, this imitative urban art displays a sad lack of the innate Bengali genius for form and design. It uses idioms and motifs which are foreign to and unintelligible to the great mass of the Bengalee people. It is only in the rural and indigenous art of Bengal that we shall find that art-vernacular which is the true expression of the spirit of the Bengali people, embodying the basic idiom of their soul. We shall find that this Bengali art-vernacular, although bearing the impress of the "national mark" of Bengal, represents with greater purity and faithfulness than the art traditions of any other province or race in India, the original pre-Buddhistic, and one may almost say, pre-Aryan, main-stream of art tradition of continental India practically unadulterated by foreign influence and unaffected by court influence or priestly and monastic influence; and that it has distinctive and positive qualities of its own by virtue of which it can bear comparison with the art of any other epoch in India. It has retained the unsophisticated, spontaneous and virile character of primitive art and is at the same time replete with objective loveliness. It is distinguished by the fundamental characteristics of true art through a reliance on the basic art-alphabets of pure and robust line and colour form—particularly the latter, an innate insistence on design, an avoidance of unessential embellishments and a spontaneous harmonising of abstract and naturalistic idioms of expression ; and it is not the mysterious, esoteric and academic monopoly or the wanton and idle plaything of a self-appointed and privileged art-aristocracy but the common spontaneous activity and birth-right of the men and women of the whole race as the natural " Bengalee way " in every walk and sphere of life, in craft and industry, play and pastime, work and worship.*

* Lecture delivered before the Cultural Association of the University of Calcutta on 13th September, 1933. The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

ANGLO-JAPANESE RIVALRY AND THE FUTURE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

San Remo, Italy

I

IT is generally regarded that if in the near future a war breaks out in the Pacific, it will be between America and Japan or between Japan and Russia. But as things stand today there is a greater possibility of an Anglo-Japanese War.

To be sure that there are conflicting interests between Japan and Russia in the Far East; but a Russo-Japanese War in near future is not so probable. The present rulers of Soviet Russia are not sentimentalists but realists, and they are determined to avoid an armed conflict with Japan which may prove disastrous for Russia. This attitude of the Soviet government became quite apparent from the fact that it was willing to sell its rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchuoko, a protectorate of Japan. Mr. Litvinoff's significant diplomatic victory in signing several non-aggression pacts—specially with Poland and Roumania—has decidedly strengthened the position of Soviet Russia. Yet the menace of a National Socialist Germany, with its deliberate programme of eastward expansion has frightened Soviet Russian statesmen to such an extent that they are seeking French co-operation, if not the revival of the Franco-Russian Alliance of the pre-World War days. A Russo-Japanese conflict will undoubtedly upset Russia's growing power in European politics and may provide a splendid chance for Germany to carry out her threat of an eastward expansion at the cost of Russian security. It seems that for this reason alone, Soviet Russia will try to avoid a conflict with Japan.

Furthermore a Russian defeat (which may be a possibility) in any war will be followed by a Revolution which will end the present regime; therefore the leaders of Soviet Russia are interested in avoiding a war with Japan. They are most anxious to concentrate on augmenting economic, industrial and military power of the State for future emergencies. It is possible that the present Russo-Japanese tension will pass without an armed conflict. It may be added that although Japan is prepared to fight Russia if it be necessary, yet

every far-sighted Japanese realises that if Japan be engaged in a war with Russia, other powers may use the opportunity in ousting her from various markets of the world. A Japanese-Russian war would benefit Great Britain, Germany and the United States the most from the standpoint of commercial expansion. Therefore the Japanese are not anxious for a Russo-Japanese War.

II

Just as the Russian leaders are anxious to avoid a war against Japan, similarly there are many Japanese leaders who are convinced that an American-Japanese war will not only hurt Japan, but will strengthen Britain, Germany and Russia. In spite of much talk of commercial rivalry between America and Japan in the Far East, the fact is that expansion of American trade in the Far East really does not hurt Japan very much, because American-Japanese trade relations are not competitive but supplementary.

A Tokyo desptach dated October 6th, 1933 from the very well informed American journalist Mr. Wilfred Fleisher, published in the *New York Herald Tribune* (Paris) of October 7, 1933, gives the follow ing interesting and suggestive views of Japan's veteran statesman, Viscount Ishii, an ardent advocate of Japan's Monroe Doctrine for the Eastern Asia, regarding the present tendency of Japan's policy towards America and the agitation behind the talk of an American-Japanese War:—

> "An agreement between Japan and the United States pledging never to resort to war was urged by Viscount Ishii, who was interviewed today on his way to Tokio from Kobe, where he arrived yesterday from London. Viscount Ishii said he favors the conclusion of an arbitration treaty with the United States providing for the renunciation of war.
>
> "Viscount Ishii declared: 'Relations between Japan and the United States do not appear at present to be very cordial, but an agreement to improve the relations could be reached if the two nations show the determination never to wage war in the future.
>
> "*It is possible that certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them, but America would never commit the folly of sending her fleet to the Far East to engage in battle with the efficient Japanese navy. If the leaders of both countries agree never to resort to war there would be plenty of ways of averting it. The Disarmament Conference should be conducted in this spirit and we must not permit other nations to rob us of our markets.*"

There is every reason to believe that America and Japan may easily come to an agreement by signing an arbitration treaty and by mutually agreeing to respect each other's rights in the Far East. If Japanese statesmen follow this policy steadfastly, it is conceivable that the Government of the United States under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (who does not believe in a war with Japan) will re-establish the same form of cordial relations between Japan and the United States as was done by the late President Theodore Roosevelt, after the signing of the Root-Takahira Agreement.

To understand the full significance of the statement of Viscount Ishii that "*it is possible certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them*," one must inquire which European countries are effective competitors of Japan and the United States in world markets. It happens that Great Britain and Germany are the powers; and it is very significant that in British and German circles one hears pronounced anti-Japanese discussions and prophecy about an American Japanese war.

III

The actual situation in world politics of today is that Britain is Japan's greatest rival. To illustrate this point, I quote a few extracts from an article by Dr. Tyler Dennett, Professor of International Relations, Princeton University :—

> " Japan and Great Britain a generation ago were what may be described as 'natural friends,' if one is willing to adopt the convenient and sound though somewhat, 'cannibalistic philosophy' of nationalism. In those days the two nations had common interests in their desire to keep open the trade doors in China, in their opposition to Russia and in a similar co-operative policy in the Pacific. Today the situation is quite changed. Japan and Great Britain are now clearly '*natural enemies*': they are engaged in no common effort anywhere, and over a considerable portions of the earth, they are relentless competitors. They compete for the carrying of trade, for naval supremacy in the Far East and most of all, for many markets where a generation ago Great Britain had to fear only Germany.
>
> Japan's most dependable outlet for manufactured goods is not in America, where silk is a luxury and subject to fickle fashions, but in Asia and Africa, where cheap cotton garments are all one style and the alternative of wearing them is nakedness. Here Japan and Great Britain have come to grips with results that make it not difficult to plot the curve of Anglo-Japanese relations for the next generation. A

trade war has been developing not merely in Manchuria and China, where Great Britain is powerless to influence the results, but in Malaya, in East Africa and in India, where British industrial interests still can influence the tariff. Already London has informed Tokyo that at the expiration of six months the most favored-nation clause shall not apply in British West African colonies, while the Government of India has already imposed an additional duty on Japanese imports, from 75 to 87 per cent. on cottons. Now comes the government of the British Federated Malaya States with new duties on low-grade products from 30 to 80 per cent. Thus the lines are closing in on Japan which is almost certain to adopt retaliatory measures......

"Equally disturbing to Anglo-Japanese relations is the Japanese demand at Geneva for naval parity. Parity in the Far East and South Pacific means not parity at all but a Japanese naval supremacy which would cast its long shadow westward across the Indian Ocean as well. Japan has a colonial Empire to defend and trade arteries to protect. They lie, in part, in what were only a few years ago unquestioned British trade preserves. Now Japan has as much reason for seeking to maintain and extend her position as Great Britain had when she fought the Second Afghan War or when she fortified Zanzibar, or more recently, when she laid out the Singapore naval base. Let us therefore keep in mind the fact that today Japan and Great Britain, so recently effusive partners in the famous Anglo-Japanese Alliances, are no longer " natural friends'; *today they are 'natural enemies.'* "

Prof. Dennett is regarded as one of the foremost authorities of Far Eastern Politics and his opinion should not be lightly taken by any one.

Those who have carefully watched the evolution of Japanese bitterness against Britain will testify that it began after the World War, when Britain decided to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to cultivate closer collaboration with the United States. The Japanese blame British statesmen for deliberately following a policy during the Washington Conference and afterwards, which might have led to complete isolation of Japan in world politics. It is also argued in Japan that the British government and officials secretly encouraged China to oppose Japanese policy in the Far East and used the League of Nations against Japan. They further accuse Britain of carrying on world-wide anti-Japanese propaganda through the activities of the Lytton Commission. The Japanese people regard that the Singapore naval base is a serious menace to Japan's national security. Furthermore the Japanese people resent Britain's objection to Japan's naval parity.

In certain section of Great Britain, bitterness against Japan is so acute that responsible papers and persons have directed a veiled threat of economic boycott of Japan by all the members of the League of Nations ; and others have even advocated suspension of diplomatic relations, because of Japan's refusal to submit to the decision of the League of Nations on the Manchurian question.

In short the present Anglo-Japanese tension may be well compared with the Anglo-German commercial rivalry before the World War. If during the next Naval Conference (which may be held in 1935-1936) Japan refuses to cut down or limit her naval power according to British proposals, then it is certain that the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry would take the form of an ugly and dangerous Anglo-Japanese naval rivalry full of serious possibilities.

Historians of the World War have made it clear that Anglo-German naval rivalry—Germany's refusal to agree to Britain's suggestions of limiting German navy—was one of the prime causes of the World War. If the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry be followed by a naval rivalry between these two powers, the future is dark. Therefore one may safely predict that between 1935 and 1936 one may expect a serious crisis in Anglo-Japanese relations. In such a crisis American and Indian attitude will play very important parts in making Britain's decision. It is inconceivable that Britain will ever enter into a war with a first class power as is Japan, unless she feels absolutely sure that the Indian people would support her wholeheartedly in such a serious undertaking. Possibly for this very reason and to win the confidence of Indian Princes, Indian Moderates and others, the British authorities are going to extend some form of concessions towards Indian self-government. Furthermore, if during an Anglo-Japanese conflict the United States of America remains neutral, Britain will become economically the loser, even if she wins a victory over Japan. Therefore the British policy is to influence the United States of America to make a common cause with Britain against Japan. It is very problematical how far the United States would go in this matter. America went to the World War to aid Britain and her allies and now she finds herself hated by these powers for whom she fought. American foreign policy is becoming nationalistic and American statesmen may refuse to fight Britain's battle against Japan.

It is often said about the World War that the statesmen of Europe stumbled into it without intending to have the world conflagration. It is evident that both Japan and Britain are consciously

falling apart; and an Anglo-Japanese rivalry may lead to a world conflagration in which India will have to bear a very heavy burden. Let us hope that all friends of world peace and especially Indian statesmen with vision will use their influence in averting such a possible calamity.

LAW IN LITERATURE

By THE RT. HON'BLE VISCOUNT FINLAY

WHEN it was suggested to me that I should, in accordance with an ancient practice recently revived, deliver a Reading in Hall, I had, I must confess, great difficulty in finding a theme upon which I might hope with any profit to address you. Two of those who have recently preceded me were more fortunate in that respect. Master Sir Cecil Hurst was a member of a great International Court. Master Hart had recently been a member of another International Court hardly less important. In the scope, the history, the practice, the procedure, of their respective Courts they had subjects ready to their hands certain to interest their hearers. I had not their good fortune but I did, though after a good deal of reflection, find a subject which, I thought, might interest you. Having found a subject I then had a further difficulty—to find a title which would at all express it. The title which I have selected is, I am conscious, a great deal too wide and too ambitious, and, in order that those who have done me the honour to come to listen may be as little disappointed as possible with what is to follow, I will at once explain that what I wish to do is to bring before you certain contacts of law and literature, certain books or passages in books, which, dealing with law and lawyers, may be of interest to those whose privilege it is to study the law.

Of the many books to which reference might be made in this connection, I can mention but a few. This is due partly to my own ignorance, partly to those inexorable limits of time most properly imposed on an occasion of this sort.

There is one omission so glaring and so obvious that I had better at once explain it. About Shakespeare I propose to say nothing. His works contain one of the most celebrated of trials and innumerable allusions to law and lawyers. More than one learned disquisition has been written on the subject of law in Shakespeare and Shakespeare's legal attainments. One such, written by Lord Chancellor Campbell, produced comments from persons so variously eminent as Lord Macaulay, Charles Dickens, Dean Milman, and Mr.

* A Reading delivered before the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple. Published by kind permission of Lord Finlay and the Treasurer of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple.

Gladstone. If I were to attempt to deal with Shakespeare, my treatment of him would inevitably be inadequate, and further, I should have time to deal with no one else. This does not appeal to me and about Shakespeare I am, therefore, silent.

I may begin by a brief reference to Bacon, eminent as a lawyer, still more eminent as a philosopher and a writer. In a short work of his (it can be read in a very few minutes), the *Essay on Judicature*, the office and duties and attributes of a judge are discussed with that massive common sense which is one of the distinguishing notes of the Essays.

Biography

Biographies I must pass by with the slightest mention. I may, however, be allowed to point out how greatly the reading of legal biographies can add to the interest of the study of law, can make the dry bones live. Surely one will read with far more interest a judgment of Lord Mansfield's, if one knows that he was not only the greatest master of our commercial law, but also the subject of a famous line of Pope's, a wit and a statesman who, if he had not preferred to devote himself to the task of elucidating and developing the common law, might probably have been Prime Minister at a critical moment in our history. And surely, too, the figure of that eminent member of this Inn, Lord Eldon, not perhaps very romantic or interesting, is clothed with a greater interest when one reads of that really romantic episode when, from a window of a house still to be seen on the quay at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bessie Surtees descended by a ladder to run away with the then young and impecunious John Scott.

It is from that point of view that, without attempting any detailed discussion, I would commend to your notice Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors* and *Chief Justices*. These books have been much criticized as being superficial and deficient in dignity both of language and thought, but they contain a vast amount of information and they are eminently readable and entertaining. Of far higher merit from a literary point of view is Atlay's *The Victorian Chancellors*. Indeed, it is admirably written and presents a series of skilfully executed portraits of the Victorian Chancellors, including that extraordinary man, Henry Brougham, not strictly a Victorian Chancellor at all.

Then there are, of course, many biographies of individual judges —one of the best being Cunningham's *Life of Bowen*—adorned as

it is by specimens of the judgments, speeches, verses, letters of Lord Bowen, sometimes grave, sometimes gay, but always unfailingly delightful.

One other biography I will mention. It is a life of a Bencher of this Inn of whom we are all justly proud. I need hardly say that I refer to Mr. Marjoribanks' *Life of Lord Carson*, unhappily unfinished. Those who have the privilege of knowing Lord Carson, those who have seen him and heard him in Court and in House of Commons, will, I am sure, agree that the lamented author has, with singular skill, presented a portrait of one of the most dominating, arresting, and interesting figures of our time. He has also given us admirable accounts of many trials : in Ireland during the earlier part of Lord Carson's life and in England during his later period—always interesting, sometimes amusing, and sometimes rising to great heights of drama. This leads naturally to my next topic.

Famous Trials

There is a whole literature—I must touch on it still more slightly—devoted to descriptions and reports of real trials. Of such descriptions I will select one single example, the description, in Macaulay's History, of the *Trial of the Seven Bishops.* Matthew Arnold, in a well-known passage, has said that Lord Macaulay had his " heightened way of putting things ". The account of the trial of the Seven Bishops perhaps illustrates Matthew Aronld's remark, but so vivid is the narrative that it is impossible, I think, to read it without feeling something at least of that absorbing interest and emotion which, we are told, so deeply affected the spectators of that great trial. If any one here should contemplate reading or re-reading Macaulay's account, may I suggest that he should do so with the report of the case in the State Trials (that great collection which illustrates at so many points both our law and our history) at his elbow ?

The Novelists

I turn now to what is my main theme—law and lawyers, as they have been described in some of our great novels. I begin with Sir Walter Scott, and I take first the trial scene in the *Heart of Midlothian.* There is no scene in Scott's novels more charged with emotion, none more admirable in its restraint and in the humour—Saddletree the legal pedant, and others—introduced to lighten the gloom.

Its central theme, of course, is the conflict in the soul of Jeanie Deans between the desire to save a sister's life and the determination at all costs to tell the truth—a conflict resolved in the way all who have understood the character of the heroine—so sound, so noble, but also so austere—must feel to be inevitable. The trial is full of interest. Scott was writing of what he thoroughly understood ; he was describing a trial, supposed to have taken place less than a century before he wrote, in that High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh with which he was perfectly familiar. Apart from the dramatic interest of the story, it is well worth reading as a picture, done by a master-hand, of a Scottish criminal trial in the reign of George II.

My next example is taken from *Redgauntlet*, and shows Scott in a lighter vein. In Poor Peter Peebles we have an incomparable description of a type with which we are all familiar—the poor half-insane litigant who haunts the Courts. Peter's conference with his solicitor and counsel and the scene at the Court—particularly the plan adopted to ensure that his presence should not make his cause ridiculous—abound with the richest humour, though there are touches which show how slight may be the line that divides true humour from true pathos.

Before I leave Scott I would refer to *Guy Mannering*—perhaps on the whole his masterpiece. It contains in Pleydell a perfect sketch of a Scots lawyer—alike in his graver hours and in his hours of relaxation. One remark of Pleydell's I may quote to you. He was showing Colonel Mannering his library, " the best editions of the best authors," and he said: " These are my tools of trade. A lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic—a mere working mason ; if he possesses some knowledge of these he may venture to call himself an architect ".

With these words put into the mouth of Pleydell but representing—no one can doubt it—the opinion of his creator, I leave Sir Walter, and, in leaving him, would add only this, that if anyone is sufficiently interested to desire to study in more detail law in Scott's novels he will find ample material in a book to which my fellow-Bencher, Lord Craigmyle, drew my attention, *Sir Walter Scott and Scot's Law* by David Marshall.

I come to Charles Dickens, and there I am indeed embarrassed by the wide field open to my choice. Of the vast number of characters created by Dickens a very substantial proportion were lawyers, or directly connected with the law. I am compelled to a rigorous selection. *Bleak House* is associated in all our minds with Jarndyce

v. Jarndyce, the interminable Chancery suit, and with the lawyers, including the Lord Chancellor himself, who took part in that slow-moving drama. The description, in the first chapter, of a murky November day in London and of the Lord Chancellor sitting in the fog in Lincoln's Inn Hall has never, I think, been excelled by its author, unless possibly in the description in *David Copperfield* of the storm at Yarmouth.

About Bardell *v.* Pickwick it is unnecessary that I should say much, for I suppose no passage in the whole range of English fiction is more familiar than the report of that case. It would be presumptuous to praise it, but I may perhaps mention three points which may be of some interest to students.

I. It is worth noting that neither Mrs. Bardell nor Mr. Pickwick was allowed to give evidence. This was due, of course, to the remarkable state of the law which, until 1851, prevented the parties to an action, who are in most cases likely to know more about the facts than anyone else, from giving evidence. The matter has been neatly expressed thus—

"If a farmer in his gig ran over a foot-passenger in the road, the two persons whom the law singled out to prohibit from becoming witnesses were the farmer and the foot-passenger".

It is a curious fact—but we have it on the authority of Lord Campbell, who was Chief Justice at the time and must have known—that, when the Bill to make parties competent witnesses was introduced, all the Common Law Judges except one were opposed to it. The important point for our present purpose is, that the state of the law when Pickwick was published has diminished for ever the public stock of amusement, by making impossible a cross-examination of Mr. Pickwick by Sergeant Buzfuz.

2. The examination of Mr. Winkle by Mr. Skimpin appears to be most irregular and such as no judge would have allowed.

3. It may be doubted whether Sergeant Snubbin (who was himself in Court throughout) would have left in the hands of his inexperienced junior the cross-examination of so important a witness as Mr. Winkle.

But I feel I ought almost to apologize for these petty criticisms of a great masterpiece.

There has, I think, of late been a revival of interest in Anthony Trollope, but the interest has perhaps not extended much beyond that Barchester series, which no doubt contains on the whole his best work and which, as a picture of the ordinary provincial life of its period,

has, I suppose, never been excelled. It is, however, to a novel outside the Barchester series—to *Orley Farm*—that I wish now to call your attention. There you will find, together with much admirable description of life in mid-Victorian England and a pleasant love story, a history, told in much detail and in parts with a dramatic force unusual in Trollope, of a lady who, having as a young woman forged a codicil and given false testimony about it, is, after a lapse of many years, tried on a charge of perjury, and acquitted. The story of the preliminaries and of the trial itself is full of interest, and it will become not less, but more, interesting to the student if he takes the trouble to detect some breaches of legal etiquette and some slips in legal forms and legal procedure of which Trollope is guilty. It is perhaps an interesting speculation what would have been the effect on the story if the prisoner had then been competent to give evidence on her own behalf. As you are all aware, that change in the law was made only in 1898.

Samuel Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year* must be mentioned. That novel depends for its main interest upon a legal atmosphere, legal characters, and a legal plot—a plot the correctness of which, from a legal point of view, was, if my memory serves me, vindicated by the author in a series of copious notes. I must confess that when, many years ago, I read the book, I was disappointed, but it must always possess an interest for lawyers and, if once unduly admired, it is now unduly neglected.

I must be content with an even briefer mention of another and a very different novel of the Victorian period. George Eliot's *Felix Holt the Radical* has always seemed to me rather dull, but it would be wrong to omit all reference to a novel, by so eminent an author, which depends for a vital part of its plot upon a base fee.

To the late Victorian period belongs *Weir of Hermiston*—that fragment (for it is no more) which suggests that, delightful as are many of the books which Stevenson left us, he died with his masterpiece unfinished. The principal character is a sketch of that great, coarse, cruel Scottish Judge, Lord Braxfield. The character of Lord Braxfield obviously interested Stevenson. Not only is he the principal character of Stevenson's last novel. In one of the early essays—that on *Some Portraits by Raeburn*—Lord Braxfield is sketched, and with something of that gusto which, as is there said, Raeburn showed when he painted his portrait. "The tart, rosy, humorous look of the man, his nose like a cudgel, his face resting squarely on the jowl,

has been caught and perpetuated with something that looks like brotherly love ".

Lord Braxfield is described very forcibly but not very favourably in an admirable book by a distinguished Scottish Judge—Lord Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*. To us here it must always be interesting to remember, in connection with *Weir of Hermiston*, that Stevenson was aided on a vital point in the plot, which he never lived to complete, by a note by Mr. Graham Murray—now Lord Dunedin and a Bencher of this Inn.

I have always thought—it is a purely personal opinion, and I speak wholly without authority in such matters—that one of the best of short stories is one by Thomas Hardy in *Life's Little Ironies*, called " On the Western Circuit." I cannot, owing to this personal predilection, refrain from mentioning it, but it is proper that I should admit that the legal element, though not entirely absent, is less prominent than the title would suggest.

I hope and believe that no apology is needed for a reference to two works in a lighter vein.

Everyone here—I doubt not—knows almost by heart the trial scene in *Alice in Wonderland*. The jury of animals and birds with their slates and pencils ; the King as presiding Judge with his "Consider your verdict " before any evidence was given, and then at frequent intervals throughout the trial ; the Queen's correction " No, no, sentence first, verdict afterwards " ; the suppression of the guinea pig's applause; the Hatter's evidence—this is a phantasy delightful to everyone, but peculiarly so to those whose everyday work lies amidst

brawling Courts
And dusty purlieus of the law.

W. S. Gilbert's *Trial by Jury* is no doubt at its best when seen on the stage and when the delightfully humorous words are set off and adorned by the music of Sir Arthur Sullivan. But the words are well worth reading. The Usher's song, the admirable song of the Judge, the speech of the plaintiff's counsel from which I cannot resist one brief quotation—

Swiftly sped each honeyed hour
Spent with this unmanly male;
Camberwell became a bower,
Peckham an Arcadian vale;
Breathing concentrated Otto,
An existence *à la* Watteau.

and the song in which the plaintiff endeavours to inflame, and the defendant endeavours to mitigate, the damages—all these constitute a most pungent satire in which the weaker side of a trial by jury is ruthlessly exposed and ridiculed.

I think it best to say nothing about works by authors still living, and I refrain, with difficulty, from any discussion of "Forensic Fables," of "Misleading Cases," and of Topsy's experiences as a jurywoman. When I first projected this Reading, I had intended in this place to mention, but only to mention, Mr. Galsworthy. By his death English literature has suffered a severe loss. I may perhaps call to your attention, as possessing a direct interest for lawyers, four of his plays—"The Silver Box," "Justice," "Escape," and "Loyalties"—the last, if I may venture an opinion, the best and most interesting of all its author's plays. For the rest I may perhaps suggest as an interesting theme to some collector of curiosities of law the obligations of novelists to Lords of Appeal. A few moments ago I drew your attention to the assistance which Stevenson received from Lord Dunedin. A letter in *The Times* last February shows that Mr. Galsworthy was able, in dealing with points of law in one of his novels, to command the erudition of Lord Macmillan.

I come to the last book about which I would speak. Some of you may have noticed that, while I have dealt—most inadequately I fear—with Dickens, I have said nothing about his contemporary and rival, Thackeray. Both these great men were, as you all know, students of this Inn. To Dickens' connection with the Inn we owe, I doubt not, the fact that in *Martin Chuzzlewit* the meeting place of Tom and Ruth Princh was the fountain just outside this Hall. To Thackeray's connection with the Inn we owe that chapter in *Pendennis*, "The Knights of the Temple," which must always have so special an interest for us in this Hall. I feel that, with a reference to that chapter, I reach an appropriate end. There are sketched the life of the Temple and its associations both legal and literary, sketched in parts with that rather acid humour of which Thackeray was master, in parts with a grace not unworthy to be compared with that of Charles Lamb's Essay "The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple", recently annotated with scrupulous and delightful skill by my brother Judge, Mr. Justice Mackinnon. In this chapter—The Knights of the Temple—the dinner in this Hall is described. Thackeray calls the Hall that of the "Upper Temple," but this deceives, as it was intended to deceive, no one. He tells us how here a man may sit down and fancy that he joins in a meal of the seventeenth century. Improvements, of course, there must be

and, indeed, I imagine that a meal of the seventeenth century would be very little palatable to a man living in the twentieth century. But improvements—inevitable improvements—here are made and, as I trust, always will be made, with a due regard for, and reverence for, that great and historic past which Thackeray, in common with many hundreds of others who have eaten dinners in this Hall, felt so profoundly.

With this chapter in *Pendennis*, a chapter which may be said to belong to everyone of us here in this Hall, I end.

My object—and I can only hope that I have not entirely failed in it—has been to suggest to those who are still young, who are on the threshold of their great profession, who, with their minds fresh and faculties untired, are beginning the study of the law, a means whereby they may vary and lighten, and, so to speak, illustrate their labours in the law by excursions into some of the most delightful fields of English literature.

RAMMOHUN ROY : THE FIRST PHASE

(*From New and Unpublished Sources*)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI
Calcutta

OF all the stages of Rammohun's many-sided career, his youth and early manhood is the one most lacking in authentic details. What we know of Rammohun's life before the commencement of the 19th century is both vague and meagre and almost wholly based on hearsay and late tradition. We were thus faced with a forbidding scantiness of material when I came upon two very important sources of Rammohun's biography. They are, first, the old Revenue records of the Government of Bengal and, second, the papers of an extremely important case in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, in which Rammohun was involved.[1] Owing to the fact that almost all his properties were implicated in this suit, we have in these documents a wealth of detail regarding the sources and the stages of acquisition of Rammohun's wealth and property which is wholly new. They contain a good deal of information about the circumstances of the family when Rammohun was a young man, and thus form an important source of information for his early life as well. It is mainly with the help of this find that the following outline of the first phase of Rammohun's career has been reconstructed, while the Revenue records have been of invaluable help in filling up the gaps and checking the testimonies of the witnesses in the case.

Rammohun Roy's Ancestry and Childhood

Rammohun was born into a family of combined landed proprietors and State employees who were coming into prominence in Bengali society towards the latter half of the 18th century. His great-grandfather, Krishnachandra Banerjee, was in the service of the ruler of Bengal, who conferred on him the title of *Roy-Rayan*. He had three sons, the youngest of whom, called Brajabinode, was the grandfather

[1] I have been enabled to utilize this last-mentioned source through the kindness and help of Mr. Khagendranath Chatterjee.

of Rammohun and was also, as Rammohun himself says in a memorial sent to Lord Minto in 1809,

> ...... at various times chief of different districts during the administration of His Highness the Nawab Mohabut Jang [Alivardi.][1]

The Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II also wrote to Rammohun about

> the good services rendered by your grandfather to his late Majesty [Shah Alam II], at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces.[2]

Ramkanta Roy, Brajabinode's fifth son, was the father of Rammohun. He, too, like his forefathers, is said to have served the Court at Murshidabad in his early life. But our records show him at Radhanagar in his later years, engaged in the management of his property.

Brajabinode Roy had six sons besides Ramkanta, and their names were Nimananda, Ramkishore, Radhamohan, Gopimohan, Ramram and Bishnuram. All of them, including Ramkanta, were living in the same ancestral homestead at Radhanagar with their wives and children, but at some unspecified time they had become separate both as regards food and property. Ramkanta Roy was married thrice. His first wife, who was called Subhadra Devi, had no children. The second, Tarini Devi, was the mother of two sons, Jagamohan and Rammohun, and a daughter whose name is not known. The third wife of Ramkanta, whose name was Ram-mani Devi, had one son, Ramlochan Roy who was the youngest of Ramkanta's sons. As some confusion exists on this score it is necessary to state here that Ramlochan Roy and Ramtanu Roy are two different persons, the latter being the son of the above-mentioned Gopimohan Roy.[3]

Of the two sons of Tarini Devi, Rammohun was the younger. He was born while Ramkanta was living at his ancestral house at Radhanagar, but we have no means as yet of ascertaining the authentic date of his birth. The generally accepted date is 1774, though Miss Collet

[1] For the full text of this petition the reader is referred to my article on *Rammohun Roy and an English Official*, published in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929.

[2] See my monograph on *Rammohun Roy's Political Mission to England*, pp. 3-4.

[3] Deposition of Ramtanu Roy taken on August 27, 1818. Ramtanu was the son of Gopimohan Roy, brother of Ramkanta Roy, and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant—Rammohun. In his deposition Ramtanu describes himself thus: "Dewan aged 38 years or thereabout ...... He was the Dewan to the Salt Agent at Tamluk which situate (*sic*) he resigned on the 23rd February last... He maintains himself by the rents and profits of his real estates and the interests of his personal estates ...... He was in the situation of Dewan at Tamluk for about one year, previous to which he was employed as Naib Dewan to the said Salt Agent for about six months and during that period he was employed as Peshkar also."

prefers May 22, 1772, on the authority of information indirectly derived from Ramaprasad Roy, the younger son of Rammohun. The only contemporary data about Rammohun's age we have at present are two statements of Mr. Digby that when he met Rammohun first, the latter was twenty-seven years of age, and that in 1817 he was about forty-three. We shall see below that there is reason to think that Digby first met Rammohun in 1801. This as well as the other statement would give 1774 as the year of Rammohun's birth. I am inclined to accept this provisionally, though it would not be safe to dogmatize about it.

Whatever may have been the date of his birth, there can be no doubt that the childhood of Rammohun was spent in the Radhanagar house. There, at the age of 14, he became acquainted with Nandakumar Vidyalankar of Palpara near Sukhsagar, who later became amous as Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami. The current tradition is that Rammohun met him first at Rangpur. This, however, is shown to be incorrect by the testimony of Vidyalankar himself, who says "that he hath known ...... Rammohun Roy from the time ...... [he] attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him."[1] As a matter of fact, Hariharanandanath was associated with Rammohun not only in spiritual matters as is generally believed, but in business transactions as well. As Nandakumar Vidyalankar or Hariharanandanath was a teacher by profession in his early life it is tempting to suppose that Rammohun learnt Sanskrit from him.

In 1791 Ramkanta Roy removed with his three wives, three sons and a grandson on the daughter's side to Langulpara—a village not far from Radhanagar, where he built a new house and settled down with his branch of the family.[2] The causes which led to this removal are not known, but the ancestral house was probably getting over-crowded and Ramkanta was perhaps desirous of living more comfortably without however giving up the right to his share of the ancestral house. He was in very prosperous circumstances at this time, for, in addition to his other properties, he had, in May, 1791, taken in farm from the Company, for nine years (1198-1206 B. S.), the pargana of Bhursoot whose annual *sadar jama* was assessed at Rs. 1,01,389. His eldest son Jagamohan was his surety for this farm.[3] Ramkanta Roy was apparently training his sons in the

1 Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar taken on 27th August, 1818. Nandakumar Vidyalankar was the *guru* of Rammohun Roy and was cited as a witness on his behalf. He describes himself thus: "Pandit aged fifty-six years or thereabout ...... He is a Brahmin and maintains himself by the donations and contributions of his disciples *shishyas*."

2 Depositions of Ramtanu Roy and Gurudas Mukherji.

3 *Board of Revenue Procds.*, dated 2nd May, 1791, Nos. 30, 35.

vocation of a landlord from an early age. In 1794, an important *taluq* called Harirampur in Chitwa Pargana was bought at a revenue sale in the name of Jagamohan Roy,[1] and a Bengali letter dated 22nd March, 1796 (12 Chaitra, 1202 B. S.),[2] proves that young Rammohun was also engaged in looking after his father's property from an early age.

The new house, which Ramkanta built at Langulpara and in which he established new idols, was the typical house of a well-to-do landed proprietor of the age. We have a very full description of it in the Board of Revenue records, because more than twenty-five years later the Government was proposing to bring it up for sale for arrears of revenue due from Ramkanta's son Jagamohan and had a minute inventory prepared. This inventory shows that the residential portion of the house stood on 16 bighas of *Brahmottar* land, with tanks and orchards, in which there were 100 mango, 70 cocoanut and 200 palmyra trees. The palmyra trees stood on the banks of a big tank to the east of the house occupying 18 *bighas* of land. There were two other smaller tanks. Part of the property which was occupied by the buildings was surrounded by 700 cubits of brick wall, and within the enclosure were *pucca* as well as straw *baitak-khana* houses, a straw *nat-mandir*, an *atchala*, other single and double-storied buildings, a *pucca bhandar* room, two straw kitchens and two *durwaza* houses, both *kutcha* and *pucca* with accommodation for menials. Some of these were of quite a fair size. The six-roomed *pucca* building in the zenana, for example, was slightly over fifty-two feet long. Like all Bengali houses of the age it was a rambling affair, more like a collection of homesteads than one house. Some of us may even now have faded recollections of such houses seen in our childhood, and it was in this characteristic Bengali setting that Rammohun's adolescence and early manhood was spent.

Partition of Property and After

The family was apparently maintaining its outward appearance of opulence and unity when an important legal transaction took place towards the end of 1796. On December 1, 1796 (19th Agrahayana,

1 Letter, dated 14th August, 1794, from S. Davis, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 19th August, 1794, No. 4.

2 Published in the *Nabyabharata* of 1303 B. S. (Ashwin, p. 284).

3 Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, 19th January, 1818, from A. Campbell, Collector of Midnapur, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Consultation*, dated 27th Jany., 1818, Nos. 32-33. Also Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, dated 8th May 1822, from J. Digby, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Con.*, 17th May 1822, No. 8.

1203 B. S.), Ramkanta Roy executed a document by which he divided the greater portion of his immovable property among his three sons, reserving only a part for himself. This deed, which all the three sons of Ramkanta endorsed, was attested by seven witnesses, and Ramkanta had the seal of the *Qazi* of Krishnagar (Khanakul)—Khadumoashshira—affixed to it. In this deed Ramkanta Roy wrote:

> You three will enjoy and possess the dwelling houses and tanks and *Ber* gardens and so forth according to the shares which I have defined and allotted to you three. The wearing apparel, goods and effects, ornaments and so forth which I have given severally to individuals are become theirs. I have not given any cash to either of you three. Whatever goods and effects, ornaments and so forth I may give hereafter to individuals severally, shall become theirs, for which there shall be no mutual claims among you three one and against the other. A small part of my self-acquired property and the Burdwan lodging house remain my own exclusive of the shares I have given to you three. You have no concern with my debts and dues extant contracted before this and what shall be so hereafter and with what I may earn from this day I will give the same to whomsoever I please. I have no concern with what you may earn. My own share of the worship of *Ishur* which devolved from my father remains yours three persons in equal shares. All the idols and worship connected with the worship which I have established myself, remain mine, you have no concern therewith. Jagamohan Roy and Rammohun Roy the lands given by your maternal grandfather are become the property of you two. The lands given by Ramlochan Roy's maternal grandfather are become Ramlochan Roy's. I give the lands and tanks whereof Bills of Sale have been obtained by the daughter of the late Bhattacharya in the names of her own sons Jagamohan Roy's, etc. to her. I give to the daughter of the said Ramshankar Roy the lands which she has purchased. Should a claim be ever preferred for the same one against another it is false. I give the entire *taluq* Harirampur in Chetooa Pargana to Jagamohan Roy. With this *taluq* Rammohun Roy and Ramlechan Roy have no concern. Year 1203, date 19th Agrahayana.[1]

It will be seen from this that Ramkanta Roy gave something to his two younger wives, but that nothing fell to the share of the childless Subhadra Devi.

[1] The original document is in Bengali. The English version given is from the translation given in the schedule to Govindaprasad Roy's plaint, dated 23rd June, 1817. The correctness of this translation was admitted by Rammohun.

All the sons endorsed this document in identical words:

I Sri......Roy write I take the dwelling house and so forth which you have allotted to me according to the particulars on this sheet. I will enjoy and possess according to this allotment. Should I ever prefer any claim to any of the items specified, against anybody, or if any one prefers it, it is false. Year 1203, date 19th Agrahayana.

By this partition, which amounted to a gift, Rammohun got the following properties:

Sri Rammohun Roy's Share.

Mauza Nangoorpara : Dwelling and Ber house, Hall bounded by four boundaries together with trees etc. and the tank towards the private door and the new tank with its banks four boundaries. Of all these one moiety	...	1 One Item
Gohalbatee's Ber with trees, etc., and Halls bounded by four boundaries ...	...	8 Eight Bighas
In *Mauza* Crishnnogar : Soorjdas Roy's Ber Paddy Lands	...	9 Nine Bighas
Paddy lands at Cotholyarcoond ...	...	3 Three Bighas
Poorunchuck in Parg. Chundercoona ...	...	70 Seventy Bighas
My own share of the paternal Ber in Mauza Kettyadul	...	1 One Item
House with a pond bounded by four boundaries purchased of Ramcrishn Set and others at Jorasanko in *Mauza* Calcutta ...	...	1 One Item
My own share of the paternal tank at Gopinathpoor	...	1 One Item.

Without going into the details of the other two brothers' shares, it may be stated that, roughly speaking, all the brothers got shares of equal value, with one exception. This exception was that Jagamohan Roy got the *taluq* of Harirampur which had been bought in his name and with which somehow or other he seems to have been specially associated. Of the dwelling houses, that at Langulpara went to Jagamohan and Rammohun in equal shares (value of Rammohun's share being four to five thousand rupees), while Ramlochan got his father's share of the ancestral house at Radhanagar. Another important point to note is that Rammohun Roy got the Calcutta house of Ramkanta at Jorasanko, which was valued at about Rs. 3,000.

Though such a partition and gift could take place at the father's option under the *Dayabhaga* laws in their original form, it cannot be

said that it is or was ever a common occurrence in Bengal. It is, therefore, natural to ask if any special reasons existed for it—a query which it is not at all easy to answer. The documents I have been able to consult do not offer any explanation. So we are left wholly to conjecture or at best inference. In the special interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced, there is a passage which refers to the reasons for the partition. It runs:

> Did you not hear from the said Ramkanta Roy why or for what reason he had made such partition of his property during his lifetime? If yea, declare what reasons were assigned by the said Ramkanta Roy for so dividing or allotting his property......

Tarini Devi was not, however, produced before the Court for examination, and thus we have no answer to this question. But as this set of interrogatories was prepared with a view to cross-examining her, it is quite likely that she had something to do with the partition and a probable hypothesis is that the quarrels between the two younger wives of Ramkanta were one of the reasons which led to it. The fact that Ramlochan Roy was given the Radhanagar house and shortly afterwards removed there with his mother lends some support to this view. This does not, however, exclude alternative or additional explanations, of which I shall put forward one for what it is worth. We know from the deed of partition as well as from other sources that Ramkanta was more or less indebted at this time. He had two or three months before the partition executed a *kistbandi* bond to the Raja of Burdwan binding himself to pay in instalments a sum of Rs. 7,501 on account of the arrear *jama* of parganas Buleea, Bugdee, etc., in one year and by the 15th Ashwin 1204 B. S. (28th Sept., 1797). Bearing this obligation in mind Ramkanta might have made an attempt to safeguard a part of his property for his sons at the expense of his creditor. That in the end he managed to evade this particular payment by "pleading his want of means,"[1] is a further confirmation of the assumption.

However that might be, the separation became a legal fact. Whether it was also real is an interesting though difficult question. There is no doubt that so far as Ramlochan Roy and his mother were concerned, the separation was actual as well as legal. But the situation in regard to Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun is more complicated. About twenty years after the partition, Govinda-

[1] See *Calcutta Review* for August, 1931, pp. 162-65.

prasad Roy, the son of Jagamohan, brought a suit against his uncle Rammohun claiming his due share in the properties then held by Rammohun on the ground that Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun had reunited after the partition and that the properties in the actual possession of Rammohun were the properties and acquisitions of a joint, undivided Hindu family. This claim was vigorously disputed from Rammohun's side. He categorically denied that "immediately or shortly or at any time after the said partition the said Ramkanta, Jagamohan and the defendant [Rammohun] reunited and lived together as a Hindu family or became again and were joint and undivided in food, property and in all other respects," and produced witness after witness, all, it must however be admitted, his relations and friends and persons under obligation to him, to prove that Ramkanta, Jagamohan, and he had never reunited with one another and had all three kept separate accounts of their earnings and expenditure. He admitted that after the partition, he and Jagamohan Roy remained the joint owners or co-sharers of the Langulpara house, that the families of the two brothers lived together under the superintendence and management of their mother Tarini Devi, and that they both paid the expenses of their mother Tarini Devi and their stepmother Subhadra Devi, of their respective families and of the religious services at their house in equal proportions, but he denied that these expenses were paid out of "any common stock or fund" and further said that Ramkanta, he and Jagamohan "were in all other respects unconnected with each other," having "separate and distinct servants and establishments for the service, accommodation and ceremonies of each other and of their respective families" and that the contributions of the two brothers towards the common expenses were paid into the hands of certain *sarkars*.

This state of affairs, though a little illogical and confused, might after all be what actually existed, for even now we come across Hindu families which are separated as regards title to property but united to all outward appearance. This is the result of an unstable and weak compromise between conservatism and self-interest, but it is quite probable that Rammohun's and Jagamohan's families were, as a witness put it, "united in food but divided in property." [2]

On the other hand, there is no need to take a legal defence at its full face value, particularly when there is independent evidence

[1] Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

[2] Deposition of Becharam Sen, produced on behalf of the complainant—Govindaprasad Roy. Becharam was "formerly a *Mohurir* in the service of the defendant for several years since 1215 and of the complainant from Ashar, 1224."

to show that the affairs of Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun were not as distinct and self-contained as Rammohun tried to prove was the case. We have already seen that *taluq* Harirampur in Chitwa pargana was expressly allotted to Jagamohan in the deed of partition to the exclusion of any claim from anybody else. Yet, I have come across a letter, dated 11th July, 1800, in the Board of Revenue records. in which the Collector of Burdwan writes that Ramkanta Roy " is generally supposed to be the actua proprietor of Harirampur, although it is registered in the name of his son." [1] Three years later, in connection with a case of default by Jagamohan Roy, the Collector of Midnapur also wrote that " his father [Ramkanta]... is said to have had the joint management of all his concerns."[2] In addition to these two statements, we find from two Bengali letters of Rammohun himself, dated 21st February, 1798 and 28th February, 1799,[3] that he was issuing instructions from Bhursut in respect of properties which were neither allotted to him in the partition nor included in the list of the properties which were self-acquired by him, and which, accordingly, must have belonged to his father. All these important contemporary evidence goes against Rammohun's categorical statement that the affairs of the father and the sons were wholly distinct.

There are also other indications of Ramkanta's continued interest in the affairs of his sons and of his desire to help their worldly advancement. In the period after the partition he was acting as the Muktear of Maharani Bishen Kumari of Burdwan and held the management of her estates. During that time and with her money he purchased some *mauzas* in a revenue sale in the *furzee* or substituted names of his son Jagamohan and two other persons. For some years Jagamohan not only enjoyed the actual benefits of this property, but tried to make his possession more secure by applying at the Collectorate for a separation from the other *benamdars*, while his father tried to transform the *benami* title of his son into a real title by manufacturing a proof of resale from Maharani Bishen Kumari to Jagamohan. Jagamohan's right to the property was, however, promptly contested by Maharaja Tej Chund after the death of his

1. Letter, dated 11th July, 1800, from R. Cunningham, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 15th July, 1800, No. 14.

2 Letter, dated 25th March, 1803, from T. H. Ernst, Collector of Midnapur, to Wm. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

3 Published by Pandit Mahendranath Vidyanidhi in the *Nabyabharata* of 1303 B.S. (Ashwin, pp. 284-85).

mother in November, 1798, and after a prolonged litigation the case was decided in the Maharaja's favour.[1] There is reason to think, as we shall presently see, that Ramkanta tried to help Rammohun also with money and landed property even after the partition.

We must now come back from the discussion of probabilities to what actually took place after the partition. Within a short time of it Ramlochan Roy removed to Radhanagar with his mother and lived there till his death in Pous 1216 B.S. (Dec.-Jan., 1809-10). Ramkanta went to Burdwan and occupied himself with the management of some zamindaries which he had farmed from the Government and the Raja of Burdwan, and of that part of his property which he had reserved to himself, as well as of the estates of Maharani Bishen Kumari whose Muktear or agent he was. From this date till his death he lived for the most part at Burdwan and fixed his residence in the house which he had kept for his own use.[2] This did not, however, prevent him from remaining in close touch with his family which he occasionally visited. He went both to Langulpara and Radhanagar, and all his sons, too, visited him at Burdwan whenever they could or wanted. We have the specific testimony of one witness that Rammohun occasionally visited his father at Burdwan when he was not absent from home.[3] But none of Ramkanta's wives ever went to see or live with him for any time at Burdwan.[4]

In the Langulpara house, the partition brought about very little outward change except the removal of Ramlochan and his mother. Tarini Devi remained there with her sons and their wives as well as her grandson on the daughter's side (Gurudas Mookerji) and perhaps also her daughter. As we have already seen, it was she who supervised and managed the affairs of the family, and under her, to all appearance, masterful control of the secular as well as the religious routine of the affairs of the family was strictly maintained.[5]

Turning now to Rammohun himself, we find that there is less paucity of information about his activities in this than in the previous

[1] See Sadar Dewani Adalat Reports, Vol. I, pp. 257-59: "Raja Tej Chandra *Vs.* Jugamohun Roy."

[2] Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

[3] Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya taken on 21st August, 1819. He was cited as a witness of the complainant—Govindaprasad Roy. "He went daily to Langulpara family as an officiating Brahmin."

[4] Deposition of Guruprasad Roy taken on 1st October, 1818. Guruprasad was the son of Neemananda Roy, eldest brother of Ramkanta Roy. He describes himself thus: "Zamindar aged 47 years or thereabout......He was in the employ of Ramkanta Roy from 1204 to 1207 B.S."

[5] Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October 1817.

period, though it cannot be described by any means as full or abundant. But small as this information is in quantity, it nevertheless establishes some very important and reliable fixed points in Rammohun's life, from which it is possible to construct an articulated skeleton of his career. We learn from the testimony of Guruprasad Roy that about nine months after the partition Rammohun went to reside in Calcutta. There is nothing surprising in this, because Rammohun had probably had the Calcutta house of Ramkanta assigned to himself with a view to living there. But it does not seem probable that he fixed his permanent residence in Calcutta so early. There are other documentary testimonies which show him at different places at this time. Piecing all these indications together it seems probable that from 1796 to 1800 Rammohun was coming and going between Calcutta and the different places at which the other members of his family or its properties were.

The same Guruprasad Roy tells us that when Rammohun went to Calcutta he left his " wives " at Langulpara. He must, therefore, have been married more than once before 1797, and his wives must have been living in that year. It also seems probable that one of Rammohun's marriages took place after or very shortly before the same date, for we find Nandakumar Vidyalankar (Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami) deposing with reference to the year 1799 that Rammohun " was married at or before the time of the date of the said paper-writing [1799]," but that he had not "at that time or before any child or children by such marriage or otherwise."[1]

The immediate occasion of Rammohun's going to Calcutta in 1797 was most probably a business transaction. In 1797 he lent a sum of seven thousand and five hundred rupees to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, a Civil Servant of the East India Company, who was Assistant to the Collector of Midnapur till 1797 and went to Benares towards the close of that year as Assistant to the Commercial Resident. The money was sent by Rammohun through his *sarkar* to the office of an attorney where the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay executed a bond.[2]

[1] It is worth while to give here the current account of Rammohun's marriages. According to William Adam his first wife died at a very early age after which his father, when he was only about nine years of age, married him within an interval of less than a twelve month to two different wives. Nandamohun Chatterji, a descendant of the Roy family, says that the name of Rammohun's second wife was Srimati Devi and that of the third, Uma Devi (eldest sister of Madanmohun Chatterji of Bhowanipur). The second wife, who is said to have died in 1824, was the mother of all of Rammohun's children. The third wife (childless) survived him. The information now before us indicates that Rammohun was married at least once after he had reached the years of discretion.

[2] Deposition of Goloknarayan Sarkar taken on 11th May, 1819. Goloknarayan was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: " A sarkar residing at Simla but out of employ. Knows defendant for 23 or 24 years."

As Guruprasad Roy says that Rammohun went to Calcutta nine months after the partition, and as Ramsay joined his appointment at Benares in December, the transaction must have taken place sometime between August and November, 1797.

The next two mentions of Rammohun's whereabouts are to be found in two of his own letters dated 21st February, 1798, and 28th February, 1799, respectively, which contained instructions about certain business matters and were written from Bhursut. Bhursut, it will be recalled, was the *pargana* which was taken in farm by Ramkanta from the Government for nine years from 1791 to 1800 and in which some of Ramkanta's ancestral properties were situated.

In the following year, Rammohun transacted a far more important business. On 12th July, 1799 (30 Ashar, 1206 B.S.), he bought at Burdwan two *taluqs* called Govindapur (in Jahanabad Pargana) and Rameshwarpur (in Chandrakona Pargana) for Rs. 3,100 and Rs. 1,250 from Gangadhar Ghosh and Ramtanu Roy respectively.[1] These *taluqs* were two of the most important properties held by Rammohun. The net income which accrued from them to Rammohun after paying all expenses and the *sadar jama* (which was Rs. 21,868-12-0 in 1799) was between five and six thousand rupees.

An incidental, but important, question arises in connection with the loan to Andrew Ramsay and the purchase of the two *taluqs* mentioned above. In his plaint Govindaprasad Roy contended that the money for these transactions was given by Ramkanta Roy from a common fund. Rammohun, however, denied this and asserted that neither Ramkanta nor Jagamohan had any connection with these transactions and that all the money was his own. There is, however, this difficulty in the way of accepting Rammohun's version as correct that we cannot explain where Rammohun got so large a sum of money from. He lent seven thousand and five hundred rupees to Andrew Ramsay within a year of his getting his share of the paternal property. So far as we know, he was at home during all this time, without employment or additional sources of income of any kind. Besides, the property which he got from his father was not so extensive as to give him this sum of money in less than a year, and we have no proof that at this time he sold any part of his property. The Calcutta house which was the only property received from his father ever sold by him with a view to converting his landed resources into liquid assets, was alienated much later. These objections hold true in the case of the purchase of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur

[1] Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

also, though in a lesser degree. On the other hand, Ramkanta Roy was in very prosperous circumstances at that time. He was then managing the affairs of the Burdwan zamindari and holding important zamindaries in farm in his own name. Another important consideration to be borne in mind is that by the deed of partition Jagamohan Roy got the *taluq* of Harirampur, the income of which was between five and six thousand rupees a year, while Rammohun got nothing half so profitable. We have also seen that Ramkanta was helping his son Jagamohan to acquire more property by virtue of his position at Burdwan. It was, therefore, not at all improbable that he should have done the same for his second son and wished to place both the brothers in equal affluence.

Evil Days of the Roy Family and Rammohun's Prosperity.

The closing year of the 18th century saw a disastrous turn in the fortunes of the Roy family as a result of which it was almost wholly ruined in three years. On November 9, 1798, Maharani Bishen Kumari died and with her Ramkanta's power and influence at Burdwan came to an end. On July 13, 1799, Maharaja Tej Chund brought a suit against Ramkanta and Jagamohan in order to recover the *benami* property of his mother which the father and the son were trying to get for themselves. Early in 1800 Ramkanta's farm of Bhursut Pargana expired and he was found to be in arrears of revenue for the year 1206 B. S. The arrears due to the Maharaja of Burdwan for the zamindaries taken in lease from him also reached the high figure of about Rs. 80,000 by this time. By the middle of the next year (1800) Ramkanta was put in *dewani* jail by the Government. He, however, managed to pay a part of the arrears due, *viz.*, Rs. 3,338-2-5 being principal and interest, himself, and the balance was realized from the sale of the lands of his son, Jagamohan, who was his surety.[1] He thus became free from his debt to the Government and was released from the Hooghly jail early in October, 1801. But immediately afterwards he was again put in jail by the Raja of Burdwan who kept him first at Hooghly and afterwards in the *dewani* jail at Burdwan. In 1801 Jagamohan Roy failed to pay the revenue of Harirampur for the year 1207 B. S. He was arrested in June, and kept in the Midnapur *dewani* jail from which he did not come out till 9th March, 1805, and his *taluq* of Harirampur was sold in lots in 1801-02. Even after this measure the Government was inquiring about the resources of the family so as to compel the defaulter to pay.

[1] *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 9th October, 1801, No. 57.

But these inquiries did not yield great results, and in 1803 the Collector of Burdwan wrote:

> I have made enquiries respecting the truth of Ramlochan's assertions [about the inability of the family to pay] from such persons as were immediately near me, and...they all agree in declaring that they believe the family, although once opulent, to be now in ruined and desperate circumstances.[1]

Rammohun alone escaped this ruin through his astuteness and enterprise. He must have known the affairs of the family well and been anticipating the events. Towards the end of 1799 we find him putting his own affairs in order and preparing to go to "Patna, Benares, and to other provinces remote from Calcutta," obviously in search of employment.[2] Three legal documents, all concerning the business affairs of Rammohun in this year have come down to us. The first of them is a *kistbandi* bond (in mixed Persian and Bengali)[3] executed by Rammohun for Rs. 17,989-6-0, constituting the revenue of the *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur from Sravan to Chaitra of the Bengali year 1206. Rammohun had apparently not been able to pay the revenue and was putting the whole affair on a business footing so that the *taluqs* might not be put up to sale for arrears of revenue. The second and the third documents, which were closely related, are respectively a *kabala* written in Persian but signed in Bengali, and a Bengali *ikrarnama* attested to by three witnesses among whom was Rammohun's *guru*, the famous Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami, *sakin* Raghunathpur. By the first document which was executed on 7th Paus, 1206 (20th December, 1799), and registered at Hooghly on 10th January, 1800, before A. Cockburn, Registrar, Rammohun made a sale of his *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur to his friend and relation, Rajiblochan Roy, for a sum of Rs. 4,001.[4] This was, however, a fictitious or *benami* transaction for which no money was actually paid, though Rammohun acknowledged before witnesses that he had received the money.[5] The *ikrarnama* which

[1] Letter, dated 30th March, 1803, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

[2] Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy; Rammohun Roy's answer.

[3] মবলগে সতর হাজার নও শত উননব্বিই ছয় আনা আঠার গণ্ডা জমা ইস্তক শ্রাবণ নাগাদী আখেরি শ্রীরামমোহন রায় সা নঙ্গুড়পাড়া ১২০৬ ।—Mixed Persian and Bengali Records (Board of Revenue), No. $4\frac{WK}{2}$, p. 625.

[4] This document gives the following information regarding the parties: "Document executed by Rammohun Roy son of Ramkanta Roy and grandson of Braja Binode Roy of Nangurpara Zila Hooghly in favour of Rajib Lochan Roy son of Madan Mohan Roy grandson of Ram Gopal Roy of Jara, Pargana Chandrakona, Zila Hooghly."

[5] Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy taken on 19th and 20th April, 1819. Rajiblochan was, as Rammohun says in his answer, "a confidential friend of this defendant." He was "Zamindar aged 50 years and upwards."

bore the date 7th Paus (20th December, 1799) and was given by the same Rajiblochan Roy to Gurudas Mookerji, the nephew (sister's son) of Rammohun, who was not present there and was only a boy of about eleven, runs as follows:

আপনকার অনুমতিতে ও টাকায় লাট রামেশ্বরপুর মোতালক পরগণে চন্দ্রকোণা ও লাট গোবিন্দপুর পরগণে জাহানাবাদ দুই লাটের সদর জমা ২১৮৬৮৵১৯ শ্রীরামমোহন রায়ের নিকট সন ১২০৬ সালের ৭ পৌষ মঃ ৪০০১ টাকা সিক্কা পনে আপন নামে আপনার বেনামিতে খরিদ করিলাম। এই দুই লাটের মালিক ও দান বিক্রীর অধিকারী আপনি আমার সহিত কি আমার ওয়ারিসানের সহিত কিছু এলাকা নাই।

কোন মিছা দাওয়া আমি ইহাতে করি কিম্বা কেহ করে সে বাতিল এবং মিথ্যা।

This document was, however, delivered not to Gurudas Mookerji or his legal guardian but to Rammohun who kept it with himself.[1]

The obvious intention of the transaction completed by the two last-mentioned documents was to keep the title of Rammohun to the *taluqs* as much in the background as possible and at the same time to enable him to assert his rights against everybody whenever he chose to do so. And it cannot be doubted that the intention was realized to the full by the documents. The *kabala* was a regularly registered document and, to all intents and purposes, a valid deed of sale, unless its *benami* nature could be definitely proved. This is always a difficult matter. So, in order to safeguard himself against any possibly fraudulent intentions of Rajiblochan Roy, Rammohun had the *ikrarnama* executed in favour of a minor, who in his turn could not prove a real title. The threefold effect of this transaction was, therefore, this: first, the *taluqs* to all outward appearance were Rajiblochan Roy's; secondly, Rajiblochan could not prove a title to them on account of the *ikrarnama* which was taken by Rammohun; and thirdly, Gurudas Mookerji, too, had no real title, and not only because Rammohun kept the *ikrarnama* in his own possession, but also because he could not prove a *bona fide* purchase, or a real payment of money by himself or his father or mother on his behalf.

Such was the transaction. What were the motives, it may be asked, behind all this *finesse*? On this point Rammohun himself says:

> ... sometime in or about the year of Christ 1800 this defendant was about to proceed to Patna Benares and to other provinces remote from Calcutta and considering the uncertainty of life and having at that time no child this defendant was desirous that in the event of his death happening during his absence from Calcutta, one Gurudas Mookerji then an infant of the age of ten or eleven years and who was the only son of

[1] Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar.

this defendant's sister should after this defendant's death inherit or become entitled to the said two *taluqs* of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur and that this defendant therefore as is usual amongst Hindoos caused a nominal transfer of the said two *taluqs* to be executed to the said Rajiblochan Roy who was a confidential friend of this defendant in trust for the said Gurudas Mookerji.[1]

From both Rajiblochan Roy's and Gurudas Mookerji's depositions we, however, find that the transfer was made with the object of better and more convenient management of the property during Rammohun's absence.

It must be admitted that the latter explanation is more admissible than that of Rammohun, which is highly coloured and, on the face of it, not quite straightforward. We have already seen that the transaction conferred no real title on Gurudas Mookerji, and in the event of Rammohun's untimely death he could not make good his claim as against Rajiblochan, or Rammohun's legal heirs even with the *ikrarnama* in his possession. On the other hand, when this transaction took place Rammohun was actually expecting a child, and as we shall presently see, his wanderings were neither so long nor so risky as is implied in his statement. Besides, Rajiblochan expressly states that the reason for the transfer assigned by Rammohun himself at the time of its occurrence was the better management of the properties. It is, therefore, very likely that Rammohun was using Gurudas only as the tool of his legal subtlety.

But there might have been another and no less important motive besides the plea of better management. The financial situation of the Roy family was at that time very precarious and shortly afterwards Rammohun's father was put in the *dewani* jail for his debts. Anticipating this event, Rammohun might have, of his own accord or at the prompting of his father, sought to protect his most valuable properties against being involved by any chance in the general debâcle.

Anyway, the transaction was completed and in all probability Rammohun set out on his journey shortly afterwards, before his son Radhaprasad was born towards the middle of 1800.[2] We know from the documentary evidence before us that Rammohun went to Patna and Benares at some time between 1800 and 1803, and, though no dates are given of his stay at these places, there can be no doubt that it was at this time that Rammohun went there. From December

[1] Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.
[2] Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy.

1797 to 1802 Andrew Ramsay, to whom Rammohun had lent some money, was at Benares, and it is likely that Rammohun went to him for employment or help. We shall presently come across one undoubted instance of Rammohun's serving under a Civilian obliged by him with a loan.

Rammohun's stay at Patna, Benares and whatever other places he went to was not, however, of long duration, for we find him again in Calcutta in 1801.[1] In this year he employed as his *tahbildar* or "cash-keeper" one Gopimohan Chatterji who remained continuously in his service and managed his affairs in Calcutta. From the statement of this man we find that Rammohun was keeping an establishment at Calcutta, all along, while he himself went to different places in the mofussil—such as "Patna, Benares, Rangpur and Dacca and sometimes Jessore"—on account of employment or business. For a year or two after coming back to Calcutta, he does not, however, seem to have gone to any distant place. It was during this period perhaps that Rammohun began to associate with the Qazi-ul-quzat of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, as well as with the principal officers of those two institutions. The following passage in a memorial of Rammohun to Lord Minto (dated April, 1809) supports this conjecture:

> The education which your petitioner has received, as well as the particulars of his birth and parentage, will be made known to your Lordship by a reference to the principal officers of the *Sudder Dewani Adalat* and the College of Fort William, and many of the gentlemen in the service of the Hon'ble Company, as well as other gentlemen of respectability and character.

The word 'education' in this passage would suggest that Rammohun was indebted in some way for his education to these Muhammadan officials, or at any rate they had special opportunities of acquiring first-hand knowledge of Rammohun's intellectual attainments. It is not at all unlikely that Rammohun carried on his Islamic studies with these officials, and Calcutta was in those days a great centre of Muhammadan learning, thanks to the interest taken by the new rulers of the country in the laws and customs of their predecessors.

There is further confirmation of Rammohun's special association with the learned Maulvis of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the College

[1] Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji taken on 28th September, 1818. Gopimohan was "Muktear aged 32 years," and was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: "A *tahvildar* or cash-keeper in the service of the defendant since 1208 B. E.......having lived for 17 or 18 years with Rammohun Roy in Calcutta."

of Fort William in a letter (dated 31st Jany., 1810) written by Mr. John Digby to the Board of Revenue relating to Rammohun :

> I now beg leave to refer the Board to the Qazi-ul-Quzat in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, and to the other principal officers of those Departments or the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed.

It was perhaps at this time also that he made the acquaintance of Digby, who, as we know from State records, arrived in this country as a Writer in December, 1800, and, before joining his first appointment as Assistant to Registrar of City Court of Dacca in August 1804, had to enter the College of Fort William in order to acquire the necessary knowledge of Oriental languages. This is in perfect accord with Digby's statement that he made his first acquaintance with Rammohun when the latter was twenty-seven years old (*i.e.*, in 1801 according to our calculation).

In Calcutta, Rammohun was also engaged in monetary transactions of various kinds. He bought Company's Papers and dealt in them,[2] and in the next year (1802) lent a large sum of money to another Civilian, Mr. Woodforde. His *tahbildar* Gopimohan Chatterjee says that in 1209 B.S. (1802) " he had Rs. 2,000 on his hands on account of Rammohun and Rammohun desired him to bring Rs. 3,000 from Joykissen Singh...... which sum of Rs. 5,000 was by order of Rammohun delivered to Juggernaut Mozumdar the reputed Sarcar of Thomas Woodforde, Esq."[3]

A few months after this (March, 1803) Rammohun went to Dacca-Jelalpur (the present Faridpur) as Mr. Woodforde's Dewan. Mr. Woodforde was perhaps very glad to accommodate in this way a man to whom he was under a heavy pecuniary obligation.

Rammohun's tenure of dewanship was, however, very short. He joined his appointment at Dacca-Jelalpur on the 7th March, 1803, and relinquished it on the 14th May next. The reason for this was

[1] Another statement about Digby's acquaintance with Rammohun occurs in a letter addressed by him to the Board of Revenue on 30th December, 1810. In this he wrote :

> "...The opinion I have formed of his [Rammohun's] probity and general qualifications in a *five years' acquaintance* with him,......"

Though this statement is at variance with what has been said above, the discrepancy is only apparent. In this passage Digby was obviously referring to the period during which Rammohun was actually serving under him, which dates from 1806 when Digby was officiating as Magistrate of Ramghar Zila and where Rammohun acted under him in the capacity of Sheristadar of the *Faujdari* Court.

[2] Deposition of Gurudas Mukherji taken on 30th April and 1st May, 1819. Gurudas was the sister's son of Rammohun and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant. At the time of deposing he was "Sheristadar, aged 32 years or thereabout."

[3] Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji.

perhaps the departure of Woodforde from Dacca-Jelalpur on account of ill-health.

About this time Ramkanta Roy, Rammohun's father, died. He had been leading a troubled existence after his release from the *dewani* jail of Burdwan. He had paid Rs. 500 to the Raja of Burdwan and executed a *kistbandi* bond to him for the balance which was to be cleared off in eleven years. His eldest son was in the *dewani* jail at Midnapur. His own creditors and those of his son were still pressing for payment, and the only chance of paying them consisted, as his youngest son Ramlochan Roy told the Collector of Burdwan, "in his obtaining a profit from a farm of a lac of rupees per annum which he holds of the Raja, and that the dependence of the whole family is on this farm."[1]

All these anxieties and reverses of fortune were too much for a man of Ramkanta's age. He died in his house at Burdwan in Jaistha, 1210 (May-June 1803).[2] His son Ramlochan was probably there at the time and his grandson Gurudas Mookerji arrived there on the day following his death. But his wives most probably were not present there. Among his two other sons, Jagamohan Roy was in Midnapur jail and Rammohun was perhaps in Calcutta on his way back from Dacca-Jelalpur, which he must have left almost immediately after his resignation (14th May, 1803). That the latter was not present at Burdwan at his father's death-bed is established beyond doubt. In the special interrogatories prepared for Tarini Devi on behalf of Rammohun we find this question: "Where was Rammohun Roy, as you know, have heard, or do believe, at the time of the death of the said Ramkanta Roy?" As the same question is also asked with reference to Jagamohan Roy, it implies that both the sons were absent at the time of their father's death, and the priest of the family, Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya, when cross-interrogated on behalf of Rammohun, expressly deposed that "at the time of the death of Ramkanta Jagamohan was at Midnapore and Rammohun at some foreign place, the name of which he does not recollect."[3]

The death of Ramkanta was the occasion of a dispute in the family over the *sradh* ceremony, in which, to all appearance, Rammohun prominently figured. In the end, he performed a separate *sradh* at his own expense in Calcutta,[4] while Ramlochan Roy performed the

1 Letter, dated 30th March, 1803, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

2 Rammohun's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

3 Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

4 Special Interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced.

sradh at Langulpara [1] with the money which Tarini Devi had raised by pawning the jewels of her grandson, Gurudas Mukerji.[2] Jagamohan as the eldest son performed another *sradh* at Midnapur.[3]

At the time of his death Ramkanta possessed no personal property, and of real properties he had only the Burdwan house (worth about seven or eight thousand rupees) and that part of his ancestral *lakheraj* and *Brahmottar* property which he had reserved to himself by the deed of partition of 1796 and which consisted of "about 50 or 60 bighas of *Brahmottar* lands partly at Chandrakona, partly in the pargana of Jahanabad, partly at Bena, partly in Pargana Gwalla Bhoa and Bursoot and certain Ayma, or farms."[4] The first of these, *i.e.*, the house, was taken possession of, in part settlement of his dues, by the Raja of Burdwan who also resumed the zamindaries let in farm by him, while the other lands which were left by Ramkanta for the services of a certain idol which he had established, were applied for that purpose by his widow Tarini Devi. Three years after his death and after Jagamohan Roy had been released from the *dewani* jail it was discovered that Ramkanta had certain moneys owing to him and that he had left certain judgment decrees from the zila courts of Burdwan and Hooghly. Jagamohan formally applied for these sums as his father's heir, and in the absence of other claimants obtained them from the courts. Their amount, however, did not exceed three thousand rupees.[5]

While the death of Ramkanta and the continued imprisonment of Jagamohan left the family in great distress, Rammohun was leading a prosperous existence and, as he himself suggests, was "in rich and opulent circumstances." We find further evidence of this in the fact that in 1803 (1210 B.S.) he bought the *taluq* of Langulpara in Pargana Boyrah through his *naib* Jagannath Majumdar, from Manikram Dutt and others.[6]

Soon after this Rammohun must have gone to Murshidabad, where his Arabic-Persian treatise on monotheism called "the *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahiddin* or a Gift to Monotheists" was published. The date usually assigned to the *Tuhfat* is 1803 or 1804. This date seems to be correct, for both Andrew Ramsay and Thomas Woodforde were at Murshidabad in 1804 and it is likely that there, too, Rammohun was connected in some way with these two Civilians.

1 Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.
2 Special Interrogatories.
3 Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.
4 Deposition of Guruprasad Roy.
5 Deposition of Gurudas Mookerji.
6 Rammohun's Answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

The tradition is that Rammohun wrote the *Tuhfat* when he was only about sixteen years old, though he did not publish it for many years. This tradition is, however, absolutely untenable, because in the preface of the *Tuhfat* we find:

> " *P.S.* In order to avoid any future change in this book by copyists, I have had these few pages printed *just after composition.*"

This would place the composition of the *Tuhfat* some time not earlier than the advent of the 19th century, if not exactly in 1803-04. In any case the treatise was never *published* in its existing form till after Rammohun's travels in 1800-1801 to which the following passage in the Introduction to the *Tuhfat* obviously refers:

> " I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands."

Rammohun concluded the *Tuhfat* with the following words:

> " I have left the details to another work of mine entitled *Manazirat-ul-Adiyan*,—Discussions on Various Religions."

It would perhaps be going too far to infer from this statement that Rammohun had actually *published* the latter treatise, though he might have contemplated writing it, or had even composed it, either wholly or in part, at the time when he wrote the *Tuhfat.* It is significant that not a single copy of this treatise has yet been discovered by anybody. Secondly, when speaking of his early publications against idolatry Rammohun mentions only the *Tuhfat*, and not the *Manazirat*, as will be seen from the following passage in his *Appeal to the Christian Public*, a booklet published by him in 1820 under the pseudonym of " A Friend to Truth ":

> . Rammohun Roy...although he was born a Brahman, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication.

The New Information and the Current Traditions.

I have tried to set forth above those facts of Rammohun's early life which I think are proven, or, at any rate, reasonably free from all doubts. If these give nothing more than a bare, skeletal outline,

the fault lies as much perhaps with the sources as with me. It has not been my purpose here to describe the growth of Rammohun's ideas and personality. But even if that had been the case, I very much doubt whether in the existing state of our knowledge and short of a real windfall in the way of new material, a reconstruction of the actual workings of young Rammohun's mind could at all be attempted. One must, therefore, rest satisfied for the present with what is only the second best.

But that does not, to my mind, deprive the outline given above of its legitimate value. This framework will substantially stand, and it will be within the four corners of this framework that all new facts, whenever they come, will have to be fitted. As with the new knowledge, so with the old. All that we already know or have heard about Rammohun must be brought within the same framework. This process, as everybody familiar with the existing biographies of Rammohun will find, yields very interesting results. Among them, I shall describe only those which have struck me as far-reaching.

In the first place, the statements in the current biographies about Rammohun's early and wide travels within or outside India and about prolonged sojourns in centres of Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist learning are shown to be more or less open to question. The outline I have constructed hardly leaves any room for them during the period with which we are dealing. His biographers, for example, surmise that Rammohun stayed at Benares for ten years or more in order to study Sanskrit. When could he have undertaken these or other *prolonged* sojourns ? Our documents prove that Rammohun was intermittently at Langulpara, Calcutta and places not far-off from 1791 to 1800. There is, of course, mention of an intended visit to Patna and Benares and other provinces remote from Calcutta in 1800. During these travels, he might have, as the tradition has it, perfected his knowledge of the Hindu or Islamic scriptures. But these stays, as we have seen, were not long, for we find Rammohun again in Calcutta in 1801, 1802 and 1803. The only hypothesis on which the story of Rammohun's long travels and theological education becomes tenable is that he began them at the age of six or seven and finished them by the time his father removed to Langulpara in 1791. And even that would not allow sufficient time for the stays in " Tibet " (for two or three years) and Patna (duration unknown) according to the current traditions.

Secondly, the new information settles once for all the vexed question of Rammohun's patrimony. A good deal of unnecessary

sympathy has been wasted on Rammohun on this score. Mr. Sandford Arnot, his friend and latterly his Secretary in England, writes : "Though the sacrifice of his patrimonial rights was tendered at the shrine of truth and conscience, it was not eventually exacted from him."[1] All current biographies also repeat the story that Rammohun was deprived of, or did not come into, his share of the ancestral property on account of his religious beliefs. They also state that he was persecuted by his orthodox relatives and countrymen for the same reason. All these assertions derive strong support from the line of defence Rammohun himself took up in the Burdwan case. In this defence, among other things, he said :

> ......so far from inheriting the property of his deceased father, [he] had during his lifetime separated from him and the rest of the family, in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together ; the plaintiff, therefore, on the plea of inheritance, could urge no claim against the defendant......in case of a son separating himself from his father during his lifetime, and by his own exertion acquiring property unconnected with his father, and after his father's death inheriting no portion of his father's property, both the *shastur* laws and the established usage and custom of the country do not hold him amenable for his father's debts.[2]

These statements of Rammohun can only be accepted with a good deal of qualification. It is of course technically true that Rammohun did not *inherit* any part of his father's property, because when old Ramkanta died there was no property left for his sons to inherit. He died in extremely embarrassed circumstances, and whatever he left was taken, with one unimportant exception, by one of his creditors, the Raja of Burdwan, in part satisfaction of his dues. But taken in its broader sense, Rammohun's assertion is both incorrect and unfair to his father. As we have already seen, Rammohun did receive his share of the paternal property, and there was no discrimination against him on any ground whatever. He received this property from his father, enjoyed it all along, and was enjoying it when he made the assertion, though perhaps he had increased it considerably like the biblical servant with one talent. Similarly, we find no proof that Ramkanta Roy was alienated from his second son

[1] *Asiatic Journal*, 1833, Sep.-Dec., p. 197.

[2] For the full proceedings of this case the reader is referred to my article on "A Chapter in the Personal History of Raja Rammohun Roy" published in the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1931.

during his lifetime, though of course Rammohun did not help his father with money in his distress.

Last of all, these facts show Rammohun in a new light and, as I regard it, in a more correct perspective. All the existing biographies of Rammohun suffer from an excessive stress on the religious aspect of his career. They all assign a long and rigorous religious apprenticeship to him. The new information, however, proves beyond doubt that during these years Rammohun was also occupied with the management of his father's and his own estates, with lending money to European Civilians and holding jobs under the men so obliged by him, with acquiring properties and carrying through subtle *benami* transactions, with buying Company's Papers and dealing in them, in short with making money and doing everything that went to make a successful and influential man of the world of his age. These facts show Rammohun in another aspect of his life, which is not perhaps less important for a correct understanding of his personality. What Rammohun's biographers totally failed to perceive was that religion, or rather intellectual and dialectic pre-occupation with dogma, was only a part of Rammohun's being, and that he had other matters (including his own worldly advancement) no less near to his heart. This distortion of perspective, the new material before us helps to correct. To give only one example : We have seen that the death of Ramkanta Roy was the death of an ordinary man of the world, which perhaps was sustained by his son with the fortitude of a man of the world. But the pious friends of Rammohun could not let slip such an opening for edification without improving on the occasion. So we find William Adam writing :

> R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the deathbed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram ! Ram ! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity.

Unfortunately, Rammohun was not present at all by his father's death-bed.

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BILL, 1933

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR
Calcutta University

A Big and Privileged Commercial Bank

IN the Reserve Bank of India Bill there are certain features which are likely to be interesting to those of our countrymen who wish to see the progress of joint-stock banks " under Indian auspices." The Reserve Bank is essentially a commercial bank, and since it is a big institution and an institution enjoying certain privileges from the Government, the ordinary, *i.e.*, private commercial banks have reasons for anxiety in its presence. Even large-sized commercial banks are likely to be upset by the establishment of such a powerful concern. Now, Indian banks with solitary exceptions are as a rule medium-sized, nay, tiny or pigmy. As for the eight to nine hundred Loan Offices or " cottage banks," as I have called them so often,* there is every reason for their being nervous about their very existence as soon as the Big One makes its appearance in the market.

" Indian " Banks not likely to suffer

It is just from the standpoint of these fears and anxieties of private banks that we should call attention to the very nature and function of the Reserve Bank as proposed in the present Bill. As in other countries, in India also the Reserve Bank is to be saddled with a statute such as will prevent it automatically from injuring the interests of the private banks. Indian, nay, Bengali banking concerns, as banks, are not likely to suffer simply because of the establishment of the Reserve Bank. The safeguards that have been proposed are extensive and varied and will tend to offer the private concerns, even the Loan Offices of Bengal, opportunities for self-assertion in their own fields. It is to these measures of safety that as students of bank-technique and bank-capitalism our countrymen ought to devote a part of their attention.

* See " The Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal " in Sarkar : *Applied Economics*, Vol. I (1932).

Reserve Bank not to pay Interest

From the standpoint of private banks the most important clause in the Bill is certainly that which saves them from competition with this privileged institution. The safety of these banks,—large, medium and small, non-Indian as well as Indian,—is guaranteed by Art. 17, Section 1, which describes one of the different kinds of business which the Reserve Bank will be authorized to carry on. This has reference to what is called " passive banking," as follows:—" the accepting of money on deposit without interest from and the collection of money for, the Secretary of State in Council, the Governor-General in Council, Local Governments, States in India, banks and any other person."

The position is emphasized in Art. 19, Section 6, which, while enumerating the different kinds of business forbidden to the Reserve Bank, mentions categorically that it is not permitted to " allow interest on deposits or current account."

On this point the Bill can cite a recent American precedent. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 has been amended on a large scale by the Banking Act of June, 1933,* which provides, among other things, for the " safer and more effective use of the assets of banks," and " prevents the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations." Section 19 of the American Act under the present regulations has the following: " No member-bank shall directly or indirectly by any device whatsoever pay any interest on any deposit which is payable on demand."

Naturally, the Reserve Bank is not likely to attract interest-seekers. The business world, therefore, is left wide enough for all the private banks, and they are thereby enabled to draw upon the resources of everybody who possesses something without fear of competition from this source.

Reserve Bank bound by One, Two or More Signatures

Another source of security for the private banks in regard to the question of competition with the Reserve Bank is furnished by Art. 17, Section 2. The purport of all these measures is to prevent the Bank from entering into those kinds of "active" business which are likely to be risky in any way. No bill of exchange or promissory note is to be purchased, sold or rediscounted by the Bank unless the

* **For the Banking Act of 1933 see *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for June 1933.**

documents bear the "signature of a scheduled bank" as in the case of business in Government securities [Clause (*c*)] or "two or more good signatures, one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank" as in the case of *bona fide* commercial transactions [Clause (*a*)] or of agricultural operations or marketing of crops [Clause (*b*)].

In all these instances the risks fall ultimately on those institutions which furnish the signature, and it is interesting to observe incidentally that in every instance the "scheduled bank" is either the only such institution or at any rate one of such institutions. Whatever is necessary to safeguard a Central Bank from the temptations of running headlong into business, which, although likely to be profitable is none the less attended with risk, nay, which is likely to be very profitable *because* it is attended with speculation and risk, has been attempted in this Article. The compulsion to consider certain kinds of business only when the guarantee has been furnished by one, two or more good signatures is the greatest brake upon the freedom of the Bank. It is necessarily therefore the most desirable in the interest of the private banks because the Bank's competition is thereby reduced to a minimum. The entire world of speculative, risky and therefore profitable business is left free and unobstructed for them, and they are at liberty to ransack this world, each according to its risk-bearing capacity.

Reserve Bank not to make Unsecured Loans and Advances

In regard to other kinds of "active" business also the interests of private banks are safeguarded by Section 4 of Art. 17, which describes the conditions under which the Bank is authorized to make loans and advances. It is provided that the loans and advances must be either repayable on demand or during the period of not more than ninety days. And in no instance are the loans and advances to be made without security. The kinds of security are enumerated in clauses (*a*) to (*e*), which, however, need not be discussed here. These limitations upon the freedom or discretion of the Bank are further emphasized in Art. 19, Sections 4 and 5, where it is forbidden to make unsecured loans or advances and draw or accept bills payable otherwise than on demand.

It is to be understood that private bankers are subject to no such limitations. They can use their discretion in regard to every proposition that comes, and it is at their free will that they can decide as to whether a client deserves an unsecured accommodation or a credit

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for longer than ninety days. Indeed, it is just in this power of excercising discretion that the *forte* of banking consists.

The Claims of " Indian " Banks

As regards the status and number of "scheduled banks," the Bill of 1933 is superior not only to that of 1927 but also to that of 1928, because the number of scheduled banks which rose from 26 to 62 in 1928 has risen to 69 in the present instance. In other words, the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Bank is to purchase, sell or rediscount bills of exchange, etc., has been extended to a large number of Indian, including some Bengali, concerns.

The following Bengali banks have been accorded a place in the list of scheduled banks:

1. Bhowanipur Banking Corporation, Calcutta.
2. Jalpaiguri Banking and Trading Corporation, Jalpaiguri.
3. Raikut Industrial Bank, Jalpaiguri.

The list is not imposing. But one will have to observe that in 1927 not one was mentioned and in 1928 the third in the list of 1933 did not obtain the privilege. But still at the present moment we must not refrain from exploring the possibility of pushing the claims of some more of our " cottage banks " to legislative recognition.

More Bengali Banks deserve Recognition

It is surprising, indeed, that only three should have been singled out in the Bill. So far as capital-power is concerned, the following institutions belong more or less to the same group as these three :—

1. Jagadamba Loan Co., Birbhum.
2. Indian Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
3. Mahaluxmi Bank, Chittagong.
4. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
5. Luxmi Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
6. Naogaon Atrai Bank, Rajshahi.
7. Chittagong Bank, Chittagong.
8. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
9. Tipperah Loan Office, Tipperah.

The capital of these institutions ranges between Rs. 100,000 and Rs. 500,000.

And if the criterion is to be furnished by the command over deposits, the claims of the following might well be considered along with those of the three in the Schedule:—

1. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
2. Faridpur Loan Office, Faridpur.
3. Rangpur Loan Office, Rangpur.
4. Bogra Loan Office, Bogra.
5. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
6. Khulna Loan Company, Khulna.
7. Comilla Union Bank, Tipperah.
8. North Bengal Bank, Rangpur.
9. Faridpur Bank, Faridpur.

The deposits in these institutions range between Rs. 1,000,000 and Rs. 5,500,000.

The institutions common to the above two counts are only two in number. Excluding the double entries, there are at least sixteen Banks or Loan Offices in Bengal the claims of which ought to be seriously discussed while preparing the final Schedule for the time being.

The Problem before Bengali Bankers

It is important to signalize the fact that the present Bill does not, like the one of 1927, make the list statutory and fixed. According to Art. 42, Section 7, the door is open to the Loan Offices of Bengal and the *Nidhis* of Madras as well as other Indian banking institutions to enter the list. The possibility of raising the status of the smaller banks is not to be ignored or minimized.

Bengali economic statesmen should know how to manage their banking affairs in such a way as to command important position in the atmosphere of the Reserve Bank along with the representatives of other regions in India. Once more let me repeat my suggestion of long standing to the effect that the time has come for amalgamation and consolidation in Bengali banking enterprise. The opportunities to be rendered available by the establishment of the Reserve Bank should be utilized by Bengali bankers in right earnest in order to strengthen their position in Bengal as well as in All-India.

Two Bengali Interests need Special Directors

The two fundamental interests of the Bengali people in the domain of Indian finance are (1) those of the agriculturists and (2) those of the small-sized banks and loan offices. For some long tim

to come we Bengalis are bound to remain a nation of virtual peasant-proprietors, petty capitalists, small concerns, and cottage or medium industries. Our approach to the Reserve Bank must therefore be oriented to these inevitable considerations. From this standpoint we have to see to it that at least two of the eight Directors (in case they are to be eight only) of the Central Board representing the share-holders are persons such as possess special interest in agriculture and small banks. The problem of the directorate, central as well as local, will have to be re-examined from the view-point of these basic exigencies in the national economy of Bengal.

Bengali Cultivators and the Reserve Bank

In Bengal we ought to take interest in the manner in which French co-operative societies are enabled to finance the cultivators on account of the advances from the *Banque de France*, a topic to which I have been inviting the attention of our countrymen for some years. The Reserve Bank should be prevailed upon to cultivate the same relations with our co-operatives and cultivators as the French Central Bank does for those of France.*

Substantial Share-capital from Bengali Loan Offices

It is time for the directors, managers and others associated with the world of Loan Offices in Bengal to organize measures with a view to secure a substantial portion of Rs. 16,500,000 which is allocated as share-capital for Bengal. Not less than Rs. 5000,000 should be collectively subscribed by the combined Bengali banks. Here is a chance for the Bengali people to enter " high finance " at the thin end of the wedge, and commence the A, B, C of functioning on " Indian " economic platforms. There is no more secure method of safe-guarding " Bengali interests " in Indian commerce and capitalism than by taking advantage of the provisions offered by the Bill. It is to be trusted that Bengali businessmen will not fail to improve the capital power and financial position of their banks by fresh acquisitions as well as concentrations.

Imperial Bank vis à vis *Reserve Bank*

It is curious that the Imperial Bank is to be the only one of the scheduled banks that will enjoy a certain number of gifts from the

* See " The French System of Agricultural Credit " in Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras 1926) and his *Law and the Cultivator : The Example of France* in the Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, December, 1926.

Reserve Bank. The gifts are the following deposits (Third Schedule, Art. 3)—

1. Rs. 30,000,000 without interest during first five years,
2. Rs. 20,000,000 without interest during the next five years,

and so on up to the twenty-fifth year.

Under the system recommended the Imperial Bank is likely to become a rival of the Reserve Bank to a certain extent, at any rate, so far as its command over the financial resources is concerned. The proposal that the Imperial Bank should obtain from the Reserve Bank very large amounts as interest-free balances, is just calculated almost to introduce a " dyarchy " in Central Banking and ought to be treated as a reactionary and irrational measure. To establish a Reserve Bank and at the same sime to continue to bestow certain Central Bank privileges on a private Bank constitute a bankocratic confusion of the worst type,—even although it be for a transitional period. Neither would the Reichsbank entertain such a proposition in favour of the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft nor the Banque de France for the Credit Lyonnais, nor the Bank of England for the Midland.

Imperial Bank vis à vis *other Scheduled Banks*

In case the Bill in its present form becomes law, the anomalous position of the Imperial Bank in the banking system of India for twenty-five years after the establishment of the Reserve Bank can escape nobody's notice. If it is to be a "scheduled bank," *i.e.*, one of the 69 private banks endowed with the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Reserve Bank is authorized to deal in bills of exchange, the Imperial Bank, like all the others, ought to maintain a balance with the Reserve Bank to the extent of 7½ per cent. of the daily average of its demand liabilities *plus* 2½ per cent. of the daily average of its time liabilities [Art. 42, Section 1]. As a scheduled Bank, the Imperial Bank should not possess any privileges such as are denied to the others.

Any preferential treatment of the Imperial Bank is unfair to the other scheduled banks. From their standpoint the proposition is entirely objectionable. The concessions to be enjoyed by the Imperial Bank would spell danger to their normal functioning. As has been

pointed out above, they have been relieved of the fear of competition with the Reserve Bank because of statutory safeguards such as serve to curb it of its freedom in functions and delimit the range of its transactions. But out of the frying pan they would be thrown into the fire in so far as they will have to encounter rivalry with the pampered mammoth in the shape of the Imperial Bank, which will be as free as themselves to enter every market.

The Proper Conditions of Agency for the Reserve Bank

The trouble has arisen from the solicitude to entrust the Imperial Bank with the " sole agency " of the Reserve Bank (Third Schedule, Art. 1). The patronage in the form of agencies ought rather to be fairly distributed among a large number of scheduled banks and should not be a monopoly to be enjoyed by just one institution.

Besides, the period of twenty-five years during which the Imperial Bank is to enjoy the monopoly (Art. 43), should appear to be too long. Businessmen ought to try to have it brought down to not more than seven years.

There is no reason why the Reserve Bank should fail to develop a large number of branches of its own during the next five or seven years and be as far as possible independent of the Imperial Bank and other scheduled banks in regard to the business that is generally entrusted to agents in the absence of one's own branches.

CONTEMPORARY POETRY

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Any one familiar with the well-known instances in literary history of ill-balanced and unsatisfactory criticisms of the works of contemporary poets will think many times before venturing to attempt an estimate either of the main tendencies of the poetry of to-day, or of the works of the leading modern poets. He should at all events be conscious that his estimate must inevitably be incomplete, tentative, and premature. What he says to-day he may himself feel called upon to modify to-morrow and he may be certain that the coming generations will have something very different to say. Time and space have their own inscrutable and inexorable standards. Each day discovers a new prophet, but the generations and the centuries are just.

* * *

Victorian poetry, like the rest of Victorian literature, had been marked by what its arch-priest called ' high seriousness.' The Victorians took themselves seriously: they reverenced their Art. They were intellectual, highly moral, and severely practical. The controversies of Religion and Science, High and Low Church, Catholic Emancipation, Positivism, Free Trade, left them no heart for frivolity or light-heartedness. The solid virtues were praised: self-help, reliance, thrift. Poetry, too, was always distinguished, rarely trivial. The language employed by the poets was becoming once more dignified, pure, and impressive. As Flecker rightly remarked in his essay on John Davidson, " The royal harmonies of ' Hyperion,' the falling cadences of Rossetti, the clear rustle of Tennyson's measure, the impetuosity of Swinburne—spring from a nearly identical convention, rich and infinitely variable, which nevertheless yearly became more distant from the general language of mankind." Exceptions there had been, it is true, Thackeray and Patmore, for instance. But in the main, the typical Victorian expressed beautifully a comfortable philosophy of life. He had in his early years known mental distress, doubt, uncertainty, 'strife-divine.' The effort to

get over it and to effect a 'compromise' ended in a belief in Progress, in Liberalism that looked forward with confidence to the Federation of the World. God was in His heaven, and all was right with the world. William Morris spoke

> Of the wonderful days a-coming,
> When all shall be better than well.

Lord Morley, one of the most persuasive apologists of the Victorians, says: "The outcast and the poor are better tended. The prisoner knows more of mercy, and has better chances of a new start. Duelling has been transformed from folly to crime. The end of the greatest of civil wars—always the bitterest of wars—was followed by the widest of amnesties. Slavery has gone, or is going. The creatures below man may have souls or not—a question that brings us into dangerous dispute with churches and philosophies—either way, the spirit of compassion, justice, understanding, is more steadily extending to those dumb friends and oppressed servitors of ours who have such strange resemblances to us in form, faculty and feeling." If the philosophical Radical be suspected of being too partial, here is the equally enthusiastic testimony of a pessimist like George Gissing: "Often have the English people been at loggerheads among themselves, but they have never flown at each other's throats, and from every grave dispute has resulted some substantial gain. They are a cleaner people, and more sober; in every class there is a diminution of brutality; education has notably extended; certain forms of tyranny have been abolished; certain forms of suffering, due to heedlessness or ignorance, have been abated." They forgot or did not choose to remember that, in 1880, Henry George had written in the Preface to his *Progress and Poetry*: "So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundation, and every new storey but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty is but to make them restive; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex."

But during the reign of Victoria, optimism, belief in progress, complacency continued, and it was not until after the first decade of the present century that the rumble of discontent began to be heard. The

meod of midsummer ecstasy had been worked to the dregs. Reaction inevitably set in.

* * *

Before 1914 is reached, however, we have to take note of the intervening period, and especially of the eighteen-nineties,—usually condemned as decadent, but in truth yielding an amazingly rich crop of poetry. It witnessed an æsthetic movement with which are associated the names of Lord Alfred Douglas, Ernest Dowson, Lawrence Housman, Lionel Johnson, J. A. Symonds, Arthur Symons, Francis Thompson, W. B. Yeats, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, George Moore—an impressive list of artists, who, whatever their other qualities, were genuinely, and passionately, devoted to their art. That several of them were unfortunate and died prematurely, that a few of them were drunkards or opium addicts, that at least one of them committed suicide—is irrelevant. Flaubert and Baudelaire had taught in France the glorification of Art as art, irrespective of ethics; in the nineties the English writers spent all their energy and all their intellectual resources on formal perfection, on technical finesse, on widening the range of literature by bringing in unsavoury subjects, dirty details, the seamy side of life. Mr. Middleton Murray wonders if it was not a misfortune that the word 'art' ever came to be mixed up with literature. At any rate, while in its content poetry was brought nearer to the homes and hearts of the masses, in form it was more exquisite, more 'precious' than ever before. From this semi-artificial mode of expression a reaction was inevitable. The exotic hot-house air of Lord Alfred Douglas'

"Steal from the meadows, rob the tall green hills,
Ravish my orchard's blossoms, let me bind
A crown of orchard flowers and daffodils,
Because my love is fair and white and kind.

To-day the thrush has trilled her daintiest phrases
Flowers with their incense have made drunk the air,
God has bent down to gild the heart of daisies,
Because my love is kind and white and fair.

To-day the sun has kissed the rose-tree's daughter
And sad Narcissus. spring's pale acolyte,
Hangs down his head and smiles into the water,
Because my love is kind and fair and white."

or of J. A. Symonds'

"Fear not to tread; it is not much
To bless the meadow with your touch
Nay, walk unshod; for, as you pass,
The dust will take your feet like garss.
O dearest melodies, O beat
Of musically moving feet!"

was bound to be rudely disturbed. And even during the nineties the first notes of rebellion were heard—silently at first, faint and unheeded, but calm, and apparently without any feeling. Combining faultless expression with deep discontent, Mr. A. E. Housman's work created little or no impression when *A Shropshire Lad* appeared in 1896. And yet it was a portent. Gone was the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorians, the enthusiasm and ardour, the pride and sense of glory. Instead, discontent reigned—not at anything ephemeral, temporary, or accidental, but at the sorry scheme of things entire, at the very texture of the world. The peace and the absence of violent expression made the discontent grimmer, more poignant and terrible. There was no way of escape; the shades of the prison-house were bound to lengthen. Death alone could perhaps open a way out.

"Now hollow fires burn out to black,
And lights are guttering low;
Square your shoulders, lift your pack,
And leave your friends and go.

Oh never fear, man, nought's to dread,
Look not left nor right:
In all the endless road you tread
There's nothing but the night."

"Shot? so quick, so clean an ending?
Oh that was right, lad, that was brave,
Yours was not an ill for mending,
'Twas best to take it to the grave.

Oh, you had forethought, you could reason,
And saw your road and where it led,
And early wise and brave in season
Put the pistol to your head.

Oh soon, and better so than later
After long disgrace and scorn,

You shot dead the household traitor,
The soul that should not have been born.

Right you guessed the rising morrow
And scorned to tread the mire you must:
Dust's your wages, son of sorrow
But men may come to worse than dust.

Souls undone, undoing others,
Long time since the tale began.
You would not live to wrong your brothers:
Oh lad, you died as fits a man.

Now to your grave shall friend and stranger
With ruth and some with envy come:
Undishonoured, clear of danger,
Clean of guilt, pass hence and home.

Turn safe to rest, no dreams, no walking;
And here, man, here's the wreath I've made;
'Tis not a gift that's worth the taking,
But wear it and it will not fade."

Rudyard Kipling's career began while Tennyson's mellifluous voice was still heard, and Browning's verse was beginning to be understood. Fitzgerald's spell was spreading, the half-sceptical melancholy, the vague longing for the pleasures of the flesh mixed up with a stoic philosophy, made the Persian Omar an English classic. Coming close after were the striking figures of Morris, Swinburne and Meredith. Mediaeval romance, 'Chaos illumined by lightning,' enchanted scenes, blend of psychology and fancy—these held public attention for a few years. Kipling followed these giants and had to bear the brunt of the attack on the moderns. His poems were matter-of-fact, practical, business-like, they did not imagine so much as observe. There was room for humour, for pathos, for tears, they were a leaf out of the book of life. They were not tinted with rainbow hues nor did they echo the roar of the thunder. They described earthly life, with all its many aches and ecstasies. If he sees romance in the street and beauty in the barracks, he is a genuine poet. For the true seer beauty and loveliness never pass away, the squalor and the smoke conceal the mystic wonder which he both discovers and interprets. Kipling's manner of writing seemed jarring, harsh and crude. He employed many cockney expressions, many phrases known to the Tommy alone, many words which Anglo-Indians alone could understand,

he took great liberties with spelling, he manipulated pronunciations, he used many abbreviations. All this was new, and Kipling suffered grievously for his innovations.

Then Thomas Hardy came out with his poetical works—employing the dramatic lyric much more successfully than even Browning, singing of God's helplessness and man's insignificance. He used too many words which are local colloquialisms. He introduced into poetry the art of the reporter, merely reproducing a conversation without any explicit comment. This was followed up by Mr. Wilfred Gibson, whose first volume of poems appeared in 1900. He began in the approved Victorian style of pseudo-romanticism ; but by the year 1905 he had cast off this superficial veneer and asserted his own personality ; and since the publication of *The Web of Life* in 1908 he has gone on singing of the dull, drab and dreary life of the workmen, the shop-keepers, the workless. Their little dreams, their humble aspirations: the fight for their daily bread; the courage and the manliness, their generous impulses and their loving kindness ; these became soon his chosen themes. Nor has he shaken off their charm yet. He is the Poet of his own poem :

"His was no easy eloquence—
Not his the volubility
Of volatile vacuity :
So much he had to say.
Such crowded news he gathered by the way,
That his tongue stammered, struggling with a sense
Of the unutterable opulence
And unimaginable magnificence
Of every day."

It is this "unimaginable magnificence of every day" which struck the poets who were before long to declare themselves realists with a vengeance. How can this be reconciled ? What have magnificence and offensiveness in common ? It is the supreme achievement of the modern poet that underneath the superincumbent weight of dull thick ugliness he hears the heart of the beautiful palpitating in harmony with all that is good and lovely.

In 1911 appeared *The Everlasting Mercy* by the present Poet Laureate. It immediately created a sensation. His latest biographer, Mr. Gilbert Thomas, says, "It disturbed both the surface and the hidden depths. It carried Mr. Kipling's literary method further than its originator himself had done. But it not only

wrinkled the smooth bosom of the lake ; it probed to the mud of conventional and stagnant morality beneath." Some described it as a work of genius, others as a blatant piece of vulgarity. The significant fact is that it dwelt upon ugliness if not with satisfaction, certainly with no disgust; that it mingled beauty with dirt and loveliness with scum; that blackguardism and godliness are both found in the same individual; that swear-words and 'bad' words and tabooed words are freely used. The passages that were found revolting then and are not very pleasant even now were like the following:

" The room was full of men and stink
Of bad cigars and heavy drink.
Riley was nodding to the floor
And gurgling as he wanted more.
His mouth was wide, his face was pale,
His swollen face was sweating ale;
And one of those assembled Greeks
Had corked black crosses on his cheeks...
A dozen more were in their glories
With laughs and smokes and smutty stories;
And Jimmy joked and took his sup
And sang his song of 'Up, come up'
Jane brought the bowl of stewing gin
And poured the egg and lemon in,
And whisked it up and served it out
While bawdy questions went about,
Jack chucked her chin, and Jim accost her
With bits out of the 'Maid of Gloyster.'
And fifteen arms went round her waist.
(And then men ask, Are Barmaids chaste?)."

Kipling, A. E. Housman, Thomas Hardy, Wilfrid Gibson, and Masefield anticipated and determined the main tendencies of what has been designated the Georgian School of Poetry.

* * *

With a wonderful sensitiveness to popular feelings, never more striking than during the years immediately preceding the War, Mr. Lloyd George said once in course of a speech : " You have hundreds of thousands of men working unceasingly for wages that barely bring them enough bread to keep themselves and their families above privation. Generation after generation they see their children

wither before their eyes for lack of air, light, and space, which is denied them by men who have square miles for their own use. Take our cities, of a great empire. Right in the heart of them everywhere you have ugly quagmires of human misery, seething, rotting, at last fermenting. We pass them by every day on our way to our comfortable homes....You can hear, carried by the breezes from the North, the South, the East and the West, ominous rumbling." This was before the War, and Georgian Poetry came into prominence two years before that world-conflagration and was indeed independent of it. The War opened men's eyes. They saw their comfortable fictions fail. Disillusionment came. And a nervous, fearful people realised that the music-makers had indeed a truer vision, and they had read the riddle aright. Recognition and popularity the Georgian poets now received in abundant measure. Indeed, appreciation became unreflecting, and praise was transferred into adoration. The wheel had come full circle.

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A well-informed critic divides the moderns into seven groups—the Philosophers, consisting of Lascelles Abercrombie, Rupert Brooke, John Drinkwater, Harold Monro, John Masefield ; the Realists, comprising Wilfrid Gibson, Siegfrid Sassoon, W. H. Davies ; the Fantastics, including Walter de la Mare, Ralph Hodgson, Robert Graves, James Stephens ; the Exotics, consisting of Gordon Bottomley, Flecker, and D. H. Lawrence ; the Critic Poets such as J. G. Squire, John Freeman, Edmund Blunden ; the Imagists including Ejra Pound, Richard Aldington, and F. S. Flint; and finally, the Wheels group, consisting of Edith Sitwell and her brothers Osbert and Sacheverell and Aldous Huxley. This division is not altogether satisfactory ; but it helps to focus attention on the wonderful diversity of modern poetry, its varied aims and ideals and its main characteristics. To the question whether the moderns can rightly be said to form a school, two answers have been given, each by an eminent scholar. Sir Edmund Gosse says: "The poets who have become prominent in the present century are remarkable for their general identity. They form a school in a degree which has rarely been seen in this country." On the other hand, Professor Gilbert Murray insists that "each writer has his own special quality and character, and hardly any two of them are much alike. There is no remotest sign of a school, a clique, or a coterie. These writers are not Futurists, nor Unanimists nor Paroxysts, nor Asphyxiasts, nor

members of any other rising doctrinal body. They have written as suiting them best, and their work has been judged for its poetry, not for its tendency." To the extent that each poet has his own individuality, we may object to the use of the terms 'school' and 'group.' But in point of time, if nothing else, they must all be considered together. What can be more dissimilar than the torrent and storm in Marlowe and the serenity and sweetness of Spenser ; the artistic lawlessness of Shakespeare and the dull classicalism of Jonson ; the grace and studied elegance of Lyly and the sententious brevity of Bacon ? And yet are they not Elizabethans ? Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Shelley, Southey, Keats, Byron—how diverse, how rich, and how abundant are their gifts, yet they all belong to the romantic school. There is nothing to be frightened of in a label. The characteristic features of the work of Masefield are different from those of W. H. Davies. No poets can be more dissimilar than Yeats and Ejra Pound. But none the less they are Georgians and there is something in the work of each of them that brands them so. One does not think naturally of poets who adhere to the classical tradition—poets like Maurice Baring, William Watson, and Lascelles Abercrombie ; these seem uninfluenced by the spirit of the age. But for the rest the years 1910-30 are writ large on their work.

The origin of the name 'Georgian' is to be traced to the year 1912 when a volume of less than two hundred pages was published in the month of December. It was entitled *Georgian Poetry*, and had poems among others by Rupert Brooke, Abercrombie, Robert Graves, and Masefield. The editor, E. M., said he believed "English poetry is now once again putting on a new strength and beauty." Whether in quality the new poets were to achieve much was yet to be proved. But in quantity they amply demonstrated that poetry was very much alive. During the eight years 1912-1920, no fewer than a thousand poets published volumes of their work. There was no doubt that poetry had once more gained popular favour. Helicon was flooded.

There can be little question that the moderns are, despite all their apparent carelessness, skilled artificers of verse. So far as technique is concerned they are almost as meticulous as the most conscious artist of the 'nineties.' Robert Graves classes them into three groups, and distinguishes their verse thus: "With the Conservative the prosody is always that of the five iambic feet and the cæsura

that can have only three legitimate places. Variations are permitted only in the case of awkwardly scanning proper names, or occasional moments of passion or dramatic pause, or heavy humour. The extra syllable at the end is regarded as a decadence. The Liberal seldom uses blank verse, but when he does, justifies his greater variation, occasional trochees, dactyles or anapests instead of iambs, and frequent feminine endings, by Shakespeare's later tragedies. The Left Wing may do almost anything to blank verse, and does. The way to do it is to do it." This is a useful division, though it refers almost exclusively to the use of blank verse. There are many verse experimentors not all of them equally successful. Several old metres are revived. The octosyllable couplet, for instance, is used with remarkable skill by some. Here are some lines by Gerald Cumberland:

" For me life has no joys but these:
To search for new discoveries,
To burn my flesh at life's great fire,
To quench my soul of its desire,
To rise upon ambition's wings,
To risk my life for gorgeous things;
But new discoveries soon blend
With stale regret, and then they end."

Or the following by W. H. Davies:

" A poor life this, if full of care,
We have no time to stand and stare."

Some other metrical forms are used with varying degrees of skill and new forms are attempted.

Then they sometimes startle readers used to the majestic diction of English verse, even to the homely language of Wordsworth's baldest pieces, by words of questionable taste, uncommon and obscure words, and words that hurt and wound. This is a definitely Georgian tendency, observable alike in prose and verse. James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence have done much to mitigate the rudeness of the shock caused by the style of Nasefield and others. Naked descriptions of the sex act are now acclaimed as touching the high water-mark of artistic excellence. One need not be a puritan to condemn the prurience that leads to such writing and the blind partisanship that praises it. But the great urge of the present day is to rend all veils. The earlier generations had mismanaged affairs so that their humanitarianism had led to a holocaust. Their civilization had collapsed. Religion and

Church had encouraged destruction. Social greetings and forms were camouflaged jealousies and hates. The generation that had been born to this heritage of woe was determined to destroy the entire fabric that had proved not only its worthlessness but its danger. Down with the aged ! Down with the past ! And specially down with all reticences ! No testimony could be trusted. Men must experience for themselves. The laxity that we observe in literature today is the manifestation of this widespread discontent. Compared to what readers get in some novels, Georgian poetry provides stuff that is weak as water. Yet when it first appeared, there was much comment and many shakings of the head. When *The Everlasting Mercy* appeared in Austin Harrison's *English Review* no swear-words were printed; spaces were left blank. In Masefield's *Collected Poems*, this great poem includes words like ' whored ' (twice); ' closhy put' ; ' bloody ' (about 10 times); ' damn ' (several times); ' swine ' ; ' smutty ' ; ' bawdy ' ; ' pipped ' ; ' whores and sots '; ' lice'; ' offspring of the hen and ass'; ' dirty-whores ' ;—words strong enough in all conscience, and used, one may be sure, of set purpose. The story is one of sin in all its phases and of redemption. There is appropriateness perhaps in the words quoted above appearing in passages that speak of Saul Kane's transgressions, even as there is appropriateness in the exquisite lines with which the tale of eternal mercy ends :

" O lovely lily clean,
O lily springing green.
O lily bursting white,
Dear lily of delight,
Spring in my heart agen
That I may flower to men."

One may observe next the fondness for irregular patterns and sentences left incomplete; for pictorial representation, thereby approximating to the cinematograph, for concrete objects rather than abstract ideas. Mr. Herbert Read remarks: " The modern poet does not deny the right of regular verse to exist, or to be poetic. He merely affirms that poetry is sincerity, and has no essential alliance with regular schemes of any sort. He reserves the right to adapt his rhythm to his mood, to modulate his metre as he progresses." This freedom to regulate his verse so as to suit the sense and the temper is illustrated in the following specimens :

" Himself
And the element.

Food, of course!
Water-eager eyes,
Mouth-gate open
And strong spine urging, driving;
And desirous belly gulping." (D. H. Lawrence's *Fish.*)

"He'd even have his joke
While we were sitting tight,
And so he needs must poke
His silly head in sight
To whisper some new jest,
Chortling, but as he spoke
A rifle cracked...
And now God knows whe I shall hear the rest." (Wilfrid Gibson's *The Joke.*)

"A wail.
Lights. Blurr.
Gone.
On, on, Lead, Lead, Hail.
Spatter. Whirr ; Whirr ;
Toward that patch of brown;
Direction left." (Robert Nichols' *The Assault.*)

"The things of today and yesterday
That have lived but a short time with her
Are gone,
And only the old things remain." (May Sinclair's *The Grandmother*)

When one seeks to recapture one's impression of the unity of thought in modern poetry, one is bewildered by apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. Even a single poet is not always consistent: how much less a whole generation of poets. But the observation may be hazarded that disillusionment is the predominant note in modern poetry. A glory and a loveliness have faded from life and men. The poet is depressed that there should be so much ugliness and misery. He realises the contrast between what is and what might be. The tyranny of the mere thing has gripped him, and he groans under it. Machine, man-made machine, crushes life out of man and all beauty is smothered. Man and woman and child are all alike becoming slaves to the god named Machine. Deliberately man plots his spiritual ruin. "These be thy gods, O Israel ?" Little wonder that seeing thus

.beneath the surface of things, the poets mourn and lament and cry. Melancholy their songs are in consequence, and wistful; but not melancholy in the manner of Keats and Shelley, not dejected as Coleridge was dejected, nor depressed as Byron fancied himself to be. It is a far cry from

"The nightingale's complaint
It dies upon her heart,
As I must die on thine,
O beloved as thou art!" (Shelley)

"But she is in her grave, and oh,
The difference to me!" (Wordsworth)

"If I should meet thee
After long years,
How should I greet thee?—
With silence and tears." (Byron)

"Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever,—or else swoon to death." (Keats)

to Wilfrid Gibson's "*Geraniums*"—

"Stuck in a bottle on the window-sill,
In the cold gas-light burning gaily red
Against the luminous blue of London night,
These flowers are mine; while somewhere out of sight
In some black-throated alley's stench and heat,
Oblivious of the rocket of the street,
A poor old weary woman lies in bed.

Broken with lust and drink, blear-eyed and ill,
Her Battered Bennet nodding on her head,
From a dark arch she clutched my sleeve and said:
"I've sold no bunch today, nor touched a bite...
Son, buy six-pennorth; and 'twill mean a bed."

So blazing gaily red
Against the luminous deeps
Of starless London night,
They burn for my delight:
While somewhere, snug in bed,
A worn old woman sleeps.

And yet tomorrow will these blooms be dead
With all their lively beauty; and tomorrow

May end the light lusts and the heavy sorrow
Of that old body with the nodding head.
The last oath muttered, the last pint drained deep,
She'll sink, as Cleopatra sank, to sleep;
Nor need to barter blossoms for a bed."

This is melancholy that borders on tragedy, stark and grim and real. There may be some exaggeration or mistake in taking such a serious view of life. But none can deny to the poet honesty and sincerity. If in the attempt to be true to experience he appears to be offensively fond of ugliness, his explanation is, in Rupert Brooke's words: " There are common things,—situations or details—that may suddenly bring all tragedy, or at least the brutality of actual emotions, to you I rather grasp relievedly at them, after I have beaten vain hands in the rosy mists of poets' experiences."

Connected with this feature and indeed part of it, is the poets' sense of the irony of life, and the curious mingling of light-hearted frivolity and deep feeling. The burthen of their songs is that 'the world's more full of weeping than you can understand.' Thomas Hardy is so persistently struck by the horror of the passage of time, by the miseries and griefs and losses which are mankind's inheritance, by the inevitableness of tragedy—that he is, despite his vehement protests, one of the major poets of pessimism in English. Not Clough, nor James Thomson, is more uniformly sad and depressing.

" Whence comes solace ? Not from seeing
What is doing, suffering, being;
Not from noting Life's conditions,
Not from heeding Time's monitions;
But in cleaving to the Dream,
And in gazing on the gleam
Whereby grey things golden seem."

Or again in the poem entitled, *To Life*:

" O Life, with the sad scared face,
I weary of seeing of thee,
And thy droggled cloak and thy hobbling pace.
And thy too-forced pleasantry!

I know what thou wouldst tell,
Of Death, Time, Destiny—
I have known it long, and know, too well,
What it all means for me.

But canst thou not array
Thyself in rare disguise,
And feign like truth, for one mad day,
That Earth is Paradise ?

I'll tune me to the mood,
And mumm with thee till eve,
And may be, what as interlude
I feign, I shall believe! "

The note of frivolity appears in such poems as Belloe's *Dives* Hardy's *Ah, are you digging ?*, which are at the same time full of a serious import.

Among other characteristics may be mentioned the return to nature, the habit of sharp contrast and anti-climax, and fondness for the distant and the romantic. One may quote such pieces as Ralph Hodgson's *The Gipsy Girl*:

" She fawned and whirred 'Sweet gentlemen,
A penny for three tries! '
—But oh, the den of wild things in
The darkness of her eyes! "

or from W. H. Davies' *The Likeness*:

" That flock of sheep, on the green grass
Well might it lie so still and proud
Its likeness had been drawn in heaven,
On a blue sky, in silvery cloud "—

to illustrate the pictorial quality of some modern poetry. Or the sense of contrast by means of passages like

" Why do you lie with your legs ungainly huddled,
And one arm bent across your sullen cold
Exhausted face? It hurts my heart to watch you,
Deep-shadowed from the candle's guttering gold:
And you wander why I shake you by the shoulder ;
Drowsy, you mumble and sigh and shift your head...
You are too young to fall asleep for ever ;
And when you sleep you remind me of the dead."

(S. Sassoon's *The Dug-Out.*)

or Wilfrid Gibson's *Snug in my Easy Chair,* or Masefield's *Cargoes.*

Very great departure in technique, and considerable change in theme and outlook—these mark out modern poetry. In so far as the language tends to approximate more closely to the language of every-day life it is an advance in the right direction and makes poetry more valuable for the masses and not merely for the cultured few. But when the theme is elevated and the poet does not deal with common-place and vulgar subjects, the language is exalted, suggestive and rich in those qualities that mark the genuine song. Even a modern is capable of such exquisite lines as:

"Poplars and fountains and you cypress spires
Springing in dark and rusty flame,
Seek you aught that hath a name?
Or say, say: Are you all an upward agency
Or undefined desires?"

(Aldous Huxley.)

"They are not long, the days of wine and roses:
Out of a misty dream
Our path emerges for a while, then closes
Within a dream."

(Ernest Dowson.)

"Very old are we men;
Our dreams are tales
Told in dim Eden
By Eve's nightingales;
We wake and whisper a while,
But, the day gone by,
Silence and sleep like fields
Of Amaranth lie."

(Walter de la Mare.)

"Oh world of lips, O world of laughter,
Where hope is fleet and thought flies after,
Of sights in the clear night, of cries
That drift along the wave and rise
Then to the glittering stars above.
You know the hands, the eyes of love!"

(Rupert Brooke.)

But one may hope that slang and swear-words will disappear speedily and leave literature alone.

When we consider the contents we are on surer ground. The poet of to-day has enlarged the range of poetry and has an outlook which differs materially from that of his forbears. He is not deeply

stirred by sunset and evening star ; Cleopatra and Helen are mere names to him ; Vallambrosa and Claramara murmur no secrets to him. He is not touched by the sight of moonlight sleeping upon the banks or by the sound of the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets. He is moved rather by the sight of the trenches and the mines and the brothels. He has plumbed the depths of man's misery. He dwells not on realism but on reality, as Lord Dunsany puts it. Tears well out of the abundance of his sympathy. He looks below and above and bewails the gulf. How sweet and pure and lovely are man's dreams ; and how dark and ugly their life. The end of poetry that concentrates on these is precisely the same as that of the poetry of earlier ages ; to emphasise the glory of happiness, the pricelessness of the endeavour to do and be good, the desirability of dreams. The method is different. After all the phases, after laughter and sorrow and scorn and rage, after the storm and tempest, one notices in the typical poetry of today a strain of tenderness, sympathy, and compassion. The cynicism is only surface-deep. The passionate rage is the outcome of pity. Join to this understanding and you have the philosophy of the world's masters, Homer and Shakespeare.*

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* Portions of this appear as Introduction to the *Anthology of Modern Verse* (Macmillan, London).

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D LITT., D.D., D.L.
Calcutta.

THE subject which has been assigned to me is sufficiently vague to allow me to say anything whatever about it, and sufficiently broad to make me wonder very much what in the world I am going to say. The phrase "University Education" may be used in a very wide sense. J. M. Barrie, for example, in addressing the students of St. Andrews University a few years ago said that besides the four universitie of Scotland there was a fifth University—the "poor proud homes" that many of the students came out of, and he spoke most feelingly of the educative value of these homes. Even when you confine yourself to the more technical use of the term, you find an extraordinarily varied range of application. What is called University education in one country is regarded as mere high school education in another, and the confusion is worse confounded by the differences of opinion as to the purposes which the education is designed to serve.

But I take it that you wish me to speak more particularly about University education in this country. It is not a very popular subject at the present time amongst certain classes of people, not unrepresented in this gathering. Political occurrences of a tragic and deplorable character have made the name of student anathema to the minds of many, and, generalising rapidly, they can hardly bring themselves to speak of the class except in terms of dislike. I wish to make a simple but earnest appeal for calmness and fairness of judgment by reminding you of a logical rule. Because some terrorists have been University students, it does not follow that all University students, are terrorists, any more than it follows that because some ships are made of wood, all wooden articles are ships.

Very well then, unfair judgments having been got rid of, what is the next of the difficulties that has to be considered ? It is the common allegation that the whole of the educational system, and especially the university system is a misfit at the present time, doing no good to the country, and involving us in a colossal and wasteful expenditure. I may say, in passing, that the colossal character of the expenditure is often grossly exaggerated, as is immediately obvious when it is compared with other forms of public expenditure at the

* A Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on November 14, 1933.

present time, which I need not particularise. And after all the expenditure is not a burden so much upon those who criticise from the outside as upon the people who benefit,—or as the allegation would suggest, fail to benefit—by it. It comes from the people who are being educated, either indirectly in the form of taxation or directly, and to a far greater extent, in the form of fees, food, clothing and lodging expenses incurred on behalf of the student members of their families.

This does not of course touch the other point of the accusation, *viz.*, that wherever the educational revenue comes from, whether it comes from the people or not, it is a most wasteful form of expenditure, and ought forthwith to be stopped or greatly modified as to its direction. Great stress is laid on the unemployment of graduates. A Government official, not belonging to Bengal, spoke to me the other day of how he had advertised a post at Rs. 30 a month, and found amongst the applicants scores of University graduates. He indicated that he considered this was in itself a condemnation of the whole system. His experience and his opinion is shared by many in mercantile offices. Now, in the first place the unemployment of educated men is unfortunately by no means confined to India, although it may be worse here than elsewhere. Instances of this mal-adjustment are all too plentiful in western countries at the present time. But the suggestion that other countries are just as bad or almost as bad, does not solve the problem. The question is, Is the educational system to blame here and now? It seems to me that to answer with a simple affirmative is to put the cart before the horse. The difficulty is not so much in the educational system as in the economic situation. The fact that Rs. 30 only are offered to as many graduates may be just as much a condemnation of our method of distribution of rewards as of the educational preparation of the candidates. In any business office, *e. g.*, may there not be something wrong with the respective shares which the various workers, from the highest to the lowest, get out of the business ? Should we not consider this before we right away interpret the smallness of the pay as a condemnation of the educational system ? In any case it seems to me to be rather too much to expect a change in educational methods to solve the economic problem, or simply to be disgusted because the present system has not done so up to the present time. Also to suggest that the size of a man's salary should be taken as a test of his educational equipment seems to be a dangerous principle. If it were universally applied some of us with small salaries might be shown to be academically unutterably stupid.

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and Sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securing employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is a mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

But let us come to grips with this amorphous institution, Calcutta University. In point of numbers it is the largest in the British Empire and the second or third largest in the whole world. Is it not too big ? It is. Far too many get in. For years I have been struggling to get the standard of the Matriculation Examination raised, but without much success. The University patient shows a constant tendency to relapse. Popular opinion seems unfortunately to favour a low Matriculation. During my term in the Vice-Chancellorship,

I. received an anonymous communication threatening me with death by 31st December unless I either left the country immediately or raised the percentage of Matriculation passes by 25%. The document was illustrated with a solitary figure in a boat crossing the *kalapani,* and, the period being that of the Simon Commission, it bore at the head the inscription, " Urquhart go back."

But while too many students get into the University, they do not get out so easily with honour or honours ; those who continue to the end make much progress. The degree standard of the University is second to none in India, and compares favourably with many other countries. We have on the staffs of the Colleges and on the post-graduate University staff some of the most brilliant men the world possess in our day. Until recently we had, *e.g.*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir C. V. Raman, whose reputation is world-wide. Scholars seem to gravitate to Calcutta University from all other parts of India, and there are countless products of our University of whom any country might be proud. Think of those who in the past have emerged from this University, leaders in the scientific world like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, leaders in the legal world like Lord Sinha and Sir Rash Bihari Ghose, and the greatest Vice-Chancellor which India has known, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. And the University has not come to an end of its usefulness.

As I look round amongst my younger colleagues in the University, and as I see the crowds of students issuing each year from its gates, I do not think it at all a vain expectation that amongst these we may find the future worthy leaders of India. There are many qualities needed at the present time which a true University education can foster—qualities of balanced judgment, accurate information, ethical and social aspiration. I think our University is doing something to meet the need. Even if to the critical the number appears to be too great, he can at least console himself with the thought that the greater the numbers, the greater the chance of the right and necessary men being thrown up to the surface. Do not be impatient for quick returns. Remember that even amidst the hurry of modern life there is time and need for those long years of preparation which may not be the equivalent in time of the period of the training of the *Brahmachari* but may at least reveal something of the same spirit as H. E. the Governor said the other day at the Sanskrit Convocation also: " Unquestionably there is yet room for those who are able and content to pursue knowledge for its own sake and even for those who

are not able or cannot afford to do so there is advantage in the study of branches of knowledge which are not purely utilitarian." There never was more need than at the present time for those who can think quietly and calmly. Perhaps a University Education may help to increase their numbers. Who knows? Stranger things have happened. There can never be too many educated men and women in a country, least of all in India, where not only is the country as a whole crying out for leaders but the villages are waiting to absorb men and women of enlightenment, who will not feel that they will be buried in obscurity but will find in the bringing of light of learning, or medical and sanitary science to the villages both their vocation and their opportunity. What has not many a village and countryside in the west owed to the doctor and the teacher, and these have been University trained. Similarly the villages of India are waiting for the Universities.

FLYING MACHINES IN ANCIENT INDIA

By B. M. BARUA, M.A., D.LIT. (LOND.)
AND
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THE invention of different flying machines in modern times has not come as a surprise to the Indian reader of the two great Sanskrit Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, not to speak of the Purāṇas and other later works. He has been a believer in the possibility of such inventions through many centuries. The flying stories graphically narrated in the two epics of antiquity have seldom struck him as mere myth or creation of high poetical imagination. Anyhow he could never be reconciled to any argument hitherto advanced in support of the claim of originality and novelty of the invention of aeroplanes, biplanes, seaplanes, zeppelins and other flying machines of the present age. The utmost credit he is prepared to give to the western inventors is that they have, by their scientific skill, demonstrated once again the possibility which was once in this wonderful ancient land a *fait accompli*.

The rational section of the Indian people have so far cherished these two attitudes towards this mass or popular credulity, *viz.*,: (*i*) that one should patiently wait for further information, born of careful investigations, before spurning or dismissing it as myth or creation of fertile poetic imagination, and (*ii*) that there should be no sympathy at all for a piece of credulity, to entertain which is to satisfy the vanity of a degenerate people who live by the glory of their forefathers.

We are to be counted among those who are ever reluctant to cherish the story of Indian invention of any flying machine as a fact till by chance any actual relic of it is found out anywhere in India or in any locality near about. We are aware that popular superstition and poetic imagination often precede astounding scientific discoveries and inventions; that the skilled artist painter of the "Bicycle window" of the country church, the quiet rural surroundings of which inspired the English poet Gray to compose his 'Elegy,' conceived both the possibility and the form of the riding mechanism long before its actual invention. With all such precautions against bias and predilection we think it worth our while to consider below two different lines of

evidence bearing upon the subject of the invention and use of flying machines by the people of Ancient India, leaving the impartial reader to judge for himself what these are really worth. For convenience' sake we shall differentiate these two lines of evidence as (I) scientific, and (II) poetical.

I. *Scientific evidence*:

As for the first line of evidence, we may discuss with profit a very striking story of the scientific invention of flying machines in a Pāli Commentary (the Commentary of Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta-nipāta), which may be definitely regarded as a work of the 4th or 5th century A.D., based undoubtedly upon an earlier commentary in Singhalese. The account given in this particular Buddhist work of a fairly early date is sufficiently realistic. After reading it through one is apt to feel that this old Indian birth-story of flying machines is not essentially different from that of modern invention. The account illustrates, in the first place, the truth of the modern maxim: Necessity is the mother of invention. The credit of invention is ascribed to the renowned head of an ancient institution of carpenters and woodcarvers near the city of Benares. The required materials, the timbers of the Fig (*Udumbara*) and such other light wood (*appasāra-rukkhā*), are mentioned. The shape and the size are described: that it looked like a wooden bird (*kaṭṭha-sakuṇa*) resembling a majestic flying eagle (*Supaṇṇa-rājā viya*), the machine being fitted with an engine or apparatus inside (*yantaṃ pūresi*).[1] The upward movement, the progress of the flight and the manner of the surprising descent are described. The necessity for invention arose from a keenly felt difficulty in maintaining the institute of carpenters by the sale of timbers and execution of occasional orders. The love of conquest or the spirit of world domination was the first incentive to the flying invention.

The story proceeds to relate that when a sufficiently large number of flying machines were ready, the ignoble desire of all the disciples and pupils was to seize the kingdom of Benares at the outset, which would have been carried into effect but for the restraint on the part of the master inventor who thought better of founding a kingdom in a place far off. The whole air-force flew in a body and descended upon a country across the Himalayas where they founded a kingdom for themselves under their great teacher as king, known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana, with his capital known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana-nagara. There was a commercial intercourse between

[1] *Cf.* Mahābhārata (I, 143 : 5, 6) referring to a special class of boats capable of swift movement and withstanding all kinds of tides, being fitted with (powerful) scientific apparatus (*yantrayuktam*).

the kingdom of Benares and that of king Katthavāhana. That here the allusion is to a place like Tibet, or a country near about, may be substantiated by the finer manufacture of woollen rugs (*accantasukhumā kambalā, vaṇṇena bālasuriyamaruttamālakasadisā*), ivory and lacquer-work mentioned in the story.[1]

Secondly, in the Yuktikalpataru, the authorship of which is ascribed to king Bhoja, probably a work of the later mediæval period and not later than the 13th century A.D., we come across three ślokas definitely stating that the former kings of India were equipped with comfortable flying conveyances (*vyomayānam, vimānam*), in addition to 4 different kinds of vehicles: 4-footed, 2-footed, footless and many-footed,—elephants and horses coming under the first category, palanquins and the like under the second, boats and the rest under the third and chariots under the fourth.

It is easy to see that here we have an unequivocal statement about the flying machines in possession of the kings of India who had reigned in the past, there being no such exception made in the case of other kinds of vehicles with which even the later kings were equipped.[2]

Thirdly, in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, also ascribed to king Bhoja, we meet with a whole chapter, Chapter XXXI, devoted to the description of diverse kinds of machines and machineries in use among the people of this country. Among these machines and machineries, those connected with the subject-matter of this paper are two varieties of flying machines, one suitable for solo flight, and the other for carrying passengers through the air. When the late lamented Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri brought out an edition of the first volume of this highly interesting Sanskrit treatise in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, it called forth the following observation from M. Sylvain Lévi:

"The first volume contained, in Chapter XXXI, descriptions of machines which seem to reveal a technique really extraordinary, for example, 'the flying machine, in the shape of a bird, made of light wood having in the interior an apparatus of mercury, a fire-place placed below ; the force of the sleeping (? heated: *suptasya* for *taptasya* ?) mercury sets the two wings moving, the man sitting in machine goes to long distances in the sky' (vv. 95-96). Here also a complete translation is very necessary ; if the text be authentic, India in the 11th century must be said to have at least conceived, if not

[1] Paramatthajotikā, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 575-577.
[2] Yuktikalpataru, Calcutta, 1917, p. 7.

realised, engines which no one expected. The only manuscript dated belongs to the 16th or 17th century. I had written to Gaṇapati that he had to give some precise information about the two other (incomplete) manuscripts of the work, one of which at least seems to date also from 16-17th century. Instead of replying to me personally by letter, Gaṇapati thought fit to publish the explanations publicly in the preface to the second volume. These explanations are so characteristic of his manner that I reproduce them here:

'It may be said that since the different machines mentioned in this work have never before been known either by sight or hearsay, they are nothing but the products of imagination, and that they are not real machines manufactured and used in practice. This is not the case, for even things which have existed come, in course of time, to be considered unreal because they have gone out of use and things which have cost a good deal of labour, time and money are liable easily to go out of use.

'It may be asked why the poet has not described the mode of construction of the machines. The poet himself furnishes the reply in Chapter XXXI, V. 79:

Yantrāṇāṁ ghaṭanā noktā—guptyarthaṁ, nājñatāvaśāt: tatra hetur ayaṁ jñeyo, vyaktā naite phalapradāḥ.

'The gist of the verse is that, "If the methods are revealed in the work, the first-comer, without having received the initiation from a master, will try to construct the machines, and an attempt made by such a person will not only be fruitless, but will even end in annoyances and difficulties. Neither is it rare, in the case of machines of public utility, that the methods for their construction are kept secret." '[1]

Gaṇapati Śāstrī has defended his position also by the citation of the following śloka setting forth requisite qualifications on the part of the apprentice for constructing the machines:

"The secret together with proper directions is to be imparted as a tradition by the expert to the intelligent apprentice conversant with the rules as laid down in the Śāstras and diligent also in the actual art of construction. He who has a thorough grasp and clear conceptions, is fit to construct machines according to designs."

[1] T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, The Calcutta Review, Third Series, Vol. XXI, pp. 156-157.

Now turning at last to the ślokas in question, we cannot fail to note that two of them present descriptions of the details of the machine suitable for solo flight and that the remaining three are devoted to the description of the details of the machine constructed for carrying passengers.

(*a*) As for the description of the first kind of machines, we read:

"A huge bird-like flying machine should be constructed with light wood, its parts being neatly and firmly joined. In its hold should be placed a mercury engine (turbine ?) with a fire-place below it. The aviator is carried up in it by the current of air produced by the movements of the two wings which are propelled by the mercury apparatus (turbine ?) within, and makes various figures as he flies far up in the air."

(*b*) And as for the description of the second type of machines, we read:

"In the same way (as described above, even) a heavy wooden machine, built like a temple, flies in the sky. The clever aviator should place, according to rules, stronger and larger jar-shaped (*dṛiḍha-kumbhān*) boiler containing mercury within it. The machine (moves) with a start and rises up in the air by the energy of the mercury (*rasarājaśaktyā*) which whizzes when slow heat is applied to those stronger and larger boilers (containing mercury), from a fire burning in an iron pot. That iron propeller (*āyasa yantra*) fitted with mercury (boiler) and well adjusted in the plane roars like a lion when it flies up in the air."

In this connection we might refer to the installation of mercury turbines[1] by the Hardford Electric Company. It consists of a mercury boiler and a mercury turbine. The equipment was designed to operate at 35 lbs. per square inch gauge pressure on the mercury boiler and the vapour from this boiler drives an 1800 kilowatt mercury turbine. The advantages derived from mercury have been summarised by Moyer in these words: The system affords means by which the temperature ranges practical with steam are greatly increased with consequent gain in the conversion of heat into work. Curiously enough, the mercury boiler as depicted in the treatise (fig. 220, p. 458) is just like the mercury pot (*kumbha*) with the fire-place underneath described in the quoted text.

Lastly, in the Śilpasaṁhitā, Chapter XVIII, we meet with a śloka, the importance of which lies in the characteristic features which it gives

[1] Steam Turbines, Chap. XVI, pp. 457-458, by I. A. Moyer, New York, 1924.

of a highly special class of flying contrivances of poetic fame, deserving to be called Pushpaka, or 'the Brilliant one." The śloka reads:

"The divine architect made an aerial conveyance to be driven by steam (*vāshpayoge tu*), which had an uninterrupted motion (through the air), and could move at will like wind and was equipped with various requisites. It looked brilliant and was (therefore) named Pushpaka."

The details as described in a treatise like the the Samarāṅgaṇa-śūtradhāra dealing with machines and machineries (*yantra-vīdhāna*) can by no means be dismissed as interpolations. These are all that could be expected by the reader of the striking flying story in the Pāli Commentary above referred to. Even to a superficial view, these are merely corroborative and explanatory of the points to be noted in connection with the earlier Buddhist story. The main material required, according to the story, for building the body of the flying machines was the Fig and such other light wood. The timber of a fig-tree is just an example in point of *laghu dāru* (light wood) mentioned in the Sanskrit treatise. The shape, the size and other particulars in the two descriptions are, for all practical purposes, the same or similar. In the Pāli account the detail does not go beyond the simple description that the machines were fitted inside with an engine (*yantam pūresi*). The yantra was, according to the Sanskrit treatise, a mercury engine (? turbine—*Rasa or Pārada yantra*) of the shape of a water jar, there being an arrangement for heating the mercury by a fireplace (*jvalanādhāra*). The sound of the boiling mercury within the machine according to variations in the heat produced is vividly described. One additional point of information supplied in the Sanskrit treatise is that there were two varieties of these machines, the Pushpaka of poetic fame coming, as it would appear from the description quoted from the Silpasaṁhitā, under the larger variety workable as airship for carrying passengers. The reader may judge for himself if the descriptions, whether in the Pāli Commentary, or in the Sanskrit treatise, were possible if the air-conveyances were mere creations of imagination and not actual inventions.

It is, however, worthy of note that the description is not clear as to the principle on which the mechanism was worked. The attempt was surely made to render the machine, built of a wooden substance, heavier than air in spite of its lightness as compared with other woods, capable of floating by some scientific device. The common law of enabling a hard substance with greater specific gravity to float in a liquid or a fluid is

that the displacement must somehow be such that the displaced volume of liquid shall be heavier than the thing floating in it. In the baloons and bubbles the floating object is rendered lighter by filling it with a gas lighter than air,—a principle which has its application also in modern airship, here the floating object itself displacing the liquid or fluid. In the case of an aeroplane the flying mechanism is made to float and move in the air by the strong motion imparted to the air by means of the propeller which works on a screw principle and the re-action of this moving body of air drives forward the machine ; and in the case of rockets a more effective result is produced by the application of the shooting or bullet principle. Now, as regards the Indian flying machines, there is not the slightest hint as to any mechanism for the the application of the screw or rotatory principle. As for the balancing of the whole machine while in flight, the use of the wings, as described in the Indian texts, is undoubtedly similar to that in the case of modern aeroplanes. If the flying conveyances were an actuality, and if they had not worked on the screw principle, the only other thinkable principle on which the energy was worked must be assumed to have been the bird or wing principle—a far more difficult achievement which we could not believe to have been at all possible but for the clear description of an apparatus for producing energy from mercury in revolving a *yantra* (turbine ?). Whether this is at all feasible or not, the Indian description would seem to be scientifically important for the suggestion of the possibility of a successful adoption of the bird or wing principle by means of a mercury turbine, which is worth the trial.

II. *Poetical evidence*:

The poetical conception of celestial mansions (*deva-vimānas*) moving up and down, back and fro, like so many aerial cars (*ratha*), is evidently anthropomorphic, suggested, as it would seem, by the mansion-shaped royal chariots. The description of the Sun personified riding in a one-wheeled chariot drawn by one, three, five or seven horses, is as old as the Vedic hymns. In the Pāli Vimānavatthu, a Canonical book of the stories of heaven of Aśokan age, is filled with descriptions of various celestial mansions, the dwellers of which were the gods and goddesses of popular mythology. Similar descriptions are met with also in other parts of the Pāli Canon, *e.g.*, the Pāyāsi-Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya and the Nemi-Jātaka. But as the Fourth Rock Edict of king Aśoka goes to prove, the *vimānas* (celestial mansions or aerial cars) were counted among the notable artistic

constructions (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) exhibited for a practical popular demonstration of high rewards of the acts of piety.[1]

The display of *vyomakas*, or *phānus* (open-mouthed fire-baloons) in connection with the celebration of some of the religious or royal festivals may be regarded as a reminder of the ancient custom, and, what is more, as a relic of the preliminary stage in the process of evolution of flying mechanism in this country.

According to the Brahmanical theory all artistic constructions, such as the figures of elephants, horses and chariots are nothing but intelligent reproductions of the works of nature divine (*devaśilpānām anukṛitiḥ*). Going by this theory we have to imagine that the first impulse to artistic constructions comes from nature, the idea of flying elephants, horses and chariots being suggested, perhaps, by the changing shapes of the clouds in the sky, moving up and down, back and fro. The very name *Valāhassa* employed in a Pāli Jātaka for the sky-going horse is really suggestive of this fact.

The Pushpakas of the Sanskrit epic fame were a class of vimānas, the mechanism of which was undoubtedly far more advanced than that of the Aśokan vimānas. The Pushpakas were a large variety of aerial conveyances capable of high speed and piloted at will—a class of special chariots used with advantage for fighting from the sky under cover of clouds, or for carrying passengers through the air at high speed.

The Rāmāyaṇic tradition credits Kuvera with the possession of Pushpakas[2]—the Yaksha chief who, according to the Buddhist legend, was the ruler of Uttarakuru of trans-Himalayan location.[3] It is from Kuvera that Rāvaṇa, the mighty ruler of Laṅkā, seized the Pushpaka as a trophy of victory. As soon as Rāvaṇa came into possession of this wonderful mechanism, his heart, like that of the carpenter-inventor of the flying machine in the Pāli story, was bent upon conquest and world domination.

Coming to Kālidāsa, we get two parallel and vivid poetical descriptions: (1) of the travel of the cloud messenger in the Meghadūta; and (2) of the journey, in the Raghuvaṁśa, of Rāma with his large retinue in the aerial conveyance, Pushpaka, from Laṅkā back to

[1] *vimānadasaṇā cha hastidasaṇā cha agikhanidhāni cha aññāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṁ.*

[2] *Cf.* also the Sanskrit lexicons Amarakosha (I. i. 48), Abhidhāna-chintamoni (ii, 3; 6! 104).

[3] *Cf.* Mahā-āṭānāṭiya Suttanta, Dīgha-nikāya.

Ayodhyā, his home, observing and enjoying the grand scenery of land and sea that could be seen from that aerial height. For us the historical importance of this parallelism between the two descriptions is that they further illustrate the possible suggestion of the idea of flying mechanism (as an artistic creation) by the shapes and movements of the cloud.

As for the flying machines forming the subject-matter of this paper, the suggestion from the clouds did not suffice. The shape and the flight of birds, as clearly hinted at in the Pāli story, were the additional and main factor.

The Mahābhārata is the other great poetical work of old which should be examined in this connection. The Vanaparva of the Great Epic contains several references to a large air-ship, called Saubhanagara. The Saubhapura in the possession of the powerful demon king Śālva represented that class of aerial conveyances (*vaihāyasa vimāna*), the description of which fits in with the larger variety of *dāruvimānas* described in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra. The Saubhapura of Śālva, it is said, could travel in land, water and air. Śālva moved in this air-ship, and retaliated the wrong done to his friend by cruelly causing a complete devastation of Krishṇa's city Dvārakā.[1]

The Valāhassa [2] of the Pāli Jātaka is introduced as a species of horse capable of flying through the air. It is said that a horse of this breed could easily carry over five hundred persons. The vehicle was a mysterious appearance before five hundred shipwrecked Indian merchants from the north who wanted to escape from their imprisonment in a regional coast of South India.

Considered as a flying conveyance, the Valāhassa of the Buddhist Birth-story has a special historical importance of its own. In the cycle of folk-tales in the Arabian Nights there is a very well-known anecdote in which the court of king Harun-al-Rasid is said to have been visited by a merchant from India who wanted to sell at a high price a flying mechanism which was but a wooden horse fitted with an apparatus inside. It could be easily set to flight by working at the apparatus which the merchant successfully demonstrated to the astonishment of all in the royal court. This foreign story is here important as suggesting that there was a widespread tradition that some kind of extraordinary flying invention was made in this country.

To sum up: We have placed above the two lines of evidence before the reader, one scientific and the other poetical. In connection

[1] Vanaparva, Chaps. 13-19.

[2] Valāhassa-Jātaka, Fausböll, No. 196.

with the first line of evidence we have been concerned to discuss the historical importance of a remarkable Pāli story of the 4th or the 5th Century A.D. presenting a highly realistic account of the invention of flying machines in ancient India by a talented head of an institute of carpenters and wood-carvers. The importance of this particular account is really twofold: (1) that it at once dispels all doubts about the authenticity of the ślokas occurring in a later scientific treatise, the Samarāṇgana-sūtradhāra, and (2) that it ranks among a few other accounts of interesting scientific discoveries and inventions met with in early Buddhist anecdotes.

As for the second point, we may consider, for instance, the vivid account in the Vaṇṇupatha-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 2) of the circumstances that led to the discovery of an artesian well. The main points in this account are: (1) that the discovery was a feat on the part of a great leader of a caravan in distress for want of water while crossing a desert somewhere in Rajputana; (2) that the sight of a solitary clump of living grass on a spot in a dreary region (*marukantāra*) struck the talented leader who began at once to reason that there must somehow be water underneath to nourish it, (3) that in all confidence he forthwith began, with the help of an assistant, to dig the spot till he got down to a rocky layer, (4) that failing to detect water even at this depth he tried to feel with his organ of hearing the mystery that lay hidden beneath the rocky cover, (5) that hearing the murmur of flowing water he began to strike hard the rocky bed to cut a hole through it, and (6) that no sooner a part of it was broken through than water gushed forth in a stream through the boring. These are the various steps which are said to have ultimately led to the discovery and construction of artesian wells in India. After reading this anecdote we naturally expect to come across a scientific treatise dealing with some definite rules to be followed in trying to locate the undersoil veins of water and to construct wells for the utilisation of the natural water-supply. A scientific treatise like Varāhamihira's Vṛihatsaṁhitā devoting a whole chapter (Ch. 53) to these rules does not, therefore, come to us as a surprise.

Although needles were in use among the people of India as early as the age of the Vẹdas, if not earlier, no sample of the sewing instrument used by the people of antiquity has yet been discovered. That some of the Indian artisans excelled in the art of manufacturing various kinds of needle work can by no means be

doubted. So, if we chance upon, even though in a popular anecdote, a realistic account of the improved art of needle-making, it cannot strike as something unexpected or impossible. The Sūchi-Jātaka, for instance, distinctly associates the professional art of needle-making with a special section of smiths (*kammāras*) forming a guild of their own, just as the flying story associates the invention and the art of construction of flying machines with a particular school of trained workers in wood. The interest of the needle story lies in the narration of certain circumstances which led a talented young smith to be seriously engaged in inventing the art of manufacturing a finer kind of needles that could float in water.

In tracing the course of scientific and artistic developments in Ancient India we find that progress advanced to certain points and followed certain directions, and that Indian talents and technical skill could not forestall and achieve other inventions made now, or made in other countries in the past. For instance, the art of well construction progressed as far as artesian wells and did not proceed as far as the tube-wells. The workers in clay were capable of manufacturing various earthen pots, glasses, mirrors and even crystals, but there is no evidence to show that they succeeded in making China wares. Confining ourselves to evidences, both scientific and poetical, bearing upon our subject, we may similarly observe that the flying mechanism did not advance even in imagination so far as to think of applying the shooting or bullet principle as in modern rockets.

These are all that we have to say by way of guidance to the reader in adjudicating upon the evidence or set of evidences, produced without any prejudice to other evidences that may be forthcoming. In drawing a legitimate inference in each case, especially in pronouncing the historical verdict upon the genius, the talent and different achievements of an ancient civilized people like the Indians, each acount is to be tested in the light of (1) the circumstances creating the necessity, (2) the nature of the talent and the technical skill employed, (3) the amount of perseverance required, (4) the materials available, (5) the directions followed, and (6) the purpose or purposes served.

In connection with the details of flying mechanism in the Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra our position is that the ślokas containing them are not interpolations, particularly as they occur as explanatory to a simpler and earlier incidental description in the Pāli story of the 4th or 5th

century A.D. Whether they relate or not to any actual machine in use at any period of our past history, even as a play of imagination, the idea of working a flying apparatus by means of mercury energy heated in a jar-shaped boiler does not appear impossible in view of the fact that the whole field of medical science of the past was revolutionised by a new school of chemists (*Rāsāyanikasa*) experimenting with mercury and achieving wonderful results thereby.

This paper is not to be judged as a dissertation on the range of actual Indian achievements in the various branches of science and art.[1]

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[1] The article is based upon two papers written independently on the same subject: (1) "A Flying Story in a Pāli Commentary" read by Barua at the Science Section of the Second Oriental Conference held in Calcutta, and (2) "Aviation in Ancient India" prepared by Majumder for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

YOUNG BENGAL'S PLEA FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION EIGHTY YEARS AGO

[On the 11th day of November 1852 Babu Prosannocoomar Surbadhicary—later on Professor and Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Principal of the Berhampur College and Professor of the Presidency College—read a paper at a meeting of the Bethune Society which is published below. In the Calcutta Review of July, 1917, was published a paper of Babu Prosannocoomar Surbadhicary on "The Influence of Climate on National Character." As a foreword to the article the then Editor of the Calcutta Review observed :

It is not often that a contribution to a Review takes seventy years to reach its destination, but the following short article written in 1847 reached us only the other day. The writer of this article, Prosannocoomar Surbadhicary, was a boy in the Hindu College at the time. He afterwards became prominent in the sphere of education and members of his family are today amongst the best known and influential citizens of Calcutta. The ideas in the article have been frequently set forth, but we sometimes wonder whether they are given their full value either as palliatives of external criticism or as incentives to action amongst those who are criticised... .. . ."

Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari was born at Radhanagore in the District of Hoogly in December, 1825 and died in November, 1886. He was a distinguished student of Mathematics and the author of pioneer and model Bengali works, Arithmetic and Algebra with their notable newly improvised Mathematical Vocabulary Of him Vice-Chancellor Sir W. W. Hunter said in his Convocation Address of 1886-87 : "But chiefly we mourn the loss of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikary, the erudite principal of the Presidency College and the conscientious custodian and spirited defender of its precious manuscripts and the ingenious Mathematician who transplanted the Arithmetic and Algebra of Europe into the Vernacular of Bengal."

Among the fellow students of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari were epoch-making men like the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji, Babus Bhudebchandra Mukherji, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Rasikkrishna Mallick, Pearycharan Sarkar, Umeshchandra Dutt of Krishnagore, Srinath Das and Radhanath Sikdar. The last two, like Babu Prasannakumar, were students of Mathematics and Science. They were all pupils of David Hare, D. L. Richardson and De'Rozeo, all beautifully innocent of Science and Mathematics. Deeply versed as Babu Prasannakumar was in English and Sanskrit literature his *forte* was the Positive Sciences and Mathematics, and as a student he had the successful temerity on one occasion of setting right "eclipse prediction" made according to Nautical Almanac calculations. Eighty years ago, he felt and pleaded for need of Science education in Bengal without which he saw no prospect of national salvation.

His plea is of peculiar interest and importance at a time when the country is fittingly celebrating the centenary of the birth of Bengal's Pioneer Scientist, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar. Babu Prasannakumar's plea for Science in the theatre of the Medical College at which meetings of the Bethune Society were held, was put forward in 1852 and young Mahendralal Sarkar, a fellow student and friend of his brother Rai Bahadur Dr. Suryyacoomar Sarvadhikari, took his admission in the Medical College in 1854. Mahendralal Sarkar was born in the village of Paikpara in the District of Hoogly (now Howrah), a village opposite the village of Bamanpara—across the rivulet Kananadi. Suryyakumar Sarvadhikari was married to the daughter of the zemindar of Bamanpara and there was early intimacy between him and Mahendralal Sarkar who came from the opposite village of Paikpara (not the Paikpara in the suburbs of Calcutta as is popularly mistaken). Prasannakumar, Suryyakumar and Mahendralal became close neighbours in the vicinity of Bowbazar and were mutually helpful in their Science studies, which Rajendralal Dutt of Aukur Dutt Lane much encouraged. Prasannakumar and Suryyakumar were ardent and generous supporters of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science founded by Mahendralal Sarkar who found encouragement and support from another neighbour, Dr. Gangaprasad Mookerjee of Balagore in Hoogly, who lived and practised in Malanga till he removed to Bhawanipur. This support was multiplied by Dr. Gangaprasad's great son Asutosh. There was thus an interlink of events and interests in connection with advancement of Science studies in Bengal by the inhabitants of the District of Hoogly that is more striking.

Earlier in the century Raja Rammohan Roy strongly pleaded for Science education and strongly objected to the establishment of the Sanskrit College. The balanced view however prevailed but Science education was neglected long. The centenary of the Raja's death will be celebrated this month at among other places in his native village of Radhanagar.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY]

(*Read by the late* PROSANNOCOOMAR SARVADHIKARY *before the Bethune Society, on Thursday, the 11th November, 1852.*)

THE potent agency of education in the formation and moulding of human character has been admitted in every quarter. The phrenologist as well as the metaphysician has acknowledged and commented upon its mighty importance. The statesman and the politician are no longer its avowed enemies, but are its warm advocates. Ministers of religion have ceased to look upon it with an evil eye and have made themselves its persevering and zealous friends. There is scarcely a nation on the face of the earth, which has made any progress in civilization, that has not begun to think of plans for the universal diffusion of education. Even ordinary common sense is not blind to its advantages. If we contemplate on what our superiority over the brute creation consists, we shall see that it is only in the possession of our intellectual powers and moral faculties. Any thing that tends to the strengthening and enlargement of them contributes to the increase of our power and happiness. The office of education is to do all this. The patrimony of intellect which we have received from our ancestors and the possessions that have been left us by a Homer and a Kalidasa, by a Shakespeare and a Milton, by a Newton and a Laplace, are brought to their use by the aid of education. When rightly conducted, education lays the foundation of our future happiness, and the usefulness of ourselves to the race we belong to.

Society is at present so constituted that years, if not centuries, must pass away before we can hope for the universal diffusion of knowledge in all its completeness. A graduated scale of education must of necessity be in force till circumstances are ripened to admit of plans and methods for the thorough education of all human beings. The education which is to be received in a College should be of the highest possible order. Its nature should be such, as to enable its recipients when they enter life to take the lead of the nation to which they belong and to make that nation inferior to none in the world. The educated youths should receive that degree of mental culture when within College walls as will enable them to put their shoulders to the advancement of their national prosperity, to be active agents in the assimilation of their uneducated countrymen to their own body, to develop the resources of their country, to ward off thereby all sorts of misery from their native land, to create within themselves a resource which will make them happy independently of all external circumstances, and to appreciate if not to share the conquests of mind over matter.

The two main channels into which knowledge divides itself are science and literature distinctively so called. We are to see the relative and absolute importance of each in a collegiate education.

Whatever thoughts have been recorded, whatever events have been commemorated, whatever doctrines have been handed down, whatever production of fancy or imagination have been in store to beguile our troubled hours, whatever scientific truths have been discovered and preserved to make us the "lords of the creation" (in which, independent of our moral and intellectual existence, we are but insignificant atoms) and to ennoble our nature and bring it nearer to the Divine original from which it emanated, have been through the medium of language. A familiar acquaintance with and an analytical study of the language in which are to be found the productions of master minds are therefore absolutely required on the part of those who wish to place themselves on a firm footing as rational beings. But to have this familiar acquaintance and to prosecute this analytical study, a familiarity with the classic authors

of the language must be cultivated. Canons of criticisms are but secondary aids to the thorough appreciation of the beauties of a language. The authors themselves must be our study. The life-like truth of Shakespeare's descriptions enrobed in fairy colours, the sublime flights of Milton's genius, the manly dignity of Dryden's muse, the easy and resplendent flow of Pope's versification, the indolent sweetness of Thomson, the sweet but sad colouring of Gray's poetry, the exuberant beauties and voluptuous sweetness of Moore's *Lallah Rookh* and his *Irish Melodies*, the sublime glow and energetic beauty of Byron, the soul-dissolving strains of Shelley, and the mild but delicious effusions of Rogers, Campbell and Wordsworth have to their admirers and students direct advantages besides the collateral. In common with other intellectual pursuits, the study of those authors and their like make us happy in defiance of all the frowns of fortune. When we are perusing the production of these mighty intellects, we seem to be in communion with beings raised far above the dissensions and grovelling desires of the world. The daring imagination of Shakespeare moving with lightning-like rapidity touches our heart with a more than electric influence. A single sentence from him has the mighty power of changing what is gloomy and overcast into cheerfulness and mental sunshine. When the spirit and soul of poetry have entered into us and have been absorbed into our spiritual nature, truly are we then "lapped in Elysium." In whatever locality we may happen to be, whether in the midst of the howls of jackals and tigers in the Soonderbuns, or gliding in a boat under the effulgence of the moon along the alabaster bosom of the Pudma in the vernal month of March or April, poetry is ever delightful. When a doctrine of morality is taught by a poet, it reaches our heart with such impressive eloquence, that it never loses its place there. In addition to all this, familiar acquaintance with great poets, as has been mentioned before, greatly facilitates the study of the moral, the political and the natural sciences. Hence the necessity of attending to poetic literature in a collegiate education.

Essay writers, when they happen to be men of a high order of merit, contribute a great deal to the sharpening of our judgment and to the strengthening of our morals. The truths they teach being in less recondite forms than are to be found in philosophical works, are learnt with little effort and treasured up in our minds, to fructify at every step of our progress in the pursuit of knowledge. They prepare the ground for the reception of philosophical ideas. There is a wholesome effect, therefore, in their forming a part of college studies.

There is another department of polite literature whose importance in a collegiate education we have yet to see. Though mentioned last its uses and advantages are not the least. History by making us familiar with past events and past deeds introduces us into the great laboratory of social experiments. To know what has been the success of particular trains of conduct in particular states of society is doing away with many of the obstacles in our own way. We profit by the experience of the past ages. Were we not to be benefited by the folly and wisdom of our ancestors we would always remain in primitive barbarity. When we compare the histories of different nations, many a prejudice, contracted from narrowness of observation, leaves us altogether. Example being always better than precept, we are benefited a great deal by the study of history. Whatever profession we adopt we find history always pleasing to us. We find there pictures of all descriptions of men. After we have made ourselves familiar with history, a vast store of facts is brought to our keeping, to reason upon all social affairs. What an amount of pleasure again in the study of history! When we are perusing the pages of a master historian, what an amount of interest

do we feel in the narrative! Does not even the most phlegmatic, a native of whatever country he may be, feel some sparks of patriotism when he reads that portion of English history where the virtues of a Pym and a Hampden shine with brilliant lustre? Do we not find in Washington the realization of the half fabulous Cincinnatus, and do we not feel ourselves transported in thinking that we have to boast of such a being belonging to our species? Do we not sympathize with our own agricultural population when we are reading the history of the Plebians of republican Rome, and thus dispose ourselves, though unconscious we may be at the moment, to the cause of humanity? Do we not find our pride humbled when we read the history of Hannibal or Napoleon? Do we not in the frequently recurring French Revolutions, with all our admiration for the master intellects who took the lead in them, learn a lesson of patient perseverance on constitutional matters? Do we not feel an indescribable pleasure when we are told by the historian that the same age which witnessed the victories of Napoleon and Wellington had also a Laplace to boast of? When we are reading the history of Mohamedan India, do we not feel pity for our poor distressed country and thus make it dearer to us by every wrong she has suffered? Do we not again in reading the history of India under Akbar feel a degree of elasticity and cheerfulness in finding amongst foreign rulers a benefactor to our country? And does not that again endear our country to us? Is not political philosophy based on history? Last of all, do we not learn weighty lessons of morality from the perusal of history? Isn't there something intellectualizing and moralizing even in the bare narration of historic facts? Do we not find an invaluable treasure of sweets in the pages of literary historians? Isn't there much improving matter in every one of their sentences? Isn't there something more than material, something spiritual altogether, breathing through their volumes? Are we not convinced of the high dignity of human nature when we are studying the history of literature? Do we not feel ourselves more than human, more than those sordid beings who lay waste their spiritual nature for the acquisition of precious nothings? Are there not a thousand enjoyments when we are going over the periods of the towering intellects? Are there not a thousand hopes to cheer us on when we are reading of the progress of the human mind?

The study of history, therefore, should form an important part of a collegiate education. But the range of historical literature is too wide to be mastered in a college course of studies. There are advantages, however, in laying during the college career the foundation of historical knowledge. When once properly initiated, we cannot but cultivate with it a familiar acquaintance in after life.

Biography is an important branch of history. What a world of sweets is embosomed in its domain! What an intensity of interest in its volumes! What the state of the mind, when we hear from biographers of the modest reluctance of Newton to publish his *Principia* and *Optics*! What an elevation of spirit when we read of the martyrdom of Galileo on the altar of Science! What lesson of perseverance in the life of Kepler! What a beautiful enjoyment to observe the gradual transformation of Sir William Herschel from a musician's boy to one of the greatest astronomers of his age! What pleasure to trace the career of William Roscoe from the time when he carried on his head baskets of potatoes to sell in the market to his becoming "one of the first literary characters of his day" and being "courted as a companion and correspondent by the nobles of the land and associated on equal terms with the Wilberforces and the Romillys and others who stood first in the intellectual ranks of

society ?"[1] What an awful lesson unfolded in the glorious but chequered life of Bacon ! How interesting and instructive to read the lives of the wild Rousseau, of the meek and philosophic Hume, of the versatile Voltaire, and of the poetically misanthropic but really philanthropic Byron ! Read the life of Cavendish and see what a beautiful picture is presented before the eye !

"He was a duke's grandson ; he possessed a princely fortune ; his whole expenditure was on philosophical pursuits ; his whole existence was in his laboratory or his library." "He was thoroughly educated in all branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, he studied each systematically ; he lived retired from the world among his books and instruments, never meddling with the affairs of active life ; he passed his whole time in storing his mind with the knowledge imparted by former inquirers and in extending its bounds."[2]

There is indeed something altogether captivating in the life of a great intellect. What a sumptuous banquet of reason and imagination in the life of him who was emphatically "nature's darling" or of him "who rode on the seraph wings of ecstasy." What pleasure again to see in the pages of biography examples of moral greatness ! When we read of a Fenelon or of a Howard, what an enjoyment of bliss ! If there be one whose parental solicitude for the welfare of the youths of Bengal has been unequalled and who has spent the whole of a competent fortune for the education of Hindu youths ; if there be one again who is the benefactor of our country, who came down from his high position amongst the rulers to mix with the poor and the lowly, and to be concerned in their welfare, whose secret charities have enabled many a helpless youth to prosecute his collegiate studies, and who tried heart and soul to elevate our daughters from intellectual degradation, if there be such noble beings, who is there that will not feel interested in the study of their lives ? What educated native's heart does not thrill with both sorrow and joy when he comes to know the particulars of the lives of David Hare and John Eliott Drinkwater Bethune ? Many circumstances conspire to make biography an interesting walk of literature. Its bearings to the philosophy of mind are many. The time is not far distant when the true theory of the constitution of mind shall have to be confirmed by an appeal to the facts recorded in the pages of biographers, just as the theory of universal gravitation is confirmed by all previous astronomical observations. But the utility of biography and the fascinating beauties are so easily appreciated that it requires not the protection of the college authorities. It introduces of itself into the closet of the student. It has charms for him that novels have to light readers.

This last description of literary productions has not been mentioned, as they are not fit subjects of the collegiate studies or of the private reading of those that are still in the college. Whatever effects they may have in improving the style of the youthful writer or of cultivating the romantic in his bosom, or of beguiling the troubled hours of a man of active life, they have something injurious in them to the mental habits of him who has not his intellect yet quite formed. If he falls once in love with them, he becomes quite unfit for severe studies. There is a seducing spirit in them that turns his head and would not allow him to be in graver company. He would be under the influence of that spirit, even if novels of inoffensive character and moral tendency were in his hands—even if they were from the pen of Scott or Warren.

[1] Life of Roscoe, prefixed to his Lorenzo de Medici.
[2] Lord Brougham's Literary Men of the time of George III.

It remains now to see the advantages of the study of science in a collegiate education.

It has been stated above that a collegiate education should be of the highest possible order. Whatever studies have a disciplinary effect on the mind, whatever pursuits have in their rear national prosperity and national advancement, whatever studies ennoble human nature, in short, whatever studies have a tendency to make us happy, should have a place within the range of such an education. Scientific studies have all these characteristics in a pre-eminently distinguished form. Of all the sciences, mathematics should have the first place in a college education. It sharpens the intellectual powers and impresses on them a precision which they can derive from no other source, except, perhaps, from logic. The closeness of reasoning with which we become familiar in the course of our mathematical studies gives a peculiar mould to our reasoning powers, and cultivates within us a principle which forms the safeguard against intrusions of fallacy in all our researches. Mathematical reasoning being perfection itself, a familiarity with its nature enables us to adapt all other reasoning to its as near proximity as possible. Physical truths, especially those of the dynamical and optical sciences, are not understood and appreciated to their full extent and worth without a knowledge of mathematics. It seems to be the corner-stone of all those sciences which deal of matter as occupying space and having its phenomena occurring in time. Its applications to so many departments of physical science being of so intimate a nature, a writer of first-rate ability has in full fervour of admiration for mathematics stated that "it seems to be the instrument by which we can share the counsels of the Almighty." In fact it seems to be such an instrument. By its aid have Leverier and Adams—worthy disciples in the school of the more than human Newton and Laplace—been enabled to assign a definite place in illimitable space to a planet, as if saying in an humble but confident tone: "Here shalt thou Almighty Father place a planet, to preserve the harmony and regularity of the solar system, or what thy favourite Newton has said shall come to nothing or shall receive modifications." Since mathematics can do this all, it should have a place in the education of youths, even if it had not other uses. But by a singular ordination of Providence, whatever is beautiful, sublime and soul-ennobling is not wanting in utility in the sense the term is understood in the world. To mention a few homely examples. The carpenter, the mason and the superintendent of embankments do their work in a much better style when they are grounded in mathematics than when they ignore it altogether. High authorities in all learned professions advise their pursuers to receive mathematical training if they wish to have success in the profession they wish to enter. Warren the celebrated author of the immensely interesting works of fiction, the *Diary of a late Physician* and *Now and Then*, occupying a high place among the Lawyers of England, has in his *Introduction to Law Studies* quoted a passage from Bacon to shew the importance of mathematics to the mental discipline of students of law. But independent of the uses of mathematics in its application to astronomy and other departments of physical science, independent of its disciplinary effect on the mind, it has some thing within it, which renders its study positively pleasing. Any one who has overcome its first difficulties can bear testimony to the fact that it has an inexhaustible treasure to bestow. Isn't here something exceedingly beautiful in the properties of the Conic sections in the nature of the vanishing fractions, in the solution of the maxima and minima questions, in the tracing of curves, and, in the finding of the unknown constant? So, from whatever light we view, we cannot but see the paramount importance of mathematics in a collegiate

education. The period of youth is the most susceptible period. Whatever mental habits are then neglected are perhaps neglected for ever.

Akin to mathematics is logic. It has as good a disciplinary effect on the mind as mathematics itself. As mathematics makes herself a helping instrument in many departments of physical science, so logic is the only guide, acknowledge we its importance or not, in all the moral sciences and in most of the physical. Being the science of reasoning, we do not see why it should not be of so universal an application. If we would not make blunders in reasoning, if we would wish to be sure in every chain of reasoning that we employ, we should cultivate a familiar acquaintance with logic, not the logic of the scholastic ages but the logic of modern Europe; for notwithstanding the former may have paved the way for the latter, the latter is by far the superior. In a collegiate scheme of education, logic as it has come out from the pen of John Stuart Mill, or as it might come out from the pen of Sir John Herschel, should be included, the more so as those that have an inaptitude for mathematics may find in logic a worthy substitute. If testimony from high quarters on a subject so clear like the present were required that would not be wanting. Liebig, standing high among the philosophers of the present age, is an enthusiastic admirer of logic. What Bacon, Locke or Reid, has said in disparagement of this science is quite unworthy their names. Their sarcasms were directed against the noble study from their observing, perhaps, to what an extent it had been abused by the scholastic writers. They might as well have proscribed iron from man's use, for from it daggers and other offensive weapons are prepared. Our distance from the scholastic age has kept us clear of all such prejudices. We feel the paramount importance of "ratiocinative and inductive logic," we feel its necessity, disguised under whatever name it may be, to the advancement of science.

We have now to see the importance of natural sciences in a collegiate education.

The universe, in which our lot has been cast and in which we are no unconcerned beings, is governed by a system of laws unvarying and open to the inspection of all who come with a devout heart and with the necessary preparations to know them. The explanation and expounding of these laws constitute natural science. As " nature is subdued by submission " if we would keep our place as " lords of the creation " we must cultivate a familiar acquaintance with the physical sciences. The lofty position, to which civilized man has been raised, has been through the almighty work of science. The loftier station, which his present position promises to raise him to, shall be through the aid of science. It is science, that enabled the powerful genius of Archimedes to defend his country against the overwhelming force of the Romans. It is through the aid of physical science, that we are enabled to travel hundreds of miles in a day, and to perforate the Alps, the crossing of which required the mighty genius of a Hannibal or of a Napoleon to accomplish in bygone days. It is physical science that enables us, with a small quantity of water, to have works done which would have required the labours at least of a hundred Hercules of the fabulous ages. Science has enabled the sailor to ply his vessel across the wide expanse of the ocean with that degree of exactitude and certainty with which he would have been moving from one room to another in his own apartments. By science have we been able to catch hold of the fleeting shade and to give it a permanent existence. By science have we been able to convert the most noxious weed and vegetable to the most nutritious food [1] and to transform the most worthless objects into the most useful. By science have we been

[1] Lindley's Botany.

able to make water and wind subserve many of our purposes and be obedient to our will. Science has made provision for our walking with light in perfect safety while we are in the midst of the most inflammable and explosive atmosphere of the subterranean regions. It is science that has provided us with a medium " to waft a sigh from Indus to the pole" with a velocity surprisingly great. If we look with an observing eye at the social condition of the civilized nations we shall see how much physical science has done for its bettering. We shall then feel the truth of the statement that by the aid of science "the condition of a European Prince is now as far superior in the command of real comforts and conveniences to that of one in the middle ages as that to the condition of one of his own dependents." [1] All our arts are either derived from, or perfected by, science. Anything that is detrimental to the interests of the latter is also detrimental to the interests of the former. But even putting aside all interested motives, what an amount of enjoyment in the study of the sciences! When we are told by the scientific enquirer, that the fall of the apple and the motion of the planet as well of the wandering comet and of the seemingly irregularly falling aerolite, is guided by the same laws; when we are told by him that the law of gravitation holds true in the most distant stellar system; when he describes Saturn's Ring with a minute accuracy, as if it was one shining with brilliant lustre on his own little finger ; when he is giving us a chart of the moon, as if it was one of his own native district; when he informs us that there is an ebb and flow in the aerial ocean as in the aqueous; when he tells us what the state of the world was before the family of man was in existence; when he tells us that " linen rags being immersed in sulphuric acid produce a greater quantity of sugar than their original weight ;" " that a gnat's wing in its ordinary flight beats many hundred times in a second," " that in acquiring the sensation of redness our eyes are affected four hundred and eighty-two millions of millions of times " [2] do we not feel ourselves lost in wonders? Do we not feel the importance of those branches of learning which teach us these miraculous truths? What an exquisite pleasure then in the study of the natural sciences! Look again at their subserviency to Natural Theology. The sublime truths of that sublime science are but imperfectly understood without a familiarity with Natural Philosophy. The stability of the solar system, the nature of the resisting medium, the beautiful provision of the harvest moon, the relationship between the eye and the light, the equilibrium of effects between the animal and the vegetable creations, the provision for the sustenance and production of the human frame. and the sixfold utility of the atmosphere, are a few of the many truths which we cannot understand and therefore cannot appreciate unless we have made ourselves familiar with physical science. Many of us do think that we may take them for granted and have thus the obstacles to the study of Natural Theology at once overcome. But we should then bear in mind that "traditional prejudice"[3] is far different from the " rational conviction."[4] From these considerations, we feel not the least doubt that physical science should occupy the most prominent place in the collegiate education. If the aim of all our attempts be to make ourselves and the human family at large happy, we should not deny ourselves the benefit of a scientific education. Any thing substantial that we can do for the good of our country or for the good of our race shall be through the aid of science. Even if physical science were wanting in all physical utility, its study would be necessary for

[1] Sir John Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences.*
[4] *Ibid.*

its moral advantages. Familiar contact with the operations of nature in her immensely large scale, and the observing of harmony in every department of nature's works, have a peculiarly soothing effect on the mind. In the language of him whose name graces that of our society and whose soul was imbued with the purest and the most profound doctrines of philosophy, " knowledge of physical science is not only power, but it's humility and it's piety also." When we are in pursuit of science, we seem to be in communion with our Creator. If we have any regard for truth and abhorrence for falsehood, if the " ideas of the divine mind " be worthy of greater respect than the " idols of the human mind," we should include physical science in the course of a college education, if for nothing else. Our moral constitutions are well adapted for appreciation of truth, and so much is our admiration for discoverers of scientific truth that the mere mention of the names of Galileo, Newton,. Clairaut, D'alembert, Euler, Franklin, Herschel, Cuvier, Lagrange and Laplace makes a passage far more eloquent than if its periods had received the brightest polish from the pen of the most eloquent writer.

The study of the moral sciences is no less useful and pleasing than the physical. No education may be said to be complete in which they are neglected. The constitution of the human mind and the constitution of human society form the two principal subjects of these sciences. To be familiar with the analysis of our moral and mental nature, is going a great way in the improvement of our moral and mental constitution. To know the details of the structure of society, how its operations are going on, how its affairs are to be improved, how governments are to be conducted with the least inconvenience to the governed, is certainly very interesting. The wonderful machinery by which we perceive, remember, imagine, associate, reason or love, so far as it is open to our observation, cannot but be observed with an intensity of interest. The laws of social relations are of too great an importance to neglect their study with impunity. Hence the necessity of the study of moral and mental philosophy and of political philosophy, especially one of its departments political economy. But how far they should be included in a college education is still a matter of doubt. Many departments of moral inquiry have still the inductive method to be applied to them to raise them on a solid basis. Till they may properly be classed amongst the inductive sciences, they are not fit subjects of study for unripe intellects. They may form subjects of discussion among philosophers and of observation to scientific inquirers. But those portions of moral science which have assumed a demonstrative appearance and which have received the approbation of all philosophical inquirers, political economy for instance, should be included in the course of a college education. The substratum of everything that is to be learnt in after life should be laid during our collegiate existence, as any department of knowledge then neglected is most likely in the majority of cases to be neglected all the while. What is of more universal application in social affairs than the truths of political economy! From the highest statesman to the everyday labourer, from the princely duke to the humblest tenant on other's lands, from her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria down to her poorest ragged subject starving in an obscure nook of the 24-Pergunnahs or the Hooghly district, every one has an interest, whether he would be wise enough to know it or not, in the science of political economy. In its true appreciation, endowed as we are by our all-benevolent Creator with natural powers to carry into effect its precepts and doctrines, depends the welfare of individuals as well of nations. In this complex state of society in its present advanced condition, many a time mere common sense is not sufficient to make us understand what our interests are. Many a time we see a distorted picture, and, many a

tion, or even a total annihilation of national prosperity, must be the award of those states who shrink with slothful indifference from the great struggle of rival nations in the career of industrial arts." Since such is the case, the importance of science in a collegiate education is paramount. The condition of India is to be improved by the aid of science and by no other means. The starving population of a more than hundred millions has to look up to no other resource but the almighty agency of science. Scientific methods of agriculture shall have to be introduced before we can hope to be out of the grasp of penury and famine. Botany, chemistry and geology, when called to the farmer's assistance, shall spread plenty all around, and infuse a new vigour into the Indian soil. They have transformed arid tracts and marshy bogs into smiling cornfields. What prospect, then is not there of the enriching of India, when along with mechanics and engineering they shall operate on the already fertile plains of Bengal, of the Doab and of the Dekkan? What task again remains for Physiology to do! Sanatory reforms on any large scale cannot take place until the people, or, at least those that more in the higher circles of society, have made themselves familiar with the truths of the physiological science. Physiology has to remove from amongst the educated natives and by their example, from amongst the uneducated vulgar, that superstition with her inaudible 'feeble voice has not been able to displace. I mean that poisonous liquor of which

" Soon as the potion works, their human countenance
The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,
Or ounce or tiger, hog or bearded goat,
All other parts remaining as they were,
And they so perfect is their misery
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement
But boast themselves more comely than before. " [1]

Political economy has to teach the poor, and physiology has to teach both the poor and the rich, what innumerable evils are ensuing from early marriage. What social misery and intellectual prostration from that single source! In short, if we wish to be our own farmers, if we wish to be our own manufacturers, if we wish to beautify our country and increase its resources without foreign aid, and if we wish to keep our body and soul in health and harmony, we must cultivate science and include it in the college curriculum of studies : otherwise, we shall be doing *injustice to ourselves and to our posterity* ; we will be able to talk much but to do little. Again, in a country like ours where an immense structure of superstition has been raising in the minds of the inhabitants for more than three thousand years, the including of science in the scheme of a college education is absolutely necessary. Every thing Hindu is subject to the thraldom of superstition. Superstition interweaves itself with all the affairs of Hindu life. Every sort of improvement is retarded in its progress by the all-spoiling powers of superstition. The Hindu mind has been pulled down to a low level by the oppressive load of superstition. No other study is so sure to destroy this giant fabric as the study of science. Science being the embodiment of truth, it is from its very nature opposed to superstition and bigotry. In the course of a scientific study, nothing is taken on trust. Every proposition has its proof. The absurdities of superstition appear glaring by the light of science. Let it not be understood, however, that all that has been said above is with a view to undervalue literature. Science and literature go hand in hand. They both aim at human happiness. The one is as much necessary as the other to make us great.

[1] Milton's Comus.

THE ISLAND HOME OF RĀVAṆA

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The abode of the famous *Rākshasa* king is the subject of much keen controversy.

In *JRAS* 1915, p. 318f., Professor Keith contributed a note on the date of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the course of which he observed that "the evidence that Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa's Island home) was Ceylon is weak." Similar views have been expressed by many scholars in India[1] as well as in Europe. A summary of some of these views is given in IHQ, 1928, p. 695.

Those who doubt the identity of Rāvaṇa's Island with Ceylon take it for granted that Laṅkā, the name given to the Island by Vālmīki, was the exclusive designation of one particular territory, and that territory, it is argued, could not have been Siṁhala or Ceylon as the names Laṅkā and Siṁhala find separate mention in several Sanskrit texts. But separate mention in these texts is no sure proof of complete dissociation in all ages. In the *Sabhā-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,[2] for instance, Vaṅga, Tāmralipti and Suhma are clearly distinguished from one another. The *Daśakumāra Charita*, however, includes Dāmalipta or Tāmralipti within Suhma,[3] while the Jaina Upāṅga, styled the *Prajñāpanā* includes it within Vaṅga.[4] In the records of Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang Gandhāra is distinguished from Takshaśilā,[5] but in several Jātakas Takshaśilā appears as the name of the capital of Gandhāra.[6] The Bṛihat Saṁhitā,[7] which makes separate mention of Laṅkā and Siṁhala, likewise distinguishes Māthuraka from Śūrasena, Kuru from Gajāhvaya, Giri-nagara from Surāshṭra, Koṅkaṇa from Aparāntaka, Takshaśilā-Pushkalāvata from Gandhāra, Madra (XIV, 22) from Madraka (XIV, 27). Kulūta is placed in Western India (XIV, 22) as well as in the North-East (XIV, 29). We need not multiply instances. Separate mention in each of these cases does not necessarily mean separate existence as absolutely distinct entities.

There is another fact which should not be lost sight of. The name Laṅkā was not the exclusive designation of one particular island. Sylvain Lèvi[8] refers to "alluvial islands lying within the banks of the Godāvarī river, called *laṅkās*, which are flooded every year." A deed of gift, which comes from the state of Sonpur and is published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, makes mention of a local Chief under the title of *Paśchima-Laṅkādhipati.*[9] The author of *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* makes mention of a territory called Māvilangai or North Laṅkā lying to the south of Nellore.[10] These Laṅkās were undoubtedly quite distinct from Ceylon. But the Laṅkā *par excellence* could not have been any other territory but Ceylon. This is made clear by the evidence of Buddhist literature. The

[1] *Bhārata-varsha*, Paush, 1336, 67 ; IHQ, 1926, 345 ; 1928, 339, 694 ; 1929, 355 ; Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, XVIII.
[2] Ch. 30 (*Bhīma-digvijaya*).
[3] Suhmeshu Dāmliptāhvayasya nagarasya vāhyodyāna (*Uchchhāsa* 6).
[4] Tāmalitti Vaṁgāya (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, 375).
[5] *Legge*, 31-32 ; *Watters*, I, 198, 240.
[6] *E.g.* in the *Nandivisāla Jātaka* (No. 28).
[7] XIV, verses 11, 15 ; 3 ; 4 ; 11, 19 ; 12, 20 ; 26, 28.
[8] *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (Trans. by Bagchi, 102).
[9] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 237.
[10] P. 87.

Buddhist Chroniclers of Ceylon refer to their country as "our island of Lankā"[1] which they identify with "the region called Tambapanni." The *Mahābodhivaṁsa*[2] makes clear mention of *Lankāsankhātam Tambapaṇṇidīpam*.

In the *Mahāvaṁsa* [3] we have the statement that 'Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Lankā.' He 'landed in Lankā, in the region called Tambapaṇṇi.' "The King Sihabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sīhala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sīhala (Siṁhala)."

Was Siṁhala (Ceylon), the Lankā of Vijaya, also the Lankā of Rāvaṇa? In this connection it is interesting to note that the Garuḍa Purāṇa (Ch. 70)[4] refers to a river called "Rāvaṇagangā" named apparently after the King of Lankā, which is described as

Siṁhalī chārunitambabimba vikshobhitāgādha mahāhradā

This passage certainly establishes a connection between Rāvaṇa, lord of Lankā, and Siṁhala. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* [5] the country (*deśa*) of Rāvaṇa the lord of *Rākshasas*, is thus described, (the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 41. 14-25:—

"You will see the Kāverî, abounding in sporting bands of *Apsarases*. On the summit of the Malaya mountain, endowed with exceeding splendour, you will behold Agastya, foremost of saints, like unto the Sun. The high-souled one being pleased, you will be permitted to cross the Tāmraparṇî, a great river infested by crocodiles. Decked with covered islets, picturesque with sandalwoods, the river, like a youthful lass, embraces her lover, the sea. Marching onward, Monkeys! you will next behold the *Kapāṭa* of the Pāṇḍyas, made of gold and adorned with pearls and gems. Then having reached the sea you will consider the possibility or otherwise of crossing it. There in the Ocean Agastya has placed the most excellent mountain—the glorious Mahendra, charming with its picturesque ridges, golden, majestic, plunged in the bosom of the great deep. To this lovely mountain, decked with various trees and blossoming creepers, hallowed by the foremost of gods, sages, *Yakshas* and *Apsarases* and thronged with multitudes of *siddhas* and *chāraṇas*, comes, at *parvas*, the thousand-eyed (Indra). On its other side is a luminous island stretching over a hundred *Yojanas*, inaccessible to men. Explore it all round and make a thorough search for Sītā, particularly in this place. That is the country of the wicked Rāvaṇa—the abode of the lord of Rākshasas, like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) in lustre." Rāvaṇa's Island is in this passage placed beyond the Kāverî, the Malaya Mountain, the Tāmraparṇî, the Pāṇḍya country (Madura and Tinnevelly Districts), and the Sea. To reach the shore opposite Lankā Rāma had to cross the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra Mountains, *i.e.*, the Ghats and the Travancore Hills.[6] Any one who reads the splendid description of the surging mass of water [7] separating Rāma's camp on the mainland from Rāvaṇa's island home need not be told that it can hardly be

1 The *Mahāvaṁsa* (Geiger's translation), pp. 54, 61, 62.
2 Ed. by S. Arthur Strong, p. 113.
3 Geige 's Translation, pp. 54, 55, 58.
4 Verse 3.
5 *Rām.*, IV, 41, 14f.
6 *Rām.*, VI, 4, 92f.; *cf. Mahābhārata*, III, 281, 44f.
7 Hasantamiva phenaughair nṛityantamiva chormibhiḥ chandrodaye samuddhūtam pratichandrasamākulam

identified (as is done by some Indian writers) with some obscure sheet of water near the Amarakaṇṭaka range. Trikūṭa, the name of the mountain on the top of which stood the proud city of the Rakshasha king, cannot be exclusively appropriated to a particular region of Central India, as the name is found in other parts of the Indian sub-Continent.[1]

Some scholars object to the identification of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā with Ceylon on the ground that the dimensions of Laṅkā given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] far exceed those of Ceylon. It is forgotten that poets are not scientific geographers and even the classical writers give exaggerated accounts of the size of 'Taprobane' or Ceylon,[3]

chaṇḍānila mahāgrāhaiḥ kīrṇaṁ timitimiṅgilaiḥ
dīpta bhogairivākīrṇaṁ bhujaṅgair Varuṇālayam
* * *
sāgarañ chāmbara prakhyam ambaraṁ sāgaropamam
sāgarañchāmbarañcheti nirviśeshamadṛiśyata
* * *
anyonyairāhatāḥ saktāḥ sasvanubhīmaniḥsvanāḥ
ūrmayaḥ sindhu-rājasya mahābherya ivāhave
* * *
tato vismayamāpannā harayo dadṛiśuḥ sthitāḥ
bhrāntormijāla sannādaṁ pralolamiva sāgaram

Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 4, 110-121.

1 *Raghuvaṁśam*, IV. 58-59; Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 252.

2 IV. 41. 23f., etc.

3 *Cf.* McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Ed. by S. Majumdar Śāstrī), p. 255.

Miscellany

EVERYDAY SCIENCE IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

The *Cambridge University Reporter* published the new schedule for Part I of the General Examination for the ordinary Bachelor of Arts Degree. For the first time in the history of Cambridge University Everyday Science is included in the syllabus of studies. It is a varied syllabus, ranging from gravitation, capillary phenomena, X-ray and other invisible radiations, human and other mammalian anatomy, the importance of vitamins in foods, epidemic and their causes and the general control of diseases.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University thought fit that their literary *alumni* should not go out into the world without even the elementary conception of the ordinary life and its surroundings. For some years Everyday Science has been a subject for candidates in several examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission. There are people who hold the view: (1) that Everyday Science is very suitable for young children from 10 to 13 years of age, (2) it is less adapted to the mental state of boys and girls from 13 to 16, (3) it is extremely valuable for those above that age who are not specialising in science but who must get to play active parts in a world very largely moulded by scientific thought and controlled by scientific invention.

Among the older schools there are many teachers who consider Everyday Science as a mere pretender, a back-boneless weakling putting a sham show in the strength of veneer of science. It may easily become invertebrate, few will deny, but that it is always so, is a serious error of opinion. If a study of literature may foster that love of beauty, truth and goodness, the study of science will lead to application of beauty in nature, truth in observation and deduction, goodness in the service performed by science and in the light it throws on human motives, ideas and emotions. It is true that formal science lays the greatest emphasis on truth as appreciated by human sense and human reasonings and thus counterbalances the greater emphasis laid on other values by other subjects; it prepares the mind for a critical examination of the diversity of facts presented before us. It is due to these reasons that those who decry Everyday Science as a school subject are among the staunchest supporters of formal science ; in other words, they attach primary importance to the " Truth " value, so characteristic of science and are apt to forget or belittle its content of beauty and goodness. There are now numerous books on general elementary science, but however accurate in detail or immaculate in style, such books cannot be regarded as successful books on Everyday Science if they merely contain abridgements of various science courses. To fulfil its purpose its whole outlook must be planned on a different basis. It is no doubt partly from these causes that writing of such a book appears to offer exceptional difficulties. And the teachers are reluctant to undertake this owing to lack of suitable books and are sceptic regarding its utility.

Here one would like to see less prominence awarded to scientific theories and necessities of contemporary scientific work and more to the history of science and to the contacts of science with everyday life,

This bold step of the Cambridge University will lead others to think seriously. It is high time that the Indian Universities should consider whether there is need of such a scientific background for their Art students.

P. N. GHOSH

MANCHUKUO *VS.* CHINA

The people of Manchukuo stand firmly on their inalienable right to rebel against oppression, misrule and injustice; to exercise right of self-determination and to secede from the rule of a bandit despotism; to declare their independence and to set up their own government. It was their right and duty to throw off the yoke of their oppressors and provide new guards for their future security when the opportunity presented itself. The Government and people of Manchukuo accept full responsibility for their actions and are prepared to maintain and defend their freedom by every means within their power. Invoking the fundamentals of civilization and the rights of man which today represent the most advanced policies of the more enlightened European states, the Government and the people of Manchukuo appeal to the world to cast aside the legalities and petty international politics and to consider their case from the broader aspects of justice, humanity and world peace. Principles that apply in Europe must apply with equal force in Asia.

The supreme concern and duty of the League of Nations is the Preservation of world peace. The dispute between China and Japan simmers down to whether or not Japan was justified in resorting to self-defence on the night of September 18, 1931. If Japan was justified it follows that the independence and status of Manchukuo is outside the jurisdiction of the League and becomes a purely domestic question between Manchukuo and Nanking, in which war against the Central Government is not an act of rebellion but a test of supremacy between two independent factions. And as Nanking imposed its rule over the whole of China Proper with the aid of the Soviet, so will Manchukuo defend its independence with the aid of Japan.

Although the League decided against Japan, it could not undo the independence of Manchukuo. That, as pointed out, remains a purely domestic issue that concerns the people of Manchukuo and a government which sits at Nanking and derives its right to rule from the recognition of the Powers and the weight of its armies. If the League is to use its powers to preserve world peace, the only fair position for it to take in this dispute is to recognize the right of the people of Manchukuo to determine for themselves what government they desire to live under.

The independence of Manchukuo bears no relation to the dispute between China and Japan. Had the incident of September 18, 1931, not created the opportunity for the people of Manchuria to throw off the yoke of Chang Hsueh-liang it was only a question of time when some other combination of circumstances would have precipitated a more serious revolution. Basing their right to self-determination on a nationalism that has endured for centuries, the legitimate sons of the soil revolted against the oppressive rule of an alien regime and set up their own government. These people challenge the findings of the League that the land belongs to the Chinese immigrants.—George Rea in the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai, China).

B. K. SARKAR

ORPHANHOOD DIMINISHING

The sorriest victims of the premature death of adults are the children who thereby become orphaned of father or mother or both. And, conversely, one of the greatest boons resulting from the modern improvement in mortality is the saving of innumerable children from the fate of orphanhood. Just what this means to the present and future generations can best be realized by a computation which contrasts the number of orphans that result from the mortality prevailing at the present time, with the corresponding number that would have resulted under the mortality conditions at the beginning of the present century.

The conclusions from such computations are striking. The mortality rates prevailing in 1930, if applied to the parents of children living in that year, would have produced, among the white population of the United States about 3,085,000 children under age seventeen who had lost one or both parents. Of these, about 1,739,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,168,000 would have been motherless and about 178,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. If, on the contrary, we apply to this population of 1930 the old mortality rates of 1901, we find that these would have produced, in the white population of 1930, about 5,202,000 orphans under age seventeen. Of these, about 2,726,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,931,000 would have been motherless, and about 545,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. Thus the improvement in mortality in the first thirty years of the current century would correspond to a total saving in 1930 of about 2,117,000 children under seventeen years of age from orphanhood, in the white population of the United States.

The social implications of this changing aspect of the orphanhood situation can hardly be rated too highly. The children are the first and direct gainers, in being preserved from the physical and spiritual handicap of a youth deprived of parental affection and guidance. But society as a whole also reaps an important and sure gain. Not only is it relieved of the economic burden of caring for children whose natural support has been removed by death, but, without reflecting in any way upon the excellent institutional or private care that is now-a-days bestowed upon many orphans, it can surely be said, without fear of contradiction, that this can never fully replace the influence for good of a well-ordered home life. Problems of delinquency, or at least of indifferent citizenship, will surely be reduced as the proportion of orphans in the community decreases.

As mortality has improved almost continuously in past years, we may reasonably hope that the present very favourable condition may continue or even can be surpassed in years to come. Children of the present and and future generations will then reap the full benefit of the lower death-rates of their parents and the community will profit in lowered costs of custodial care and in a better trained and equipped group of citizens. —*Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).

B. K. SARKAR

DEBTS PAID IN PAPER DOLLARS

The vast bulk of fixed debt incurred in the United States, whether by Americans or foreigners, was expressed in gold dollars. Principal and interests were to be paid in dollars having a prescribed gold content, or in other forms of dollars taken at their gold valuation. The insertion of this provision had become habitual since the experiences arising from the Civil War in the sixties of last century.

The recent separation of the dollar from gold, along with the withdrawal of gold from circulation, raised, therefore, in an acute form the question whether dollar payments due in respect of such debts should be increased, and if so by how much (no easy question this), to allow for the depreciation of the dollar in relation to gold. In order to clarify and regularize the position the Government has taken the equitable course of declaring all such clauses void. This was done by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress on June 5, 1933, nullifying the "gold clause" in all existing and future contracts, and approving payments in United States legal tender as full discharge of interest and principal obligations.

In consequence, with the exception of a few foreign loans containing the gold clause, the debtors on which have elected of their own free will to observe it, all debts on which payments are being made are now served in "paper" dollars. Before the joint resolution some authorities doubted the power of Congress to sweep away the gold clause, for the terms of the constitution of the United States were held to render any such act unconstitutional.

The President, however, had already taken opinions on the question, and had evidently satisfied himself as to the validity of the proposed course of action. Still, the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled, for, although two favourable judgments have been given in minor courts the final authority, the Supreme Court of the United States, has not yet had an opportunity of giving a decision. It may in fact never have that opportunity, and in any event the occasion cannot arise until the wheels of American justice grind slowly to that point.—*Monthly Review of the Midland Bank* (London).

B. K. SARKAR

STEEL-PIPING IN MINING DISTRICTS

Of all the big tasks which the developments after the War assigned to the designer of pipe systems in the industrial and mining districts of America and Europe the most important were dictated by hygienic and economic considerations. On the one hand, the rather unsatisfactory conditions obtaining in those districts with regard to drinking water made a speedy and systematic improvement of the water-supply imperative, while often perfectly good and pure drinking-water could be procured only by erecting extensive pipe lines, which conveyed good water from mountainous regions over great distances to the consumer. On the other hand, the demand for improving the economy of the large steel works, etc., was instrumental in bringing about the utilization, previously not heeded, of the waste gases, and of natural gas, for industrial and town supply, and for this purpose also, extensive pipe-line systems had to be created.

Common to both types of systems was the relatively high working pressure required for overcoming the great distances. This fact by itself

was not of great moment, in as much as pipe lines for far higher pressures had been in use for a considerable time, especially for water-supply and turbine plants, but now an aggravating moment came in. For reasons of economy, socket connections had to be employed exclusively, whereas in most of the high-pressure water pipe lines referred to, flanged or riveted joints have been used; moreover, the fact had to be taken into account that the unstable conditions of the ground in the mining districts are liable to cause displacements of the lines and therewith high bending and buckling stresses in the pipes.

Although these facts were well known when the first long-distance lines were designed, protective measures were not applied to the requisite extent. While in the construction of the long-distance water and gas lines, the use of cast-iron pipes had been abandoned from the beginning on account of the high working pressures, and cases of burst pipes, therefore, did not occur anywhere, yet subsidences of the soil, which are sometimes very extensive and can never be avoided in mining districts, in many instances caused leakages in the joints, and in some cases cracks at the welds of welded joints. In the case of gas mains, this has led to a number of deaths from gas-poisoning and to serious damage through explosions, apart from the direct losses through the gas escaping.

The safety measures now devised for the prevention of similar catastrophies, and which in part go far beyond the mark, have been in operation now for a long enough period to permit of passing a final judgment on the value of the various constructions and their importance for future pipe-lying practice.

In this connection, the fact must not be overlooked that in Europe, due perhaps to the more unified and much more stringent police regulations, any construction, if it is to be passed by the authorities, must be absolutely safe and capable of resisting all loads that may under any possible combination of circumstances come upon them. In the United States, on the other hand, the general practice is to suit the safety measures to the normal working conditions and to dispense with precautionary measures for special contingencies if their cost exceeds that which would be occasioned by an interruption of service caused by abnormal occurrences. In other words, the construction of pipe-line systems in Europe is largely influenced by the requirements of absolute safety of operation, in the United States by purely economic considerations. —Diederich in *Engineering Progress* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*Rabindranath Tagore: His Religious, Social and Political Ideals by Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D.* (J. T. SUNDERLAND)—*The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions by Sheokissen Bhatter and Dr. L. Neményi* (J. P. NIYOGI)—*India: the Landscape, the Monuments and the People by Dr. Martin Hürlimann* (N. RAY)—*Modern Movements in Islam by Julius Germanus, Ph.D.* (N. RAY)—*India House Library: A Short Catalogue* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Modern Russia—the Land of Planning by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., Ph.D.* (PULIN BEHARI SEN)—*Banks and the Money Market by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D.* (A. K. SUR)]

Rabindranath Tagore: His Religious, Social and Political Ideals by Taraknath Das, M.A., PH.D. Saraswati Library, Calcutta, India. Pp. 56,. 1932. Re. 1.

Here is an unusually valuable little book. In its half a hundred pages, it gives the clearest portrayal we have ever found anywhere, of the exact ideals and aims of India's great poet and philosopher.

The book is needed. For, as a matter of fact, there is in the public mind not only much vagueness of thought but much actual misunderstanding regarding Tagore.

Is he not a mere dreamer, or is he a real thinker? Is his poetry great, or only new and queer? What are his relations to Mahatma Gandhi? Does he work with him or oppose him? Is he really, actively, earnestly in sympathy with his country's struggle for freedom, or only nominally and half-heartedly so? Is he a real social reformer, working earnestly to lift up India's "untouchables," and to cure her other grave social evils? or is he only a dilettante reformer? What is his religion? Is it Hindu superstition? or something high, rational, worth of attention? Is he friendly to western civilization? or opposed to it?

These are important questions. Dr. Das throws clear light upon them all, and others, showing in the most convincing and authoritative way, not only that Rabindranath Tagore is a real poet of the first order, and a profound and fertile thinker, but also that he is a warm friend of Gandhi, an earnest, effective and courageous worker (in his own way) for India's freedom, a sincere and effective social reformer, a teacher of a singularly intelligent and pure religious faith, a man of the highest, noblest and finest character.

Dr. Das's little book is one of praise; but its praise is careful, candid, well-considered, based on ample knowledge. As has been said, the work is needed, and should be widely read.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions by Sheokissen Bhatter, Managing Partner of Sir Sarupchand Hukumchand and Co. (Calcutta) and Dr. L. Neményi (Budapest), pp. 176+xxxv. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta.

The volume under review gives a straightforward and at the same time a fairly comprehensive presentation of the facts and arguments connected with the Reserve Bank problem in India. Its publication is specially opportune at the present moment when the Indian public is eagerly watching the progress of the Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislature.

A brief account of the working of the gold standard and of the rôle of the bank money in the modern economic structure provides the necessary background for an examination of the issues involved in the establishment of a Reserve Bank in India. The Reserve Bank Bill now before the Legislature is analysed, clause by clause, and in the course of this examination a number of important suggestions are made. It is in this part of the book that the most valuable work of the author has been done.

Special mention must be made of the very pertinent criticism made by the author that the Bill under consideration makes no attempt to link

up the indigenous bankers with the proposed Reserve Bank. It is universally acknowledged that this link would have gone far in creating that "bill habit" of which we have heard so much in recent years. It is worth recalling in this connection that the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended that approved indigenous bankers should be required to keep a proportion of their deposits with the Reserve Bank and that they should be given the same facilities of rediscounting commercial paper as the joint-stock banks. The authors have also pointed out the rather anomalous provision in the Bill [Section 17 (4) *b*] which allows the proposed Reserve Bank to compete with the joint-stock banks in respect of certain types of business, *e.g.*, the grant of loans and advances against gold and securities. The approved member banks will be required to keep a percentage of their time and demand liabilities with the Reserve Bank and it is only fair that the latter should be prevented from doing ordinary banking business with funds partially provided by the member banks.

A separate chapter is devoted to the controversial question of State Bank *vs.* Shareholders' Bank. The authors come to the conclusion that "only a shareholders' bank can safeguard the national interests if the shareholders will take an active interest, whereas a State Bank will solely be in the hands of the executive." One would have wished for a more detailed analysis of the question, particularly on the basis of the experience of some of the existing State Banks, *e.g.*, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. Ever since 1924 the Australian Commonwealth Bank has been organised as a full-fledged State Bank and it would have been interesting to examine the career of this Bank in the light of India's requirements.

J. P. NIYOGI

India: the Landscape, the Monuments and the People by Dr. Martin Hürlimann, DR. PHIL. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay. Over 300 full plates in photogravure with an introductory letter-press of xxi pages, and xi pages of explanatory notes on illustrations and a short index of proper names. Rs. 20.

The Taraporevalas of Bombay are reputed to be very enterprising publishers and they have lived up to their reputation in this work which is really a delight, a feast, to the eye and the mind. It is a sumptuous volume containing over 300 full plates in photogravure, artistically printed, depicting the landscape, the monuments and the people of this vast subcontinent of ours. Eminently suited to be an album for presentation on ceremonial occasions, the book has at the same time a great cultural value and will be of real service to those foreigners and also our countrymen who have neither the time nor the opportunity to go all over this picturesque and bewildering land with her diverse races, languages and landscapes and know her soul.

The arrangement of the illustrations correspond to several journeys Dr. Hürlimann, the author of the book, took throughout the length and breadth of India, beginning at the extreme south, on Adam's Bridge, and ending with Kashmir. In the first journey through Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram and Conjeeveram some of the most important places of Dravidian civilisation and architecture were visited. Once again starting from the extreme south, along the south-east coast from Trivandrum through Malabar he visited Telicherry, Mysore and Hyderabad where at Golconda and Bijapur some of the imposing monuments of Mahomedan princely power met his eyes. In the western side of the Peninsula he led his footsteps to Bombay and then turned to those temples, cave temples and monasteries at Karli, Elephanta, Aurangabad,

Nasik, and above all, at Ellora and Ajanta, " whose caves are the most magnificent monuments of Indian art and of human culture itself." In the north-east were visited the temple cities of Orissa—Puri, Bhuvaneswar and Konarak,—while next he passed through Bengal, " one of the most active of provinces in cultural things," and then up the Brahmaputra to Gauhati in Assam, and along the powerful mountain frontiers to Darjeeling. In the plain of the Ganges he saw Patna, Buddhagaya, Benares, and then Allahabad, Lucknow, and the " romantic " Bundelkhand. Thence he was led to Agra and Delhi, " the classical localities " of Mahomedan rule, and next to the sacred localities of Rajputana, " full of colour and proud shapes." Further to the west he visited Kathiawar, Ahmedabad, and Karachi, but he did not forget the former territory of the Gandhara kingdom, in the extreme north-west, above all the Punjab and its old cities of Lahore and Amritsar, the ruins at Taxila, the Khyber Pass, and " the Caravan city " of Peshawar. Lastly he visited Kashmir, " which in addition to the beauty of its magnificent mountain scenery and variegated vegetation, possesses interesting architectural monuments, and the life and doings of a peculiar mixed people." During all these journeys, a pageant of scenes and sceneries, of art and life, of light and colour passed before his eyes which he caught in his camera. When taking the photos, he has endeavoured, it seems, to keep the directness of personal impressions, and at the same time to avoid photographic arbitrariness, letting the beauty of the country and of its monuments speak for itself. " At the same time that I was trying to capture the beauty of India," the author says, " I wished, likewise, to illustrate her soul. For, in the beauty of a civilisation and in the greatness of its accomplishments there lies a mightier truth than in the thousand and one details of a transitory and often ugly work-a-day world." That is certainly a most correct attitude for a foreign visitor—trying to know the soul of a civilisation that once was great and glorious.

N. RAY

Modern Movements in Islam by Julius Germanus, PH. D. Visva-Bharati Book-Shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 4.

This is the fifth book of the Visva-Bharati Studies, a series embodying the results of advanced studies and research carried out at the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the inspiring guidance of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore; and one is pleased to record at once that the book keeps up to the high standard of merit the series aspires to maintain. Coming from Dr. Julius Germanus, the first Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies at the Visva-Bharati, and a leading European expert on Islamic history and civilisation, one can hardly expect anything less.

The book is a collection of three of Dr. Germanus's learned lectures on modern cultural movements in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, before the teachers and advanced students at the Visva-Bharati. They are all very able and scholarly dissertations on the recent developments in the Islamic world characterised by a sincere sympathy, a broad vision, and a deep knowledge of the past history and culture of the respective countries. He has, moreover, a refreshing way to present his subject, and an introspective mind that knows how to interpret the inner spirit that moves the outer facts of life and history. His reading of Turkish history and the modern social, religious and cultural movements with which the new regimé in Turkey is associated, is of special interest. The book will be of interest not only to those who are interested in Islamic history and civilisation but to all general readers as well who care to know anything about cultural understanding between peoples and nations.

N. RAY

India House Library: A Short Catalogue. Office of the High Commissioner for India. London, 1933. 5s.

This is an abridged catalogue of the library, attached to the office of the High Commissioner for India, and dating from 1920. From a collection of official books it has developed into a full-fledged library, as it was found early that the staff as well as the general public required unofficial books to supplement their knowledge of India, and sums of money are now allotted each year for buying books which may help the understanding of Indian problems. When in 1930 the office moved to India House, the library was in a better position to realise its aim of being " the Mecca of all persons who are interested in the economic and commercial problems of India and Indian culture generally," without being ambitious at the same time of competing with the India Office Library or with the British Museum.

The catalogue contains the names of all the publications in the library on the 31st December, 1932, and the books have been arranged according to subjects, in conformity with the Dewey decimal scheme of classification. In looking over the names we find that social sciences have come in for more attention than any other department, and this is but reasonable.

The catalogue is a handy publication and will guide students of Indian culture to the selection of books in their respective subjects. We wish the library a useful, successful and long life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Modern Russia—the Land of Planning by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., PH.D., Industrial Credits & Services Ltd., London, pp. 169. 5s.

During recent years many books have come to be written on Russia and her notorious experiments, but few of them would allow the reader to form any opinion for himself ; while some of them overstate the case for Russia, others would have us believe that Russia is out for disaster and is well on the way. The present book by the author of the *Soviet Union Year Book*, one of the latest (June, 1933) on Russia, is also one of the best, in the sense that the author does not take sides, but contents himself with a review, which is clear, comprehensive and endorsed by figures, past and present, of the immense strides that Russia has taken during the working of the much-abused Five-Year Plan, in all branches of social and economic life—Agriculture, Industry, Transport, Town-planning and building, Public Health, Education for the people, Position of working men and the rest. And we begin to suspect that the cry that Russia is on the way to ruin may not be quite disinterested; on the contrary, she has made an outstanding performance, remarkable equally for its scope and achievements—rarely having a parallel in history when the heavy odds and the brief period of time taken are considered.

There seems to be an increasing interest in India about Russian affairs, particularly since Rabindranath Tagore's visit to that country in 1930 and his memorable letters—the poet was all but converted—where he so often remembered how socio-economic conditions in India are in many vital respects similar to those prevailing in Russia previous to the inauguration of the Plan. Russia too was in a backward agricultural state as is India, her children illiterate, starved, indolent and fatalistic; but while the face of Russia is changed beyond recognition, we in India are told of the " enormous difficulties " and insurmountable obstacles in the way of education and progress. This interest, however, is not always supported by a clear knowledge of the aims of the Plan and details of its progress.

To that purpose, this seems to be an excellent book, well-arranged and comprehensive ; it contains all that is worth knowing about the Great Experiment.

PULINBIHARI SEN

Banks and the Money Market by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., PH.D., L.T., F.R.E.S. (London), Lecturer in the Departments of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, Hony. Lecturer in Economics, Indian Institute of Bankers. Lal Chand & Sons, Calcutta, 1933. Rs. 2.

Books on the Indian Money Market and its operations are few and far between. Dr. Rau's monograph on the subject would, therefore, be welcomed by one and all interested in this intricate subject. It contains a collection of four lectures delivered by the learned author to the Institute of Bankers at Calcutta during the winter session of 1930-31, supplemented with eight appendices which cover 152 of 257 pages.

The lay public has a very obscure idea of the organization and function of the money market. Its intricate nature will be followed from the fact that the money market is a place " where the idle or surplus funds or the floating cash of the important financial institutions of the nation seek temporary employment in buying such short-dated securities as bills, treasury obligations and other safe and liquid short-term obligations such as commercial paper or are lent to the stock-brokers on an average for a long period of seven days as money at short notice or on day to day basis as call money." It is indeed more than that. It is the bedrock on which the country's national finance rests, and a broad and appropriate treatment of the subject would require the inclusion within its ambit the whole theory of banking and currency, and also mention of the measures adopted in other ends of the world for the perfect and satisfactory working of the money market. It is obvious from this that it is quite impossible for anyone to deal with all these matters in the course of four popular lectures on the subject. Nevertheless, our author has not failed to call attention to almost all the major aspects of the subject. And the exposition has been designed to be so simple and lucid that it can be understood even by the layman without any difficulty. Experienced businessmen and trained practical students of the subject will also appreciate the volume inasmuch as it contains many suggestions for removing the existing deficiencies of the Indian money market.

Lecture I is devoted to a thorough and careful analysis of the Indian money market. Here he presents thumb-nail sketches of the constituent members of the Indian money market such as the banks, stock exchange, bill brokers, acceptance houses, trust and finance companies and other specialising credit agencies whose main task is to supply the needed stock of money, be it State or Commodity Money, or substitutes for the legal tender State Money known as representative money or Bank Money. His clever analysis brings home to us the present very weak correlation between the operations of the different credit agencies in this country. In conclusion the author offers some suggestions for a compact and satisfactory organization of the money market.

In Lecture II the author gives a description of the present-day Indian currency system so far as it influences the working of the money market. The account presented here although very brief is not too schematic to bring out the salient features of the system. Defects of the existing system are pointed out, and remedies for the eradication of the same suggested. Methods to secure inflation and deflation of currency receive special treatment in this lecture.

In the earlier part of Lecture III the author takes up the study of the Foreign Exchange market. The relationship between the foreign exchange market and the money market is very clearly described. The latter part of the Lecture is devoted to a study of the Investment Market. A brief resumé is given of the various means of investment. Investment is a science. It is not well-understood in this country. Educating the investors in the principles of right investment is an urgent desideratum in this country. It requires specialisation. The author here suggests once more the creation in this country on English lines of specialising institutions of the nature of Investment Trusts, as he has also suggested it in his well-known work entitled, *Present Day Banking in India.* The author also calls attention to the necessity of perfecting the existing Stock Exchanges, and suggests the establishment of more stock exchanges in important trading centres, for example, at Cawnpore.

The final Lecture which deals with the ideal monetary and banking system, contains the author's conclusions on the subject. It is impossible in a brief review to examine all the suggestions and new views he offers for the evolution of a co-ordinated, compact and cohesive money market in this country. Although it is likely that some would take exception to some of the statements of the author, yet, I think, there would be general agreement on his observation that "the Indian monetary and banking system should be based on modern central reserve banking practice and the independent gold rupee standard ought to be worked in such a way as to free it from undesirable influences, such as a fall in the price of silver or a threatened shortage of gold." Those who are interested in the present controversial discussions regarding the Reserve Bank and the Rupee Ratio problems would find this chapter as well as the appendices of great interest and profit to them.

It remains to point out that despite sundry omissions and commissions, the volume as a whole is an excellent piece of work. A vigorous and realistic approach, with which has gone much sound analysis makes Dr. Rau's study a contribution of great value to the literature of this little understood subject.

A. K. SUR

Tha following books were also received for review:

1. **Ancient Solutions of Modern Problems** by Sri Bhagawan Das, M.A., D.L., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India, 1933. As. 8.
2. **Tarikh-i-Ilahi** by V. S. Bendrey. Published by G. B. Nare, B.A., Gaikwadwada, 568 Narayan, Poona, India, 1933.
3. **Srimad Brahma-Vijnan** (in Bengali) by Sibendrakisore Ray Chaudhury, Masua, P. O., Mymensingh, 1933. Re. 1.
4. **One God, One Empire, One Mankind** by Uma Maheswar, College of Arts, Trivandrum.
5. **First Four Califs** by Ahmed Safi. G. A. Natesan, Madras. Re. 1.
6. **The Work of Theosophists** by the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
7. **The Will and the Plan in Science** by V. Appa Row, M.A., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
8. **Report on the Administration of Bengal**, 1931-32, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta. Re. 1-7.

Gleanings

WHERE HINDUISM AND ISLAM MEET.

Hinduism and Islam, to all appearance, are poles asunder, and any meeting-ground of the two, it is commonly believed, there rarely can be. Dr. Md. Shahidullah in the latest issue of the *Prabuddha Bharat* does rare service when he brings his deep knowledge of both Hindu and Islamic religious literature to discover points of agreement and similarity which they yet have, inspite of real and pointed differences. Go deeper into the thing, says the doctor, and the fundamental unity of the two—Hinduism and Islam—will strike you at once. He shows that both preach toleration —a toleration arising not out of indifference but out of mutual appreciation adding proper quotations and ample references which will go far to remove much common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Islam, and proceeds to point out how in many basic religious forms and beliefs—conceptions of Godhead, of Heaven and Hell, Prophets and Angels, belief in rituals, for example—Hinduism and Islam bear close resemblance.

The Holy Quoran preaches the fundamental unity of the great religions of the world. It does not say that Muhammad is the only Prophet and the religion preached by him the only true religion. The Quoran says. "And certainly We raised in every nation an apostle, saying: Serve God and shun the devil" (chapter 16, verse 36). Again it says, "And certainly We send apostles before you: There are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you" (chapter 40, verse 78).

Muslim saints and poets preached "toleration."

The Urdu Poet Zafar sings :

"Whether angels or men, whether Hindus or Musalmans, Thou hast created them as Thou liked. Whatever there is, it is Thee. Whether in the Kaaba or in the temple, Thy worship is performed everywhere. Before Thee everybody bends his head. Whatever there is, it is Thee."

As practical advice also the Quoran preaches; "There is no compulsion in religion" (chapter 2, verse 256). Again, "And if your Lord had pleased surely all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them; will you then force men till they become believers?" (chapter 10, verse 99). It may be a surprise to many that the Quoran has no equivalent word for conversion. A Muslim is by faith and action, and not by birth or formal conversion.

The Quoran even forbids speaking ill of others' objects of worship. "And do not abuse those whom they call upon, beside Allah, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse Allah out of ignorance" (chapter 6, verse 109).

Both the religions teach that God is the only object of worship. The Upanishads teach, "One should worship the Soul always. The wise should not worship anything else."

The Gita says:

" Be thy mind fixed on Me, be thou devoted to Me, be thou sacrificing to Me, bow down to Me. Thou wilt find Me truly, I promise thee; thou art My beloved " (chapter 18, verse 65).

The Quoran says:

" Your God is one God; there is no god but He, the God of mercy, the Merciful " (chapter 2, verse 163).

Again, " Oh men, serve your God who created you and those before you.........therefore, do not set up rivals to God, when you know " (chapter 2, verses 21, 22).

The Unity of Godhead is equally preached by Hinduism and Islam. Some of the passages in the Hindu and Muslim scriptures are strikingly similar.

" Eye cannot go there (in God) neither word nor mind " (*Kena Upanishad* 1. 3).

" Vision comprehends Him not, but He comprehends vision and He is the subtle, the aware " (Quoran, 6, 104).

" He knows every one who stands or walks or glides along secretly or withdraws into his house or into any lurking place; whatever two persons sitting together devise, Varuna, the King, knows it, He being the third " (*Atharva Veda*, 4. 16. 2).

" Do you not see that Allah knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth? Nowhere is there a secret counsel between three persons but He is the fourth of them, nor between five but He is the sixth of them, nor less than that nor more but He is with them wherever they are " (Quoran, 58, 7).

" Were ink like the Black Mountain in a pot like the sea; were the branches of the best trees of heaven the pen, and were the earth paper and were the Goddess of Learning to write all times taking (all the materials), even then, O Lord, she cannot come to the end of Thy praises" (*Mahimna Stava*).

" What is in the heaven and the earth is Allah's ; surely Allah is the Independent, the Praised. And were every tree that is in the earth pen, and the sea (ink), with seven more seas to add to it, the words of Allah would not come to an end; surely Allah is mighty, wise" (Quoran, 31, 26, 27).

WHAT INDIA NEEDS

Visva-bharati News in its October-November issue restores a letter written by Rabindranath Tagore, in his early fifties, to an American friend of his. Its value in indicating the lines that efforts at India's regeneration should take survive the passing of years.

In every age the spiritual ideal has found its highest expression in a few specially gifted individuals. Such are to be found in India even to-day, often in the most unlikely places—among the apparently sophisticated, as well as among the unlettered and outwardly uncultured—startling us with the wonderful depth of their spiritual perception and insight I do not feel that India has lost her spiritual heritage, for it is clear to me that her highest thought and activity is still spiritual. In the old days, however, the simpler environment—the comparative freedom from so many diverse and conflicting interests—permitted of the easy permeation of this ideal, emanate though it did from a few isolated

altitudes, through and through the lower strata—with the result that Truth, was recognised and realised not only intellectually but also in the details of everyday life.

A distinguishing characteristic of this spiritual civilization was its inclusiveness, its all-comprehensiveness. Aliens were assimilated into the synthesis ; their widely differing modes of thought and life and worship being given their due places in the scheme by a marvellous interpretative process. But while the evolution of the spirit thus proceeded upon highly complex lines, the growth of the material body went on in a simple unorganised fashion, so that the time arrived when the messages of the spirit could no longer find their way unimpeded throughout, resulting in differences of spiritual intensity, and consequent compromises and aberrations in the character of its manifestations. That is why high thinking and degenerate living are seen side by side ; ideals are converted into superstitions; and the finest of inspirations reduced to grossness in action, wherever the vitalising spiritual stream is deprived of its freedom of onward movement.

The problem of India therefore does not seem to be that of re-establishing its lost ideals, but rather of reforming its overgrown body so as to harmonise with and give free and fitting expression to its ever-living soul. In other words our problem is not spiritual but social—that of reviving by organising and adapting to its more complex environment, our fast disintegrating social system. It is our disorganised society which prevents our ideas and activities from being broad, the narrower self from being merged into or sacrificed for the sake of the greater—and our national experiences are being dissipated and wasted for want of a storing and co-ordinating centre. The workings of the sp)rit are seen as flashes but cannot be utilised as a steady flame.

In the West the situation seems to be just the opposite. There we see a highly organised body, as it were, of which the soul is dormant, or at least, not fully conscious. While our soul is in search of an adequate body for want of which it cannot give its inspirations effective shape, and succeeds only in displaying to the outside world various incongruities clothed in phantastic forms, we find the West deploring its lack of spirituality. But surely spirituality cannot be lacking where the larger self is finding such noble expression in comfort-scorning striving, in death-defying heroism. On what can this living for ideas be based if not on spirituality ? As for the want of consciousness, does not that tend more to be remedied by the very activities to which so efficient an organism finds itself increasingly impelled?

It is only where life is petty and scattered, and society partitioned into mutually exclusive sects that the vision of the Great is lost—it is only there that the mental horizon becomes narrow, aspirations fail to soar high, and the spirit remains steeped in a perpetual despondency. Here and there some greater soul may succeed, like a cloud-topping peak, in rising into the serene atmosphere above; but the multitudes wallowing in the slough below are as devoid of material consolations as of clarity of spiritual perception, and an unmeaning repetition of ritual is the only lifelike response of which they seem capable.

If the spiritual genius of India is not to prove futile for the purposes of humanity then it needs must seek to acquire the art of body-building. May it not be possible, in that quest, to avail ourselves of the assistance of the West without treading that slippery path of imitation which leads only to self-destruction?

ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, writing in the *Modern Review* for November, shows how the Jews come into the picture of the Hitler's programme of action. He writes:

" To understand the Nazi German mind and what is happening now in Germany, it may be worth while to ponder over the following observations which William James considered the most philosophical remark he had ever heard: 'There is precious little difference between man and man, but what little there is, is of tremendous importance.' If now we substitute 'race' for 'man' and then examine the assumptions which underlie the Nazi programme, then we will be in a position to understand the present German mind. 'Between us and the others (non-Nazis).' declares Gottfred Feder, a spiritual father of Hitler and author of the Nazi platform, 'stands this unbridgeable flaming sword of our WELTANSCHUUNG (or general point of view).' The German people, maintains Herr Rosenberg, form a race of peculiar energy and purity with a remarkable spiritual heritage of purely German character. The great empire, which they formed and which for four long years defied the world, was vanquished because it was weakened by spiritual poisons. These poisons, such as belief in human civilization (as opposed to German), internationalism, pacifism and parliamentarism, were mixed up with the pure socialism (which the Nazis champion) into a devil's brew called Marxianism. Through this subtle weapon, which it has devised, the international Jewish capitalism which rules the world has blinded the German working class and led it astray. Labour's best efforts to destroy international capitalism are thus paralysed.

The Nazis see in Marxianism a class materialism which denies the creative individual and exalts the mass; so they attack every form of the doctrine of Marx, from extreme left communism to mild revisionism. But this alone will be fruitless, they maintain, until the 'bacillus' which poisons the German blood and devitalizes the German spirit has been destroyed; and so a pitiless war, they believe, must be waged on Jews and their influence. These once removed, Herr Rosenberg declares, it will be possible to unite the working classes with the middle classes into a glorious whole from which the spirit of materialism and gain has been uprooted. German workers are never again to make the mistake of feeling more closely akin to the workers of other nations than to their own employers. It is on the foundation of a purified racial and national outlook that the structure of German culture and national life is to be rebuilt."

Dr. Kumarappa proceeds:

" The whole racial problem in Germany seems to centre round the fact that the German Jews have not become assimilated in Germany as they have, for instance, in England;............they always remain as an alien substance in the life of the nation. Though the Eastern Jews speak the language and adopt the customs and habits of the German people, they seldom imbibe the German spirit and culture. Therefore, Jews, not being of the German people, easily carry on, so the Germans say, propaganda against the nation............These un-German tendencies on the part of Jews have naturally aroused bitter feelings against them, and the government has only sought to direct this feeling into legal and properly regulated channels..............If the government had not stepped in and taken the situation in hand at the critical moment, legalised

the boycott and steered it into organised channels, this feeling, the Germans say, would have broken out among the nation at large and might have caused immeasurable damage. The Government control of the boycott helped to carry it through with unparalleled discipline.

The other side of the medal is shown in the same journal by Mr. Wilfred Welcock, who considers the underlying purpose of the Nazi move to be "the subjugation and dragooning of the workers in the interest of the Middle classes" and affirms that "this policy of revolution by racial hatred," unless abandoned, "will sooner or later light fires which will burn to the ground the entire fabric of modern civilization." Says he:

"From first to last the Nazis have appealed to the lowest elements in human nature, having sought to gain their chief support from intensive hatreds, which have been stimulated by terrific engines of propaganda. In this endeavour they have fallen on what is the recognised sheet-anchor of all hatred-mongers, *viz.*, race hatred. Working-class emancipation from economic domination was the central fear of the German Middle classes, which was symbolised in Marxism, Communism and Internationalism. But it was not enough to attack these in a straightforward way. They must be converted into monsters and hatred to which end the element of race was brought in. The Jewish question served this purpose admirably. So the Jews were laid on the altar of Fascism, and hatred of Jews being hitched to the fear and hatred of communism, an ideal weapon for carrying through a reactionary revolution was secured."

AFGHANISTAN UNDER NADIR SHAH

High tributes are paid to the abilities of Nadir Shah as a king and statesman by Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta, writing under the above caption in the *Indian Review*, November, 1933, and a review of Afghanistan's progress under his rule is also given which will be read with peculiar interest in view of the recent assassination of a King Nadir.

During the last three years and nine months that Nadir Shah has been on the throne, he has restored law, order, prosperity and progress to the country. He has been able to do this without risking the loss of his kingdom, because he understands the mentality of his people better than did Amanullah.

Nadir Shah does nothing that is likely to hurt the susceptibilities of any section of his people. Amanullah tried to persecute the *mullahs*, secularize the laws, force the members of his parliament to shave off their beards and wear European dress and the women to cast off their veil. He was, therefore, hated by his people and hounded out of the country. But Nadir Shah is tolerant, and acts according to the teachings of the Koran and so he is greatly loved by the Afghans.

Nadir Shah is not an autocrat of the old type. He governs his country with the help of a Cabinet and Parliament. The members of the Cabinet are nominated by him from amongst his trusted officials. The Afghan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the upper being called the Chamber of Nobles, the lower the Council of State. Members of the former are appointed by the king, while those of the latter are elected by the people. The Upper Chamber deals with matters referred to it by the Cabinet, and its recommendations pass to the Council of State. In case of difference of opinion between the two Chambers, the matter is referred

to a Conference Committee of at least twenty persons, half selected from the two houses. The recommedations of this Committee are then sent to the Council of State. In the event of the Council's refusal to act according to the Committee's recommendations, the matter is submitted to the king for decision. The king can pass an emergency measure, but that measure must be approved at the next session of the Parliament. The Afghan Parliament is fully qualified to pass any laws it likes. Its members have the right of free speech, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are responsible to it, and the press and the public are admitted to its sessions. The number of newspapers in Kabul has almost doubled since the days of Amanullah.

Individual liberty is guaranteed by law in Afghanistan. Nor can private property be confiscated by the State without good reasons. The judicial system has been reorganized.

Education is now compulsory in the country. It is the first item on the budget, and one-third of the land revenue has been set aside to meet the grant. A number of primary, middle and night schools have been opened during the last three years. There are three big schools in Kabul and eight months ago a university was opened there. As at present there is not a sufficient number of school buildings in the country, some of the old royal palaces are being used for the purpose. The three high schools at the capital—Habibieh, Amanieh and Amani—are staffed by Europeans and besides other subjects, English, French, and German respectively are taught there. Promising students from the middle schools are sent to these high schools, and then to the university. The institution of travelling teachers have also been introduced. Lecturers and demonstrators are sent on instruction tours to the remotest villages. Text-books on various subjects are distributed gratis among village boys, and after a month or six weeks an examiner goes to the villages to test the boys. Courses in agricultural improvement are also given by these itinerant teachers.

The old roads have been improved and new roads built. Motor-lorries are increasingly used in place of donkeys for transportation purposes. At present there is only one railway in the country, that between Kabul and Dar-ul-Aman, the new capital which Amanullah started to build and which the present king is graciously finishing without wishing to alter its name to Dar-ul-Nadir. But projects for building more railways are being considered. And when these materialize—which will be before long—Afghanistan will be linked up with India on the one hand and with Russia on the other. The Junkers have been given the right to build airways to connect the country with the outside world.

Trade, industries and agriculture are encouraged. The old industries of the country, such as silk, felts, carpets and articles of goats' and camels' hair are encouraged, and factories for new industries, such as matches, buttons, and leather goods have been established. Coal and other minerals are being worked, and it is hoped to exploit before long the oil-fields near Herat. New agricultural machinery is introduced and a model farm has been started near Kabul.

King Nadir Shah's great object is to have peace, internal and external. He has secured it internally by good and yet strong government, and externally by concluding friendly or commercial treaties with England Russia, France, Germany, Italy and Turkey.

At Home and Abroad

Two New Oriental Journals in Calcutta

Indological studies in Calcutta have been given a fillip by the publication of yet another journal devoted to Sanskritic studies. *The Calcutta Oriental Journal*, so the new publication has been named, is a monthly journal edited by Mr. Kshitischandra Chatterjee, Lecturer, Calcutta University, and a Sanskrit scholar of repute. That he is making a sincere and energetic attempt to make his laudable venture a success will be evident from the very first two numbers that have been published. He has already been able to enlist the support of a small but devoted and worthy band of contributors, mainly from our University, and the sympathy of a large number of scholars besides. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 6 only inclusive of postage, and the office is located at 61-A, Ramkanta Bose Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

It is understood that the Greater India Society of Calcutta is also going to have its own Journal soon. The first number is proposed to be published in January, and there will ordinarily be two issues in the year.

All-India Educational Conference

Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, will preside over the 9th All-India Educational Conference to be held at Karachi between December 27 and 30. In conjunction with the Conference the Reception Committee have arranged an educational exhibition, an All-India singles tennis-tournament for which all *bona-fide* educationists are eligible, a Scout-rally, a physical training display and several excursions to places of local interest. It is also proposed that a special excursion be made to the ruins at Mohenjo-Daro and to the Sukkur Barrage.

Proposal for a new University

Peer Bakhsh Khan has given notice of a resolution to be moved in the forthcoming session of the North-western Frontier Province Legislative Council recommending the Governor-in-Council to move the Government of India to take steps for early establishment of Khyber University.

Benares Hindu University

The Sixteenth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University for the purpose of conferring degrees will be held on Monday, December 11, 1933, at 2-30 P.M. His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narain Singh, K.C.S.I., Pro-Chancellor of the University, will preside. An important feature of the Convocation will be the conferment of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters on Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Kt., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Second Vice-Chancellor of the University.

U. P. University Students' Conference

It is understood that attempts are being made to convene a joint U.P. University Students' Conference at Lucknow on the first three days of December. A strong reception committee has been formed with Dr. V. S. Ram as Chairman, Mr. D. E. Asirvatham as Treasurer and Messrs. J. P. Bhatnagar and B. P. Sinha as Joint Secretaries. The object of the conference is said to be to promote educational and social activities among the university students of these provinces through educational tours and summer camps. A quarterly journal will also be run to assist in these activities and may serve as a nucleus for an all-India Students' Federation formed on the lines of the National Federation of Students in Great Britain, Germany and the U. S. A. Some important Indian educationists will, it is hoped, preside over the December session.

Delhi University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Delhi University has re-appointed Sir Fazli Hussain to be the Pro-Chancellor of that University for a further period of three years.

New Building for Agra University

His Excellency the Governor of the U. P. laid on November 4 last the foundation-stone of the Agra University in the Hewett Park, in the presence of a large number of educationists and leading citizens. Before requesting His Excellency to lay the foundation-stone, the Vice-Chancellor pointed out the various difficulties which the University has been facing for want of a building of her own.

The Convocation of the Agra University was held this year the day following in the Meston Hall of the Agra College. His Excellency the Chancellor graced the occasion by his presence. There was a huge gathering of educationists and distinguished citizens. The Convocation address was delivered by Lala Diwanchand, the Vice-Chancellor.

Andhra University

On being invited by the Andhra University, Rabindranath is going to Waltair to deliver a series of three lectures at the University there. The series is entitled " Man " and the lectures will be given on 8th, 9th and 10th December next.

Mass Education for Girls

At a meeting recently held of the Calcutta Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference at the Y.W.C.A. Hall, Calcutta, resolutions were passed urging the necessity for an intensive campaign of mass education for girls; requesting the Calcutta University, in view of the increasing number of girl students who come to Calcutta yearly for their studies, to create a post for a qualified woman to supervise all recognized hostels for girls and emphasizing that physical culture should be made compulsory for girls in schools.

An Endowment for Dacca University

It is understood that the Dacca University authorities have accepted the endowment offered by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Reader in Physics at that University and now Secretary, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Dr. Krishnan's endowment for Rs. 3,000 will take the shape of three prizes annually in such form as the University thinks fit to be given away to the University student for the best research work in the year in the field of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, respectively. With a view to commemorate their respective services in their cause, the prizes will be called after the names of Mr. S. Ramanujam (deceased), Sir C. V. Raman and Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.

Aligarh Convocation Address

In delivering his Convocation Address at the Aligarh Moslem University, Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, dealt with a very pertinent question that deserves to be seriously considered. One of the dangers to the well-being of a university, said Sir George, " is the practice of premature specialisation which is now so prevalent in Indian Universities. Taking into account the handicaps resulting from imperfect schooling and from the use of a foreign medium, it is surely premature for a student to confine himself very largely to a single object after having passed the intermediate at the age of seventeen or eighteen. Is there not also a danger that the bulk of the teaching and financial resources tends to be diverted to finance this specialised study to the detriment of those who desire a more general form of education ?

Good training in college should be preceded by good training in school. Training in a university, however efficient it may be, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for school training for a boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. The period of school training in India is too short for those who aspire to a university course ; it is too long for those whose bent lies in other directions. The various stages of education, primary, secondary, and higher secondary, are too intermingled one with another and pupils are often led on to a higher stage, merely because they have been unable to attain the objective of a lower stage. In consequence, the intermediate and higher classes of schools are closed by large numbers of boys who are prolonging unduly their literary studies and are thereby wasting their own time and other people's money. But a boy should not be denied education merely because he has no aptitude for literary. education. My own feeling is that the stage of secondary education should be terminated at an earlier age than at present, and that many boys should then be diverted to practical pursuits or to vocational training given in purely vocational institutions. The way would then be clear for a higher secondary course, which would provide for those boys who are fitted for it a thorough grounding for university studies."

Education in Bengal

Unfavourable conditions, political and financial, checked the progress and expansion of educational activities in Bengal during the years 1927 to 1932, states a Government resolution in reviewing the progress of education in the province.

Primary Education.—The outstanding feature of the period was the enactment in 1930 of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, which provides for the establishment of District School Boards as the central authority for primary education in each district, and affords the machinery for the eventual development of free and compulsory primary education throughout the province. For its financing the scheme depends in the main upon the imposition of a primary education cess, and it is regretted that, owing to the prevailing depression, it has not been found possible to impose additional taxation on the rural population.

While the Rural Primary Education Act has been placed on the Statute Book, no further progress has been made with the proposed Bills for the reorganization of Calcutta University and the establishment of a Board to control Secondary Education.

In all directions, and particularly in the sphere of primary education, unmistakable evidence is forthcoming that the quality of the work done and the results achieved do not repay the expenditure of money and effort. Better trained and better paid teachers are essential.

The spread of primary education, however, was not as satisfactory as the figures would imply: the wastage was very great and the number of those who read up to class IV was comparatively small; in fact, according to the census figures of 1921 and 1931 the percentage of literacy actually fell during that period.

University Education.—No further progress was made during the quinquennium in the reconstrution of Calcutta University on the lines laid down by the Sadler Commission or in the development of the Secondary Education Board. The outstanding feature of the period, so far as Calcutta was concerned, was the appointment of the University Organization Committee. Their report formed the basis of the financial settlement, which was eventually reached between the Government and the University and which, on certain conditions, assured the University of an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000. This has enabled the University to balance its budget and to make its plans for the future with some degree of stability.

The resolution issued in 1928 commented upon the marked fall in the number of students in the post-graduate classes of Calcutta University. The number increased from 989 in 1926-27 to 1,483 in 1929-30, but fell again to 1,144 in 1931-32, the decrease corresponding to the period of economic and political troubles.

There was a gratifying increase in the number of women students in the post-graduate classes.

No new college was opened during the period, but four Anglo-Indian schools adopted the University course and there are now 33 first-grade and 13 second-grade or Intermediate Arts Colleges, of which four are for women. The total number of students decreased from 22,420 to 19,744.

Secondary Education.—The number of high schools increased from 985 in 1926-27 to 1,076 in 1931-32 and that of middle English schools from 1,616 to 1,845, while the number of middle vernacular schools fell from 74 to 54. The number of pupils increased from 233,343 to 256,624 in high schools and from 142,684 to 177,102 in middle English schools, and it decreased from 4,802 to 3,986 in middle vernacular schools.

Education of Girls.—The number of girls' schools increased by 10 per cent. and their enrolment by 28 per cent. during the quinquennium. There were 770 girls in colleges in 1931-32 against 364 in 1926-27, 10,655 in high schools against 4,801, 9,506 in middle schools against 8,269 and 518,544 against 396,056 in primary schools. The increase was again most pronounced in the college and high school stages. There are four colleges for women and in addition several men's colleges have classes for women

students. The number of women candidates, who passed University examinations, doubled itself at every stage. In 1931-32 there was 303,830 Moslem girls in public institutions, forming 56 per cent. of the whole as against 54 per cent. five years previously.

The percentage of passes in the Intermediate and Degree Examinations again increased. There was a more general recognition of the value of games and physical exercise, and more intensive tutorial work was done in some of the colleges.

Education Conference

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Bengal, a conference was held at Government House, Calcutta, on 23rd November last, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches.

His Excellency Sir John Anderson opened the proceedings which was attended by representatives of the Government, the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and several prominent educationists.

Allahabad University Convocation

The Convocation of Allahabad University, fixed for November 25, has been postponed to December 16 to enable Sir Malcolm Hailey to preside as Chancellor and to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred by the University.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will deliver the Convocation address.

Andhra University Convocation

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has intimated acceptance of the invitation to deliver the convocation address at the Andhra University some time during the first week of December next. Exact dute of the convocation ceremony will be fixed later on to suit Dr. Tagore's engagements in Bombay and other places.

Sir P. C. Ray

The Senate of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Germany, in its 7th General meeting held on 13th and 14th October in Munich, decided unanimously to appoint Sir P. C. Ray an honorary correspondente member of the Akademie in view of his scientific services to the development of Chemistry in India. The Akademie hopes that his nomination to this Akademie will further contribute to the strengthening of the intellectual bonds between Germany and India, which the Deutsche Akademie sincerely strives after.

Ourselves

[*The Educational Conference—Indian Economic Conference—A New Ph.D. —Appointment of Fellows—Tagore Professor—Prof. Suhrawardy—Training Class for Librarians—Bankura College—Regulations for London M.B.B.S.—Dacca Secondary Board—A Gift for Female Education—An Endowment—New Centres for University Examination—Sir Taraknath Palit Foreign Scholars—The Indian Medical Council—The Prabāsi Banga Sāhitya Sammilan—Progress of researches—Visit of the British Universities' Debating Team to the Calcutta University—Among our Latest Publications—Appendix*]

I. The Educational Conference

An Educational Conference was held at Government House on the 23rd, 24th and 25th November. The Conference was attended by representatives of the Government of Bengal, the Government of Assam, Calcutta University, Dacca University, All-Bengal Teachers' Association and several other members who were specially invited by Government. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. In his opening speech His Excellency stated that the object of the Conference was to make an attempt to arrive at some degree of unanimity as to what should be the aims and ideals of the educational policy in Bengal. A summary of its proceedings has appeared in some of the local papers. It is however difficult to express an opinion on the resolutions unless we have an opportunity of examining them in detail, particularly in relation to the discussions which took place at the sittings of the Conference. We may, however, deal with some of the questions, so far as available materials will permit us to do so.

It appears that the Conference was mainly occupied with a discussion of the present system of secondary education in Bengal. There is no question that one of the most pressing educational problems of the day is the reorganisation of secondary education in the province. We find that the Conference was asked to express its opinion on the question of future control of secondary education. On this matter the University has expressed its opinion on more than one occasion. The University is not against the establishment of a Board, provided certain essential conditions are fulfilled. The Board must be statutory and constituted on academic principles; it must be autonomous, that is, it must be given real powers to shape the educational policy of the province; it must also be provided with adequate funds. In 1929, when the matter came before the Senate, the view-point of the University was embodied in a report which was duly forwarded to Government. For the last four years Government have not dealt with this question and if there has been delay in the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal, the blame does not lie with the University. In that report the opinion was expressed that

the conduct of the Matriculation Examination should be left to the University. The chief reason why this was recommended was that there was no possibility of Government making good the financial loss which the University would suffer if the control for the Matriculation Examination were withdrawn from it. It may be recalled that the teaching activities of the University are partially financed by examination fees ; if the fee-income is reduced and the University is to continue its activities, financial readjustment must be made. We were glad to note that the Conference recognised the validity of the position taken up by the University in this connection. Before we leave this topic we would like to make it quite clear that public opinion in Bengal will not view with favour any proposal to transfer the control of Secondary Education to Government either directly or indirectly.

One distressing feature of the proceedings of the Conference was that the Minister for Education was unable to give any assurance of the nature and extent of financial assistance which Government would be in a position to render for the future educational expansion of the province. It is our deliberate opinion that the chief reason why education has suffered in this province is that Government, whatever the reasons may be, have not found it possible to lend adequate financial support to the institutions where education is now imparted to the youths of the province.

One of the important questions raised was the number of high schools in Bengal. We all know that the condition of the majority of the high schools is not what it should be. But we refuse to believe that it is due to any deliberate lack of effort on the part of the organisers of the schools. The enthusiasm is there, the spirit of sacrifice is there, but there is a chronic want of funds. We do not regard 1,200 High Schools as too many for Bengal. Neither do we think that a reduction in their number will be in the best interests of the province. The remedy lies not in providing for greater control, not in reducing the number of schools, but in helping with grants-in-aid the struggling institutions which cannot now make both ends meet. The rules of grants-in-aid must be formulated in such a way as to secure academic efficiency and also protect the independence of the schools.

A proposal has been accepted that there should be a survey of secondary schools in the province. We desire to emphasise that this survey should be undertaken with an open mind, with a genuine anxiety to do something of a constructive nature, with a real desire to further the cause of education in the province,

If the survey is undertaken with the preconceived notion of curtailing the number of schools, with the idea of mere faultfinding, it is doomed to failure.

We regret that sufficient importance was not attached to the immediate necessity of overhauling the present system of education. The new Matriculation Regulations are pending before Government for more than a year. They were first formulated nearly 12 years ago and we are anxious that they should be brought into force without any further delay. This, at any rate, is an instance of constructive work on the part of the University which deserves the support of every well-wisher of the province. We were glad to note that the Minister for Education announced his general approval of the scheme of studies proposed in the new Regulations, although he indicated that there was room for difference of opinion with regard to questions of detail. He further stated that in the course of the next two or three months the Regulations were expected to be sanctioned by Government. In the meantime the University would be informed on what points Government are unable to agree with the recommendations made by the University.

We find ourselves in complete agreement with the decision of the Conference against the proposal of dividing the classes of a high school into three sections,—primary classes, middle-English classes and high school classes. There is no reason why the present continuation—schools should be broken into three as proposed by the Department; the Conference has acted wisely in not accepting any rigid principle to that effect.

We find a resolution has been adopted urging Government to provide for a more adequate supply of trained teachers. The two Teachers' Training Colleges can barely accommodate 180 students each year, while the number of applicants every year is about 1,000. This is a matter which deserves the immediate attention of Government.

We are also in agreement with the proposal that there should be no agel-imit for admission to the Matriculation Examination. This is in accordance with the new Matriculation Regulations.

With regard to collegiate education we find a draft scheme was submitted to the Conference for discussion. According to it a policy of deprovincialisation was to be partially introduced, and some of the Colleges in the *mofussil* were to be amalgamated. We are glad that this scheme did not find general support from the members of the Conference. The figures given in the scheme were misleading, taken as they were from the figures of 1928 and the basic principles were also of doubtful value. The Conference also expressed its unanimous opinion

that in view of the present economic condition of the province, there could not be any general increase of fee-rates.

The two detailed schemes with regard to the secondary and collegiate education are separately printed at the end of these notes.

There were several other questions relating to academic reorganisation which were referred to a committee consisting of three representatives to be elected by Calcutta University, three by Dacca University and two nominated by Government. The questions referred to the Committee are the following:

1. Length of Honours Course.
2. Possibility of restriction of courses of study at the two Universities more particularly in the Post-graduate Departments to avoid duplication of work andwaste of resources.
3. Combination of Law Studies with other Post-graduate Studies.
4. Comparative failure in recent years of Bengali students in All-India Service Examinations.

We express our whole-hearted approval of the resolution passed towards the end of the Conference requesting Government to take immediate steps for the restoration of the grant of Rs. 1,29,000, which was formerly distributed to the non-Government colleges of Bengal through the agency of the University of Calcutta. It was pointed out at the Conference that this grant enabled the struggling colleges to improve their laboratories, to better equip their libraries and to provide for increased facilities for the physical welfare of the students. The withdrawal of the grant has placed the colleges in a difficult position and if the Hon'ble Minister for Education can secure the restoration of the grant during the current session, he will earn the gratitude of his countrymen.

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II. Indian Economic Conference

Professor Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., has been appointed representative of the University in connection with the forthcoming Indian Economic Conference to be held at Annamalai University in the first week of January, 1934.

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III. A New Ph.D.

Mr. Jibankrishna Sarkar, M. A., has just been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He submitted a thesis entitled *A New*

Theory of Perception which was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Prof. Adityanath Mukherjee. Mr. Sarkar is serving as Professor of Philosophy at Muzaffarpur. We offer him our congratulations on his doctorate.

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IV. Appointment of Fellows

Khan Bahadur Abdulla Abu Sayied, M.A., I.E.S., has been nominated a Fellow in place of Dr. D. Thompson who resigned his Fellowship on the eve of his departure for England. The Khan Bahadur is now acting as Principal of Murarichand College, Sylhet.

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth has just been re-appointed a Member of the Senate.

* * *

V. Tagore Professor

Dr. James Mackintosh, K.C., LL.D., Tagore Professor of Law for 1933, is coming to Calcutta early in December to deliver his Tagore Lectures. We extend to Dr. Mackintosh our hearty welcome and we trust that the advanced students of Law of this University will profit by coming into contact with the distinguished professor from Edinburgh.

* * *

VI. Prof. Suhrawardy

We extend a cordial welcome to Prof. Saheed Suhrawardy who returned from England early in November and took over the duties of the Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts on the reopening of the Post-Graduate classes after the Puja vacation. Mr. Suhrawardy has commenced his work in right earnest and we have every reason to believe that by dint of his culture and scholarship he will soon establish himself in the front rank of teachers of this province.

* * *

VII. Training Class for Librarians

The University has recently received a communication from the Government of Bengal on the subject of organising a training class for librarians in Calcutta. The Librarian of the Imperial

Library forwarded to the Government of India sometime ago a scheme for opening such a class in the Imperial Library. The Government of India have addressed the Government of Bengal on the subject pointing out that in Madras and in the Punjab such classes are held under the auspices of the Universities of those provinces and they have enquired whether similar provision can be made in Calcutta. The Syndicate has referred this question to a representative committee for enquiry and report. It is generally admitted that there is a dearth of trained librarians in this province. If some suitable scheme is drawn up for the purpose of providing necessary training to competent graduates, it will not only open a fresh avenue for employment but will also strengthen academic efficiency.

VIII. Bankura College

The Principal of Wesleyan College, Bankura, has informed the University of the decision of its authorities to drop "Wesleyan" from the name of the College so that in future it will be known simply as Bankura College. The reason for this change is that last year the three branches of the Methodist Church of the British Isle were reunited as the Methodist Church, the title Wesleyan having been dropped from the name of the Church and the Missionary Society. The Society is now described as the Methodist Missionary Society.

* * *

IX. Regulations for London M.B.B.S.

The Academic Registrar of the University of London has invited the attention of the University to certain new requirements for the M.B.B.S. examination of that University. The Registrar points out that doubts have arisen as to the period from which these new Regulations are to be applied. It is stated that they do not apply to any student who sat for the M.B.B.S. examination of the London University before November, 1933, but will apply to any candidate who sits for the examination for the first time in November 1933 and subsequently. The changes are noted below :

'Candidates who pass in one Group only of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required to enter for the whole examination again if they fail to pass the other Group within a period of nineteen months. Registered Medical Practitioners who fail, or have failed, in either Group may be re-examined in that Group at any subsequent examination on payment of the proper fee.

A candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who fails in Group I of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the medical practice of a recognised hospital. Similarly, a candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who has failed in Group II of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the surgical and obstetric practice of a recognised hospital.

* * *

X. Dacca Secondary Board

It appears from a communication recently received by the Registrar from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, that in view of the present financial stringency, Government propose to discontinue the post of a whole-time Chairman for the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board and to have the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University as its Honorary Chairman. One of the characteristics of the University of Dacca has been that it has had no control over Secondary and Intermediate Education. It is for consideration whether this feature of the organisation of the University will be disturbed by making the head of the University the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Board which will control secondary and intermediate education within the area. It is also for consideration whether the Vice-Chancellor will have sufficient time at his disposal to give that personal attention to the various problems arising out of the administration of the Board's affairs which a whole-time Chairman can legitimately be expected to do.

* * *

XI. A Gift for Female Education

Mr. Haridas Majumdar, Advocate of the High Court, has addressed a letter to the Registrar in which he states that he is prepared to place at the disposal of the University 50 *bighas* of land situated in the north-eastern side of the Dum Dum Aerodrome for the purpose of founding an institution for the spread of female education. Mr. Majumdar suggests that this may be utilised in connection with the bequest made to the University under the Will of the late Rai Bahadur Viharilal Mitra. The Syndicate has informed Mr. Majumdar that no definite decision has yet been reached regarding the manner in which the endowment created by the late Rai Bahadur will be utilised. But the University, it has been stated, will thankfully accept Mr.

Majumdar's offer and will utilise it for some object connected with the spread of female education in the province. We desire to associate ourselves with the Syndicate in thanking Mr. Májumdar for his generous gift.

* * *

XII. An Endowment

Sm. Kusumkumari Das has forwarded to the Registrar, Government promissory notes to the value of Rs. 1,000 for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a gold-rimmed silver medal in memory of her daughter. The medal will be awarded to the girl graduate in Science who will obtain the highest number of marks with first class honours in any subject. In the absence of any such candidate the medal will be awarded to the girl graduate who will obtain the highest number of marks in any scientific subject.

* * *

XIII. New Centres for University Examinations

The following new centres have been opened for the University Examinations in 1934 :—

For Matriculation Examination, 1934 :—

Bhola, Kalna, Karimganj, Narail and Tamluk.

For I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, 1934 :—

Habigunj.

* * *

XIV. Sir Taraknath Palit Foreign Scholars

Mr. Chittarajan Barat, M.Sc., is at present working with Prof. Dr. Hans Fischer on his Doctor's dissertation on Dipyrrylethanones, at Munich, and Mr. Subodhkumar Majumdar, M.Sc., is prosecuting higher studies in Physical Chemistry at the same University, both as Sir Taraknath Palit Scholars of the University.

On the recommendation of the Governing Body of the Sir Taraknath Palit Trusts, Messrs. Barat and Majumdar have been awarded fresh loans of Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,500, respectively. The

Professors under whom the scholars are working have forwarded favourable reports on their work and it is expected that the extension of facilities now granted by the University will enable them to complete their studies.

* * *

XV. The Indian Medical Council

Under the provisions of the Indian Medical Council Act recently passed by the Legislative Assembly, the Senate is entitled to elect one member of the Council. The representative will be elected by the Senate and he must belong to the Faculty of Medicine. The Syndicate has directed that the election should take place at the next meeting of the Senate which will be held on the 16th December, 1933.

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XVI. The Prabāsi Baṅga Sāhitya Sammilan

The Prabāsi Baṅga Sāhitya Sammilan will be held this year at Gorakhpur on 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1933. Mr. Atulprasad Sen, Bar.-at-Law, of Lucknow will preside over the Conference. We have watched with considerable interest the progress achieved by the organisers of this Conference from year to year. The Conference has always succeeded in gathering within its fold distinguished Bengali scholars and men of letters, who, though away from the province of their birth, yield to none in their devotion to the cause of progress of Bengali literature. From the list of sections attached to the Conference it appears that the organisers intend to pay due attention to all branches of learning and neglect none. The sections include Literature, Philosophy, Science, Greater Bengal, History, Economics, Sociology, Fine Arts, Music, Journalism, Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. We wish the Conference every success.

Detailed information of the activities of the Conference are available from Mr. Kshitishchandra Chatterjee, M.Sc., Secretary of the Reception Committee, who is now on the staff of St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur.

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XVII. Progress of Researches

Department of Comparative Philology.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji is now engaged in bringing out, in collaboration with Pandit Harekrishna Mukherji Sāhityaratna, a critical edition of the *padas* of Chaṇḍidāsa. A definitive text is being prepared, with elaborate critical and other materials, and some remarkable results in Early Bengali literary and linguistic history are being arrived at in the course of this edition. This work will be published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. In collaboration with Pandit Babua Misra, Prof. Chatterji has prepared an edition of the Maithili *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhakkura, the oldest text in the language hitherto discovered. Besides he has in hand a historical grammar of Hindi, one of Persian and a study of the non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan. Within the last few months he has published some papers in connexion with the above subjects and among them his study of the *Calcutta Hindustani* (published in the 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India') and the *Two New Indo-Aryan Etymologies* (published in the 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik,' Vol. 9, Part I.) deserve specially to be mentioned. Besides this, Prof. Chatterji has completed a full Grammar of Bengali in Bengali language for popularising the contents of his bigger work on the subject in English. He is also the Editor of the Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, and has been made the Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mr. Kshitis Chandra Chatterji is engaged in original research on the history of Sanskrit Grammar and has published within the last few months no less than nine papers in that connexion. Among them his discussions about Nyāsa (IHQ.), Kāśakṛtsna (IHQ.), Śivasūtras (Journal of the Department of Letters, C. U.), may be specially mentioned. Besides this Mr. Chatterji is preparing critical editions of Sāyaṇa's introduction to the four Vedas and of the *Śiśupālavadha* with the *ṭīkā* of Mallinātha. Mr. Chatterji is also the Editor of the Journal of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad and of the Calcutta Oriental Journal.

Mr. Sukumar Sen is now working chiefly in Bengali Literature and Vaishnavism, in addition to the subject he has specialised in previously, *viz.*, Indo-Aryan Syntax. He is now seeing through the press a history of Brajabuli and Bengali Vaishnava Lyric Poetry and a grammar of the Brajabuli dialect. Besides this he is preparing a complete work on the origin and development of literary Prose in

Bengali and the historical syntax of Indo-Aryan. A critical edition of the Govinda-ratimañjarī as undertaken by him may also be mentioned.

The work of Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, whose research fellowship has been extended for one year, has been quite good. He has critically edited for the first time the Prakrit verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra and given an estimate of the age of the work on the linguistic basis. This edition of the Pkt. verses has been published as the supplement of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4. And in a second paper he has discussed the geographical affinity of the Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt. and this has been published in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXIII, under the title, Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasenī. Besides this Mr. Ghosh is working on the history of ancient Indian drama and theatrical art. He is now seeing through the press his critical edition of Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, a work on gestures in drama and dance. Among the number of articles published by him the Hindu Theatre (published in IHQ, Vol. IX, No. 2) and the Age of Nātyaśāstra, some conventions of the ancient Indian Stage, and the Adhirata and the Nāṭyasarvasva-dīpikā [1] may be mentioned.

In addition to the above activities the staff of the Comparative Philology Department have formed themselves into a "Philological Society of the University of Calcutta" for mutual assistance and other help in research work. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture took a leading part in the formation of the Society. Since its establishment some noteworthy papers have been read, and it will be a good thing if the Calcutta University, as the Society is founded under the auspices of the Department of Comparative Philology, can publish these papers in the form of occasional bulletins.

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XVIII. Visit of the British Universities' Debating Team to the Calcutta University

It was a great pity that the British Universities' Debating Team had to visit Calcutta at a time when the University and most of the

[1] The last three papers have been accepted for publication in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, the Indian Historical Quarterly and the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, respectively.

Colleges were still closed. This made it difficult to organise the team representing the University, and what is more to be regretted, prevented the visitors from seeing the normal functioning of student life in the biggest educational centre of India. If the purpose of these visits is, as it ought to be, the establishment of social and personal contacts rather than the promotion of arid intellectual contests, the time chosen for the visit was most inopportune.

In spite of this unhappy choice of time, the visit however proved to be a great success. An afternoon party was arranged where the visitors met some of the students who happened to be in town. Only students were present at the function, which gave the visitors an opportunity to exchange ideas and form friendships with the students here.

The debate also succeeded beyond all expectations. The Asutosh Hall of the University was packed to its utmost capacity and many had to go back disappointed through lack of space. The University team was chosen entirely from among the students, and was, on the average, distinctly younger than the visiting team.

The debate was opened by Mr. McGilvray, one of the visitors. It seems, on the whole, a better procedure to let one of the members of the home team to open the debate, since it affords the hosts a chance to welcome their visitors at the very start. The order of speaking settled by the Inter-Universities' Board was adhered to, except in the case of Mr. Greenwood, who at his own request was called upon to speak last. The speeches of the visitors were highly appreciated and the audience enjoyed immensely the contrast in style and manner of the different speakers. Mr. McGilvray was solid and slightly argumentative, and surprisingly un-Scotch in eschewing all humour. Mr. Jones was suave and persuasive and had a charming smile, while Mr. Greenwood gave an excellent exhibition of vigorous parliamentary abuse, combining powerful invective with polished speech.

One of the speakers of the Calcutta Team was well up to the standard of the visitors while another was hardly, if at all inferior. Only one member did not come up to expectations, but he was not a member of the team originally selected and was called upon at the last moment to fill in the vacancy caused by the absence of one of the men. Under the circumstances, his performance was quite creditable.

The visitors left Calcutta with pleasant memories and left pleasant memories behind. The debate was both an enjoyment and an education to the students here, and it is to be hoped that from now on,

visits of debating teams to and from the British Universities will occur with periodic regularity in the life of the students of Indian Universities.

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XIX. Among our Latest Publications

Among our latest publications, *Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities* by Dr. S. C. Bagchi, LL.D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, is an important one. The book contains Dr. Bagchi's lectures on the subject as Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Lecturer for the year 1931. The theme of Juristic Personality is a topic that Dr. Bagchi has been studying for several years past in its historical and analytical aspects ; in the year 1915 he sketched the important theories on the subject briefly in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Principles of the Law of Corporations. The theories have been succinctly presented in this small volume which makes the views of Sir Asutosh on the subject known to the general public.

Ranjit Singh by Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, is a notable contribution by one of our former students and now a teacher in the University. He has scrupulously avoided all personal details about Ranjit. It has been mainly his aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranji's Civil Administration and an estimate of the Sikh military system have also been attempted.

APPENDIX

The two following Notes were discussed at the Educational Conference. They were prepared by Government as a basis for discussion and did not represent any accepted policy of Government.

I.

Weakness of Present System.

The weakness of the present system may be judged by the difficulties experienced in removing admitted defects. Many of these defects are directly due to the system itself. The main points calling for discussion are:—

(1) (*a*) University standards.

(*b*) More effective co-operation between the different institutions responsible for University teaching.

(*c*) Financial instability of colleges.

(2) (*a*) More effective control of secondary education.

(*b*) Domination of secondary education by Matriculation Examination.

(*c*) Low standard of teaching and work in secondary schools.

(*d*) Financial instability of schools.

(3) Inefficiency of primary school work and teaching due to (*a*) inability to obtain satisfactory teachers, and (*b*) unsatisfactory scheme of studies.

The following facts have to be borne in mind:—

(*a*) It is impossible to effect satisfactory improvement in university work until the student on admission to the university is better trained in methods of study and logical thinking and has a sounder foundation of knowledge, *i.e.*, no real improvement can be ensured in university work until the secondary system is made much more effective.

(*b*) Radical improvement in the secondary system is not possible while the present dual control remains. The university is not constituted for and does not, in practice, effectively supervise the high schools in the province. Government has no control over the majority of the schools (the unaided ones) and its influence over the aided schools is restricted.

(*c*) Effective control and work in middle schools and primary schools is complicated by the existence in high schools of middle and

primary sections. Particularly in the case of the primary classes, the work is not under the supervision of the normal primary education authorities and the policy followed in such classes, *e.g.*, the teaching of English, makes difficult any improvement in normal primary schools.

II.

A POSSIBLE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

The following scheme for general educational reform is put forward for consideration as a type of plan which, if carried into effect, would make easier the removal of the present admitted defects. The scheme is given in broad outline and details need not, at this stage, be considered. In proposing any variations, it should be borne in mind that it is essential to consider the system as an organic whole rather than as a series of disconnected parts and to take into account the effect of any variation upon all sections. Any system to be effective must—

(1) Definitely link up primary, secondary and university education.

(2) Prevent unnecessary overlapping in the different stages.

(3) Allow of effective control and development within each stage.

(4) Allow of the most economic use of whatever money is available from public and private funds.

As the proposals are considered, it will be clear that before definite decisions are reached, an accurate and detailed survey in the districts with regard to the distribution of schools and colleges will be necessary. Any scheme must guarantee that there are no considerable areas in which reasonable facilities are lacking and any scheme must be sufficiently elastic to allow of exceptional treatment under conditions which call for deviation from the normal plan.

(*a*) *General scheme.*—The scheme envisaged is one in which there are primary schools distributed throughout the province in such a way as to place every child (except in very sparsely populated areas) within reasonable walking distance of a primary school. Children between the ages of 6 and 9 (inclusive, *i.e.*, 4 years' attendance at school) would attend these primary schools in which instruction would be given in three classes, namely, infant and classes I and II. The curriculum would be a common one for all communities with definite facilities for religious teaching. These primary schools would act as feeders to middle schools which would of course be fewer in number and so distributed as to serve most economically the whole province.

The middle schools would consist essentially of four classes, namely, classes III, IV, V and VI and would enrol children normally from the ages of 9 to 13. These schools would serve children of all communities and it would be necessary to provide teachers of both major communities so that special teaching, if necessary, could be given. The middle schools would serve as feeders to high schools. High schools would be situated only in the more important centres and would be so geographically distributed as to cover the whole province without overlapping. Hostel accommodation would be necessary in practically all these schools in order to provide for the residence of scholars whose homes are not within easy reach of high schools. In high schools the essential classes would be classes VII, VIII, IX and X, covering normally the ages from 13 to 17. Similarly, the high schools would serve as feeders to colleges still more thinly distributed, but again situated throughout the province in such a way as to provide reasonable facilities for all, having due regard to the conditions necessary for ensuring economic stability of the colleges.

(b) *Educational finance.*—Financial stability of colleges and schools must be ensured by (a) fee income, (b) endowment, and (c) grants from public funds.

Unless the second of these, namely, endowments, provides considerable income, it is clear that there can be no satisfactory stability unless the fee income is as high as possible, considering economic conditions, and assistance from public funds is forthcoming. Unfortunately, excepting in the case of the University of Calcutta, endowments are not in existence to any considerable extent and it follows, therefore, that the other two sources of income must be relied upon to ensure freedom from financial anxiety in educational institutions. The question as to what fee rates it is possible to levy is intimately bound up with the question of the facilities that exist by way of scholarships for poor and able students. It is suggested that in all schools and colleges, definite rates of fees should be established, possibly a little higher than those now in existence and that an organised scholarship system should provide for free tuition and possibly residence, for able students in colleges and high middle schools. The question of Government grants necessary for efficient working of the schools is one that is bound up with the size of the schools, their number and their fee income. The financial problem of the schools and colleges, as will be shown later, if the system is organised in such a way as to guarantee that all schools and colleges have a reasonable

roll strength, is not one that is probably beyond solution in the near future.

(c) *Control.*—Although it is not essential or even desirable that the controlling authority in the three sections, namely, college, secondary and primary, should be the same, it is essential that such co-operation in working and co-ordination of policy should be guaranteed as will allow of effective control in the different sections. Primary education will presumably be controlled according to the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930 in which definite responsibility is thrown upon local authorities, namely, District School Boards, with supervision and co-ordination of purpose in the different districts effected by Government and a Central Advisory Committee. The Act does not prevent, however, the establishment of unauthorised schools or classes following schemes of work and policies which may be contrary to those desired by the controlling authorities under the Act. It is suggested, therefore, that admissions to classes in secondary schools should, in all cases, be subject to the proviso that the boy or girl has satisfactorily passed through the primary classes in a recognised school or is exempt on certain definite and approved conditions. So far as secondary schools are concerned, it is essential that there should be one controlling authority working upon a definite plan which is co-ordinated on the one hand with the primary work and on the other hand with the university work as approved by the university authorities. Whether this controlling authority should be Government, the university, a special statutory body having full authority or an advisory body subject to the control of Government, is a matter to be decided as a separate and major issue. What is esential, however, is that there should be no laxity of control allowing a continuation of the present unsatisfactory conditions. In addition to ensuring that admission to secondary (middle schools) is only possible upon specific conditions, it would be necessary also to guarantee that admission to recognised high schools is only possible from recognised middle schools except under approved circumstances. The question of curriculum and standards of work in the different types of institutions, namely, madrasas (if continued), high schools middle schools, and any other types of special schools would be one of the functions of these controlling authorities. So far as colleges are concerned, the question of control need not here be considered in detail. Both Government and the university must exercise their influence, the latter in the immediate technical and

academic administration, the former in so far as it must ultimately be responsible and must be satisfied that efficient work is being done.

MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO REORGANISATION IN THE DIFFERENT SECTIONS

(1) *College education.*—Apart from the question of a possible re-organisation of internal control within the University of Calcutta, the outstanding problem in college education is that of the financial stability of the private colleges. Recent co-operation between Government and the university has given a temporarily more or less satisfactory solution of the university's own financial problems, but the condition of many of the private colleges is very precarious. For many years now many of them have been carrying on from hand to mouth, unable to pay satisfactory salaries to their professorial staff and unable to provide facilities for non-academic activities. It is clear that if there is to be any real improvement in efficient working of the colleges, the question of the mufassal colleges, in particular, must be taken seriously. There are at present, as most people will admit, certain colleges whose existence is questionably justifiable. They merely serve to lower the general standard of attainments and act prejudicially upon the whole system. Government cannot be expected to assist colleges the justification for whose existence is doubtful. On the other hand, the policy followed in allocating grants to private colleges probably needs revision. The following table shows a possible scheme which, by amalgamation of certain colleges, limitation of the size of others and a definite policy of Government contribution together with slightly increased fee rates, would guarantee financial stability together with adequately paid staffs. It is probably not immediately possible of application and is put forward as illustrating a possible line of advance. It would be of definite advantage to know whether the university authorities are in sympathy with such a reorganisation.

College.		Present roll strength.	Proposed roll strength.	Present total income.	Probable total income; 33⅓ per cent. Government grant basis.	Present Government grant.		Government grant; basis 33⅓ per cent.
						Expenditure.	Receipts.	
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1.	Presidency ...	1,083	1,250	5,35,000	2,50,000	5,35,000	1,75,000 *	83,333
2.	Scottish ..	1,163	1,250	2 15 000	2,50,000	27,000	...	83,333
3.	Ripon ...	876	1,250	88,000	2,50,000	...	...	83,333
4.	City ...	1,500	1,250	1,50,000	2,50,000	...	...	83,333
5.	Vidyasagar ...	1,848	1,250	1,50,000	2,50,000	...	...	83,333
6.	Bangabasi ...	1,350	1,250	1,55 000	2,50,000	...	...	83,333
7.	Asutosh ...	776	800	90,000	1,50,000	...	...	50,000
8.	St. Xavier's ...	765	800	1,11,000	1,50,000	21,000	...	50,000
9.	St. Paul's ...	381	400	1,04,000	1,04,000	17,000	...	34,666
10.	Rajshahi ...	850	900	2 35,000	1,75,000	2,35,000	62,000 *	58,333
11.	Comilla ...	948	948	1,04,000	1,80,000	6,000	...	60,000
12.	Barisal ...	1,226	1,226	1,15 000	2,25,000	16,000	...	75,000
13.	Rangpur ...	546	546	70 000	1,00,000	12,000	...	23,333
14.	Berhampur ...	750	750	1,10 000	1,50,000	2,000	...	50,000
15.	Mymensingh ...	877	1,000	1,00,000	2,00,000	12,000	...	66,666
	Karatiya ...	157		26,000				
16.	Bagerhat ...	231		28,000		7,000		
	Daulatpur ...	551	900	58 000	1,75,000	11,000	...	58,333
	Narail ...	125		15,000		3,000		
17.	Chittagong ...	603	950	1,42,000	1,80,000	1,42,000	52,000 *	60,000
	Feni ...	350		29,000		5,000		
18.	Pabna ...	248	532	42,000	1,00,000	12,000		33,333
	Faridpur ...	284				24,000	...	
19.	Hooghly ...	276		1,47,000		1,47,000	24,000 *	40,000
	Serampur ...	260	636	78,000	1,20,000	16,000		
	Uttarpara ...	100		10,000				
20.	Krishnagar ...	260		1,25,000		1,25,000	19,000 *	
	Burdwan ...	266	625	30,000	1,20,000	...	...	40,000
	Hetampur ...	99		14,000				

21. Midnapur ...	221	715	30,000	1,40,000	10,000	...	46,666
Bankura ...	494		81,000		14,000		
Howrah (to be absorbed).	65	...	14,600				
Contai ... (Future?).	56	...	15,000	...	...		
Total ...	19,585	19,228	32,17,200	37,69,000	13,99,000 1,29,000 (Imperial grant given through University.)	3,32,000	12,56,333
Total grant ...					15,28,000		
Less ...					3,32,000 Fee receipts.		
Net Government grant...					11,96,000		

The figures refer to conditions with regard to number and fee income, etc., in 1928. Increased Government grant required = Rs. 60,000.

* Fee receipts.

(2) *High school education.*—There are at present in the province approximately 1,200 high schools distributed haphazardly. The existence of many is precarious ; their value doubtful. The mistaken policy of multiplying institutions, without ensuring their academic efficiency or their financial stability, has been disastrous. It is clear that to attempt to provide facilities for high school education in every village is an impracticable ideal which even the richest countries in the world do not attempt to carry out. Whatever may be said for the placing of primary schools within walking distance of every child, financial considerations should undoubtedly prohibit any attempt to provide high school education on a similar plan.

It will have to be realised, and the realisation implemented in practice, that in order to provide facilities for the child who chooses to continue his studies beyond the middle stage and who resides in an out-of-the-way place, the practice of attaching hostels to high schools must be extended. Boys must be prepared to reside away from home.

There are at present in high school classes in Bengal approximately one hundred and four thousand students. In all probability 400 schools, properly organised and controlled, would ensure far more efficient education than is at present possible. The following is the type of high school which is envisaged.

Number of pupils in schools, 260, distributed as follows:—

Class X	60
Class IX	60
Class VIII	70
Class VII	70

There would be two sections in each class and the school would, therefore, consist essentially of eight classes. These two sections might correspond to the classical and modern sides of English secondary schools. This would allow of the introduction of teaching in Science as well as of the provision of teaching for Arabic or Sanskrit, etc. Such a school would have hostel accommodation for not less than 100 boys, a science laboratory and a staff of ten teachers.

It is probably not desirable to allow high schools to conduct middle or primary school classes. The high school stage is not an altogether artificially created division. It corresponds to certain definite physical and psychological changes in a boy. In England, young boys, even when admitted to a secondary school, are entered into a preparatory

department almost invariably separately administered and controlled. There is little to gain and much to lose by extending a high school downwards. Where high schools at present have middle and primary classes, these latter are only too often regarded as financial feeders to the matriculation and other upper classes, and insufficient attention is paid to the welfare of the younger children. If there is to be extension, it should be upwards by the provision of classes as alternatives to university careers. One such class might be a preparation course for primary school teachers. Business and commercial classes and other vocational courses could be added.

The scales of pay suggested are as follows:—

	Rs.
Head Masters	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	75—5/2—90
Ten teachers	50—5/2—75

Average salary bill, Rs. 875. The current expenditure budget of such a school would be as follows:—

	Rs.
Salaries	875
Provident Fund	55
Apparatus	25
Library	15
Servants	30
Games	10
Contingencies	10
Repairs and Reserve Fund	25
Boarding Stipends	130
Total ...	1,175 a month.

The income for such a school would consist esentially of fee income together with Government grant. Many schools would have certain local sources of income. This should not normally be taken into account but, where available, will be used for increasing facilities for such items as laboratory, library, playing field, games, etc. It is suggested that fee rates normally to be charged should be Rs. 4 in classes X and IX, Rs. 3 in classes VIII and VII. The present system of free seats should be abolished and there should be a definite scholarship examination at the end of the middle stage upon the results of which scholarships to the extent of 25 per cent. of the number of students reading in the high school should be allowed. In addition 10 per cent. of the students in any high school should be given boarding stipends of Rs. 5 a month to

enable them to pay their hostel dues. The fee income on such a system from the school contemplated would amount to Rs. 675. It would be seen, therefore, that for such a school a grant of Rs. 500 per month would be necessary from Government.

The total grant required from Government, therefore, for high school education would be Rs. $500 \times 400 \times 12 = 24$ lakhs per annum. The present expenditure of Government upon high school education is—

(1) Non-Government schools	... ...	8,91,117
(2) Government schools	... ...	6,83,907
	Total ...	15,75,024

This is the amount budgetted for the current year and is considerably less than what was previously spent.

Assuming that under any reorganised scheme Government wished to maintain a number of model schools in which higher paid teachers were employed and better facilities were provided, we might anticipate an annual expenditure in higher education of Rs. 27 lakhs; this would allow of the retention of 20 Government or special schools at an annual net cost of Rs. 21,000 each. The carrying out of such a policy would have to take place over a number of years, as in a large number of cases hostels and better school buildings would have to be provided and the economic position will not probably allow of its immediate fulfilment.

This is one of the matters in which careful and detailed survey of existing facilities will be necessary. Of the annual allotment, Rs. 1 lakh per year might be set apart for capital expenditure on buildings. The following shows the type of expenditure programme which might be adopted:—

Government grants required.

	Rs. (Lakhs.)
1935 ...	16
1936 ...	17
1937 ...	18
1938 ...	19
1939 ...	21
1940 ...	23
1941 ...	25
1942 ...	26
1943 ...	27
1944 ...	28

Thus in ten years' time the realisation of the scheme would be financially possible at an increased cost to Government of approximately Rs. 13 lakhs.

(3) *Middle school education.*—There are at present about 2,50,000 children attending middle schools. These schools only carry on the education of a boy until he is 13 years old and are thus really—in terms of western education—primary schools. As the knowledge that they impart is elementary—in spite of their being classed as secondary institutions—they should be satisfactorily distributed and large in number. The normal number of classes would be four, namely, the present classes III, IV, V, and VI and the scheme is to be economically organised; the normal size will be a school of 125, *i.e.*, one section to each class. This means with the present population 2,000 schools, but it is probably certain that with any improved primary school scheme in operation the demand for middle school education will increase. We should plan, therefore, for 2,500 schools. There are at present 1,700 middle schools and, if the high school reorganisation scheme is carried out, 800 high school buildings will be available for middle schools. The building problem would not, therefore, be an urgent one, but as many of the present buildings are unsatisfactory, certain expenditure under this head would have to be incurred. The details of such a school are now given:—

Class	III	IV	V	VI
Numbers	35	35	30	25
Fee rates	Re. 1-8	Re. 1-8	Rs. 2	Rs. 2-8

A considerable number of scholarships covering fees would have to be awarded, and it is suggested that 33⅓ per cent. of the average roll strength of middle schools in any district should be the number of scholarships available for that district.

The fee income for such a school would, therefore, be Rs. 151. The staff would consist of a headmaster and three teachers, their rates of pay being as follows:—

		Average.
	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Head Master	40—1—60	55
Three teachers	30—½—35	100

A normal budget of expenditure would then be as follows:—

	Rs.
Salaries	155
Provident Fund	10
Library	5
Servants	10
Contingencies including games	11
Buildings	10
TOTAL ...	201

In order to balance the budget, therefore, a Government grant of Rs. 50 per month would be required. Any available local contributions would be utilised for improving facilities.

The total Government grant required would be $50 \times 12 \times 2,500 =$ Rs. 15,00,000, *i.e.*, Rs. 15 lakhs per year. To this should be added one lakh for building requirements.

In a selected number of these schools continuation classes might be established where agricultural or other vocational instruction could be imparted. These would absorb many of those who did not proceed to high schools. Their creation would of course impose an additional financial burden the amount of which would depend upon the nature and extent of the scheme adopted. It is probably not advisable to allow the addition of any normal high school classes to middle schools. As with high schools, the economic position will probably not allow of immediate fulfilment of this plan, bu t it is put forward as a possible progressive scheme developed over a number of years.

(4) *Salaries of professors and teachers.*—The question of adequate payments to professors and teachers in educational institutions is an important one. The present situation is that in few cases can salaries be considered adequate. So far as colleges are concerned, it is difficult to generalise, as conditions vary very much in the different colleges. There are undoubtedly, however, many college professors and teachers whose salaries are incommensurate with the work they have to perform. Reorganisation and guaranteed college income, such as has been suggested, would enable a very considerable improvement to be made and ensure the removal of the defects. So far as middle schools and primary schools are concerned, the situation is as follows:—

In actual practice, there are many teachers in high schools who are receiving salaries of Rs. 25 per month and even less. These

salaries are often irregularly paid and in not a few cases they are further diminished by so-called voluntary contributions by the teachers to the school funds. In middle schools, Rs. 20 per month is a high salary while, as is well known, there are many teachers in primary schools receiving salaries of less than ten rupees. Reorganisation as above suggested would give the following salaries:—

High schools—

	Rs.
Head Masters	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	75—5-2—90
Teachers	50—5-2—75

Middle schools—

Head Masters	40—1—60
Teachers	30—½—35

It is hoped that on a similar scheme of reorganisation in primary schools it might be possible to pay—

	Rs.
Head Masters	25—½—30
Trained teachers	20—½—25

There is no doubt that, if it were possible to introduce the above rates of salaries for teachers, then teaching as a profession would become a much more attractive career for our graduates and educated youths. Particularly, if the above salaries could be paid in primary schools, this reorganisation would go a long way towards removing the present economic distress in the educated community. The right type of man will be attracted to all institutions and from every point of view the achievement of such a result will be a very considerable step forward.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

The January issue of the "Calcutta Review" will come out on 20th December, next, before the University closes for the Christmas holidays.

All Advertisement Copies, and changes in old advertisements must reach this office on or before 15th December, 1933.

1943 ...
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